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Manaakihia ngā rengarenga o te Ahi
Caring for the remaining embers of my fire

Why do Māori Disconnect?

*From their tikanga and legal
associated rights and responsibilities
Within a contemporary world*

*A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Māori & Pacific Development*
At
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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

By
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2018



Why do Māori Disconnect?

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*Thesis by
Mary Te Kuini Jones*

Supervisor: Dr Robert Joseph

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Abstract

This thesis examines some of the reasons why Māori disconnect from their legal and tikanga rights and responsibilities within the contemporary world of today. The aim of this research project is to identify some of the associated rights and responsibilities of Māori - as land owners, shareholders, Whānau, hapū and tribal members. Whilst it seeks to reveal some of the desires and visions of the interview participants, the objective is not to seek resolution. The focus is to identify what deters or dissuades owners from returning and/or participating. It also seeks to identify whether the assumption or label of disconnection is a reality or myth.

‘Māori Diaspora’ particularly refers to the substantial increase in outward migration (also referred to as out migration) of Māori leaving New Zealand, and more significantly migrating to Australia, which was in direct response to the neo-liberal reforms of the late 1980’s (Smith L. , 2006). With the New Zealand government refusing to acknowledge the negative impact their legislation and policy had on Māori, they continued to introduce new systems that were ultimately designed to push many to breaking point.

Māori who could no longer bear the cumulative effects of such oppression emigrated in search of better economic opportunities and a higher standard of living for their families. Meanwhile, back home in Aotearoa, the Māori Diaspora left behind a complex set of problems in its wake with diminishing hapū and tribal members driven from their homeland who are gradually becoming dis-connected and estranged from their whenua tipu.¹

Whilst repatriation is an uncomfortable topic for many Māori who wish to retain their overseas residency, many continue to dismiss the compounding effects of their absence and the heavy burden carried by those who remain in Aotearoa to keep the home fires burning (or the ‘*ahi kaa*’).

¹ Ancestral land

Mihi

<i>Ko Kahurānaki te Maunga</i>	Kahurānaki is my mountain
<i>Ko Tukituki me Ngaruroro ngā Awa</i>	Tukituki and Ngaruroro are my rivers
<i>Ko Tākitimu te Waka</i>	Tākitimu is my canoe
<i>Ko Ngāti Kahungunu me Kai Tahu</i>	Kahungunu and Ngai Tahu are my
<i>ōku Iwi</i>	tribes
<i>Ko Ngāti Rangikoianake te Hapū</i>	Rangikoianake is my hapū
<i>Ko Kahurānaki te marae</i>	Kahurānaki is my marae
<i>Ko Arihi Te Nahu te Tangata</i>	Arihi Te Nahu are my people

*‘Mō tātou, ā mō kā uri,
ā muri ake nei*

‘For us and our children after us’

Te Hokinga Mai

*Tangi ā te ruru,
kei te hokihoki mai e
E whaka-whereo-whereo
i te putahitanga
Nāku nei ra
koe i tuku kia haere
Tēra puritia iho
nui rawa te aroha e*

*The cry of the morepork
keeps coming back to me.
It is hooting out there
where the paths meet.
I was the one
who allowed you to go.
It was curbed,
my deep love for you*

*Te Hokinga Mai,
tēna koutou
Tangi ana te ngākau
i te aroha
Tū tonu ra te mana
te ihi o ngā tupuna
kua wehea atu rā
Mauria mai te mauri tangata
hei oranga mō te mōrehu
tangi mōkai nei
E rapu ana i te ara tika
mō tātou katoa*

*But now the formal return home;
greetings to you,
How my heart weeps
with joy.
Still standing tall is the prestige
and the enchantment of the ancestors
who have passed on.
Bring back the true spirit of the people
to help heal the survivor
crying like a slave (i.e. with loneliness)
and searching for the true path
for us all.*

Te Hokinga mai, Te Hokinga mai

Return Home, Return Home

(Cooper, 1986)

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To Dr Robert Joseph - my supervisor and Mylene Rakena, thank you for your awhi, encouragement, humility, support and peace-making skills. Your vision and insight for transformation is truly inspiring and contagious. I know that you really did go above and beyond to give me a safe place to go and a safe space to be. Thank you for seeing my vision and getting me over the finish line.

My Dad - thank you for your whakaaro - I really do treasure our lovely long whakapapa talks. I am so very grateful for the support you and Mum have given me throughout my study years. Mum, you are never far from my thoughts and mahi every day. Thank you for your courage and strength, and always looking ahead for us.

This Research Project and story is for my brother Ken – the one who stayed behind and does the ‘really’ hard yards - for us all. You too could have left and yet you remained. ‘You’ my brother - are the true ahi kaa. Even through your darkest times, you have remained and stay true to the kaupapa. Thank you and my sister Ruthee for being so strong for us all – and for so long. Aroha mai, I do not think I have the strength – So shine your light again and guide us all home.

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Waiata – *Te Hokinga Mai*

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Chapter One

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Since 1999, the number of my Whānau members residing in New Zealand has diminished considerably. Today, 96% of my immediate family continue to reside in Australia, as they were drawn to the political, economic and social opportunities that they believed no longer existed in New Zealand 20 years ago. Ironically, despite now having sufficient resources here in New Zealand to establish a strong economic and social foundation, with the potential for development within the wider Whānau, hapū and community.

The unfortunate reality for the 4% of my immediate family that do remain in Aotearoa is that whilst they do their best to represent the Whānau (by contributing a substantial amount of voluntary and unpaid work on various projects) it is becoming impossible to continue in the long term, or in perpetuity. It becomes a heavy burden for the few, and whilst the load of responsibility can be carried by the same minority for a short while, the long term effects ultimately results in capacity exhaustion.

Whilst they still call New Zealand home, my Whānau are now raising our next generation of Australian born Whānau members (my mokopuna included). Ironically, our mokopuna are not Australian citizens, nor are they New Zealand citizens as recent changes to the Australian immigration laws have resulted in many of our mokopuna being immediately dis-placed at birth. Thankfully, our mokopuna are immediately endowed with the birth right of their whakapapa, because the toto that runs through their veins grants them a place of belonging, to stand, to walk where their tipuna once walked, and a place to return to.

1.1 Background of the Project

Customarily, tenure of the land was vested in the community, and the main proof of entitlement was continued occupation and use (Durie M. , 2006, p. 11).

Whakapapa established the blood lines and connection to the land, and as such affirms the concept of Māori identity, rights & responsibilities. Whakapapa was unsurpassed and set one's role and place within a hierarchal society and was an important determinant in customary land tenure, and therefore use rights to tribal

resources (O'Regan, 2001). Te Ao Māori endorses that tikanga remains in place and that ancestral connections to land remain significant, and even today are simply viewed as an extension of cultural and customary identity.

In contemporary times, the small amount of Māori land that remains, is now privately owned by Māori Whānau, ahu whenua trusts or other forms of governing entities. Whilst a quantity of that land remains un-utilised, the modern concept of occupying land now translates to the correct governance and management of those ancestral lands. Gaining some sort of economic base from the utilisation of ancestral lands governed by boards is how the concept has now changed and evolved. Yet, many Māori land owners simply walk away from their Māori land interests and responsibilities due to the complexities, difficulties, raruraru, conflict and helplessness, with many feeling that the expense and efforts far outweigh the benefits.

With the acceleration of the Māori Diaspora, the retention of Māori land ownership, rights & responsibilities is becoming increasingly difficult for many Māori to maintain. The responsibilities are becoming such a burden that capacity fatigue is becoming a phenomenon experienced by many Whānau representatives. Māori Diaspora refers to the substantial increase in outward migration of Māori leaving New Zealand, and more significantly migrating to Australia in vast numbers. This problem began asserting itself in the late 1980's when the neo-liberal movement of major reforms in New Zealand created a climate of declining economic and social opportunities for Māori.

It is critical to understand the extent of Māori out migration. Māori Diaspora is a huge deficit to the advancement of Māori in every sense because of under-representation, loss of talent, work force and worst of all lack of interest and connection. It is emphasised at the level of hapū, with minorities being left managing marae and representing governance boards, but is accentuated at the highest levels during times of need such as illness or funerals. Those that remain at home keeping the home fires burning for those that reside overseas, toil away to ensure the knowledge, traditions, whakapapa, whenua tipu and very identity of the Whānau is not lost.

This thesis examines why Māori land owners and shareholders disconnect from their legal and tikanga rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world, and whether it is in fact fair to assume that they do. It will attempt to address the contentious subject as it seeks to identify changing attitudes and values from Māori land owners' and shareholders who have lived overseas for a significant length of time. It will look at past and present Māori land management systems and whether they continue to fulfil the needs of Māori land owners. It will look at their connections to land, whakapapa and tikanga, and the challenges they experience in trying to retain them. A comparative analysis will be performed on the commonalities and differences that Māori land owners and shareholders experience in trying to uphold their rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world, and will conclude whether or not Māori do in fact disconnect from their tikanga rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study attempts to address the contentious issue of Māori land owners' changing attitudes and values towards Māori land within contemporary society. It will look at past and present Māori land management systems and whether they continue to fulfil the needs of Māori land owners. It will look at the connection between land and traditional knowledge such as whakapapa and tikanga and the paradox of sustaining them within an ever-changing world.

My research question evolved from previous research project asking the question "What do we need to sustain Ahi Kaa?" My answer was "A Framework".

Therefore, my past research question then progressed to become "A Framework to sustain Ahi Kaa". It was during the time of conducting that particular research project, that I came to a realisation (understanding its enormity) of why such a framework did not exist, and why it continues to remain so elusive. Upon researching the potential benefits of such a framework, I discovered layers upon layers of complexities that involved so many dimensions.

Eventually, I realised that the development of the framework was simply far too big for one research project as each dimension needed to be explored much more extensively. Therefore, as I completed my previous research project itself for

academic purposes – I felt that my research was far from complete as it had only scratched the surface. Whilst I am fully aware that the development of the final framework is some way down the track (and perhaps within a number of research projects), I have taken the deliberate measure of taking one step back from my original research project, and utilising my thesis to focus on one specific dimension which is very complex in itself.

This thesis will undertake qualitative research which is specifically centred on the personal attitudes and views of Māori land owners and shareholders who have been residing away from their ancestral home for a length of time. The purpose of the research, is to hear their real experiences as they have (or have not) struggled to maintain their own connections (in whatever form that may be) with their whenua tipu and/or Tūrangawaewae.

1.3 Research Focus

The focus of this study is to explore why Māori land owners and shareholders disconnect from their legal and tikanga rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world.

1.4 Research Challenges

The challenges of this research project were numerous and are outlined in detail within the methodology section of this report. However the two significant challenges worth mentioning at this stage, is the initial scope of the project which imposed geographical issues due to the location of the research participants being located overseas, and the drawn out process of completing this thesis which was imposed by institutional constraints. Consequently, the biggest challenge for the researcher was accepting that matters were beyond her control, and adapting to a new method of sourcing new research participants at a late stage in the research process. Accepting change and re-visiting the objective and bigger picture of the research enabled the completion of this study.

Chapter Two

2.0 KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

2.1 Māori Research

Historically, New Zealand's research environment set the stage for the country's institutionalised foundation which has been an integral source of endorsing New Zealand's political structures. Unfortunately, today it continues to play a significant part in shaping mainstream research methodologies with governments spending vast amounts of money funding research directly and indirectly through tertiary education, national science organisations, development programmes and policies (Smith L. T., 1999).

Regrettably, this research continues to be perpetuated by individuals who have been conditioned to think, dis-engage and make sense (and assumptions) of both the known and unknown (Smith L. T., 1999). No matter what actions or decisions Māori made throughout the years to mitigate the effects of policy, the legislative changes continued to be rapid and constant and predominantly had a direct and adverse impact on Māori. Hence, it is ironic to comprehend that even today, the objectives of researchers still insist on trying to explore the historical evidence of the Māori population in order to evaluate the conventional wisdom of Māori.

Butterworth is one such researcher that positions himself within this paradigm, as he claims that Māori have re-written history in order to present a new way of understanding inequities of Māori socio-economic within the contemporary world. Furthermore, he boldly states that powerful faction of Māoridom is to merely validate such ideologies of their minds (Rata, 2006). Butterworth's research was so bold to have openly made undermining, derogatory comments in regards to Te Ao Māori wisdom, and his findings finally lead him to conclude that Māori had accepted the role as historical victims (Rata, 2006).

Butterworth's ignorance painted an offensive perception of Māori and everything Māori represent, and in doing so his research produced highly criticised and derogatory results of the very people he had spent a vast amount of time researching. Butterworth's work is a clear demonstration of a researcher, not only

having little regard and respect for Māori in every way possible, but of a researcher working in the absence of Kaupapa Māori methodology.

2.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Historically, Māori seemed to have little to no control over the conduct of the research, the management of researcher/participant relationships, and often felt obliged to accommodate such intrusions without question. Consequently, it was common place for Māori individuals or groups to be research subjects at the behest of the researcher, often with little or no accountability by the researcher or organisation conducting it. At the conclusion of the research, Māori had absolutely no control over the dissemination of their knowledge which regularly resulted in conclusions and findings that were often derogatory and/or offensive to them. However, positivist traditions actively sought to maintain existing power relations between the researcher and the researched (Ellis, 2004).

Kaupapa Māori theory is a critical indigenous theoretical approach (originally developed by Māori academic Graham Smith) which articulates a strong challenge to positivist models of research and methodology (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 21). Within a Kaupapa Māori framework there is an expectation that Māori researchers who are looking to utilise a Māori centred approach would naturally contribute to or draw from the ontological foundations of Te Ao Māori (Ellis, 2004).

My first experience with Kaupapa Māori theory was in 1996, when I was invited to work for one of the first Kaupapa Māori Health Services in the country. Not understanding the concept at the time, I would often express my concern of ‘not being fluent in Te Reo Māori’ to my Kaiwhakahaere (a kuia from Te Reinga in Wairoa), as I viewed it as a shortcoming or unworthiness of the position. However, amused she would assure me saying ‘Not being able to speak the reo isn’t a deduction of who you are or how you were raised. You don’t need to worry about being Māori.’ She would not elaborate more on that explanation and it took some time for me to gain the confidence to seek further clarification from her.

My manager's explanation surprised me as she recalled back to the day of my interview, to which my immediate response was to cringe with discomfort as I remembered being interviewed not only by my manager and panel of four others, but also in front of my fifteen Whānau members who had accompanied me to my interview. Their arrival had caused quite a stir, with a need for more seating and therefore the re-organisation of the room and once settled, my Whānau immediately proceeded with conducting karakia, mihimihi and waiata prior to my interview starting.

During the interview, my Whānau (who were seated around me) generously intervened by extending to my answers or directed questions to the panel which eventually lead to the partaking in much whakawhānaungatanga. Part way through the interview, I was required to leave the room to perform testing, and in my absence I could hear a commotion of laughter back in the interview room. As I strained my ears, above the laughter I could hear story-telling and my name mentioned. As I returned to the interview (suspiciously eyeing my Whānau), I noticed a distinct change in the room's atmosphere as the formality was replaced by a lighter feeling. When I returned to my seat, I received a few reassuring winks, and congratulatory pokes and nudges in my back.

The respectful and fond manner in which my Kaiwhakahaere regarded my interview left a distinct and lasting impression on me forever. She explained that 'that one incident' was a clear demonstration to her exactly who I was, how I was raised and that there was no reason whatsoever to question or doubt myself. She explained that 'that day' told her everything that she needed to know about me, and that whilst I don't speak te reo, I am Māori, and that whilst I didn't realise it, Kaupapa Māori was just a natural part of my life.

Today, I am somewhat ashamed of my immature whakama at the time because I did not understand, nor appreciate the great honour that my Whānau bestowed upon me that day and how they represented me in true Kaupapa Māori style. I now would see what my Kaiwhakahaere observed. It is not until required to articulate its process, benefits, advantages and disadvantages that I realise that my Whānau and I have operated within this context for generations. I have lived in

Te Ao Māori without even realising it and find it a familiar and comfortable method to work within. Kaupapa Māori methodology was the overarching framework for research within this thesis, and working within a kaupapa Māori context seemed a very natural process for me.

Chapter Three

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Whakapapa - Māori Identity, Whenua & Whakapapa

It was not until the early 20th century that the Māori identity was widely adopted to describe the Indigenous people of Aotearoa (King, 2008). The Māori identity emerged, becoming more widely accepted following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The European settlers preferred to define the indigenous inhabitants by their common features rather than their tribal differences. Prior to European contact there was no cultural or national concept of the Māori identity (Durie M. , *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga : The Politics of Maori Self Determination*, 1998). Instead, the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa identified themselves by their Whānau, hapū, iwi (King, 2008), and Tūrangawaewae (place to stand).

Hamer suggests that Māori fare worse in social statistics the further removed they are from access to their culture (Hamer P. , 2008). However, Tomlins-Jahnke contradicts this notion, stating that this is more of a myth than fact.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa was a longitudinal study conducted in 1996 of approximately 550 Māori households. Cultural identity markers were established on a relational framework comprising of four axis - paihere tangata (human relationships), te ao Māori (Māori culture and identity), nga ahautanga-a-tangata (social economic circumstances), nga whakanekeneke (change over time) - each axis represented the putake (root), which then formed nga peka (branches) which finally resulted in nga rau (leaves). Each branch provided areas of inquiry which provided information essential to both quantify and qualify nga peka (branches) and nga putake (roots). It was from the results of this survey that a set of 'cultural identity' profiles were conceived (Durie, 1998).

Māori Cultural Identity : Key Markers

Markers	Identity	
Identification	Ethnic Identity	Identification as Māori
Knowledge & Understanding (Genealogy), Tikanga (Custom) Social Arrangements	Cultural Knowledge	Tribal History, Whakapapa (custom) social arrangements
Access & Participation Forests Links, Land,	Access to, participation in, Māori institutions & society	Marae Whānau, Hapū, Social
Fisheries		The Environment,
Communication print and Fluency	Māori language	Level and place of usage Broadcasting media,

(Durie, 1998).

The four cultural identity profiles recognised in Te Hoe Nuku Roa study were concepts of:-

1. Secure identity

Total integration and involvement and commitment to Te Ao Māori. Full participation and involvement within marae activities, Whānau and contact with Māori people and community, ancestral land and Māori language.

2. Positive identity

Lower levels of involvement with Māori society and Te Ao Māori.

3. Notional identity

No access (but still perhaps maintaining self-identification as Māori).

4. *Compromised identity*

Non-identification as Māori (often despite having considerable access to Te Ao Māori).

(Durie, 1998).

The results of the study revealed that (of the 200 responses analysed) - 35% revealed a secure identity, 53% a positive identity, 6% a notional identity and 6% a compromised identity. A key finding of this study revealed that “despite personal values and beliefs, the development of a cultural identity also depended on access to key cultural institutions and resources such as land, Whānau, language and marae” (Durie M. , 1998). Overall, the findings indicated that locality was not an essential component for an individual to adequately participate within Māori society which seems to indicate the diversity and evolution of the adapting Māori within the contemporary world.

A similar study performed by Tomlins-Jahnke revealed that a sense of home-place (or ancestral home) constructs, reinforces and maintains a sense of cultural identity (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). The participants of the study demonstrated that they were able to maintain a secure sense of Māori identity through the internalisation and integration of a home-place or tribal ‘locale of being.’ Furthermore, they maintained that they were able to integrate this into their daily lives, wherever they resided (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002).

Both studies revealed specific characteristics as important markers of a secure identity by affirming that land, whakapapa knowledge, the importance of the marae, living close to extended family and experiences all reinforced physical links. However, Tomlins-Jahnke’s study further revealed that at a metaphysical level, distance from the home place (or ancestral home) is collapsed into space and time, or memories and recollections in the minds of individuals (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002).

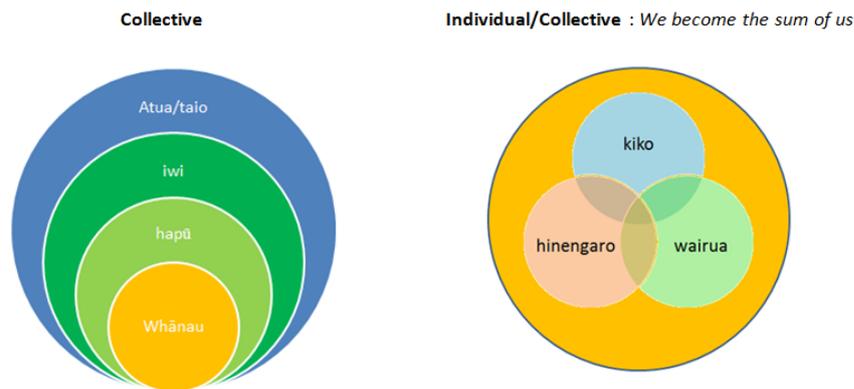
Overall, Tomlins-Jahnke's study revealed that the centrality of ones' specific historical and cultural realities were grounded in their tribal genealogy, customary traditions, values of their ancestors, traditions and values which could be transmitted, expressed and affirmed either at a physical or metaphysical level (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). In other words, one does not necessarily have to exist 'amongst' their tribal area, or constantly participate within cultural institutions to retain their cultural identity. Therefore, such findings would support the notion that the absence of a tribal member does not necessarily dis-qualify or reduce the level of their cultural identity and/or ability to participate within Whānau, hapū or tribal affairs.

Despite the results of these studies, and the different mediums of communication available today, there are a significant number of Māori who have little or no knowledge of their whakapapa. Therefore, whilst many Māori remain alienated from their marae through either having lost their connection during the urban drift and/or Māori diaspora, their marae and whenua tipu still remains an important focal point (whether physically or metaphysically) of identification for them.

Whānau, hapū and iwi are very much an essential part of the social fabric within Te Ao Māori, with whakapapa establishing the foundational framework which validates traditional and ancestral history (Haami, 2004). Like many other indigenous people of the world, Māori used an ontological framework within Te Ao Māori which formed the connection between their creation myth (or intangible history) to that of human history (intangible history). Confirming the chronological order of life, it provides markers – connecting the tangible (such as the family tree) to the intangible (such as the mythological stories of Rangi - sky father and Papa - earth mother) histories (Haami, 2004).

The following visual representation demonstrates connections between Te Ao Māori, Whānau, hapū, iwi, as well as the interconnectedness of an individual to the collective (incorporating hinengaro (mind or thought), kiko (flesh) and wairua (spiritual)).

Tipuna Rights



(Melbourne, 2009, p. 8)

Whakapapa remains fundamental to the preservation of oral histories within Māori society today, and whilst universities can educate tribal members on contemporary professions as well as a broad area of language, traditional and historical Māori knowledge, rarely are they able to provide the unique teachings of whakapapa and ancestral knowledge which is privately maintained and passed down within a Whānau or hapū, yet so essential to sustain their mana tangata, mana whenua or Māori land ownership.

3.2 Globalisation of Māori

Diaspora is the movement or migration of people away from their original home or ancestral land. It may also refer to a scattered population who are living away from their original homeland. Derived from the Greek word, Diaspora means 'scattered' or 'dispersion'. Originally, Diaspora referred to mass-dispersions of people with common roots or ancestry, and historically such migrations or movements were of an involuntary nature, most often motivated from the adverse results of war, invasion or famine. Today, whilst diaspora may still result from

war such as the current mass migration of the Syrian people, it is most commonly caused by imperialism, trade or labour reforms.

In contemporary New Zealand, the significant rise of Māori migrating (usually to Australia) became known as the 'Māori Diaspora'. The problem started to significantly increase during the late 1980's as many travelled to Australia in search of better employment, economic opportunities, and higher standard of living. The New Zealand Government of the time implemented a neo-liberal programme which resulted in insignificant changes to the education, health and welfare systems. These reforms had a profound effect on New Zealand society and no doubt contributed to the push factor (Smith L. , 2006, p. 250).

It is important to note that whilst the government of the time may have implemented their reforms of structural adjustment, de-regulation and re-regulation of the economy, they were of little benefit to the progression of Māori who continue to be disproportionately and unfairly represented in health, education and incarceration statistics (McAlister, 2012).

With the considerable number of Māori in Australia, one would think that this fact alone should command significant interest (Hamer P. , 2009). However, with the ethnicity indicator being removed from New Zealand immigration departure cards some years ago, it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many Māori have left our shores and are now residing in Australia. In 2008 it was known that there were as many as one in six with numbers steadily increasing (Hamer P. , One in Six? The Rapid Growth of the Maori Population in Australia, 2008). As this statistic is only an approximation and with the rapid increase of new generations being born in Australia, it is highly likely that over twenty five percent Māori now live in Australia and overseas. Unfortunately, it has never been an issue of concern for the New Zealand government as they still refuse to acknowledge the negative impact their legislation and policy have had on Māori. Why is it important to address this?

It is critical to understand the extent of Māori out migration, and whilst Hamer advocates the importance of assessing the progress of Māori in Australia, previous

research proves that many Māori refuse to be assessed, tracked or monitored. The 2006 “Kea, Everyone Counts” internet survey was deemed unsuccessful as it attracted a disproportionate response rate, where only 1,418 of the 141,000 Māori living overseas bothered to participate. The self-selecting nature of the survey proved that most could not be bothered which raises assumptions of disconnection.

There could have been a number of reasons why the majority of Māori in Australia chose not to participate in research. However whatever the reason may be, the fact is that it still remains difficult to calculate numbers or assess the characteristics of Māori who reside overseas (Hamer P. , 2008). Perhaps, they feel disenfranchised from their own country with the ‘push factor’ policies still fresh in their memories? However, one certainty is that most Māori are thriving within their new Australian lives, now with up to three generations, and with many mokopuna who have never visited New Zealand.

3.3 Diminishing Tribal Members

The post-World War II urbanisation of Māori had major demographic impacts on Māori as a population (Walling, 2009, p. 4). From 1945 onwards, the significant rise in Māori migrating from their tribal territories (often referred to as the urban drift or urban migration) was the first significant post-colonial migration. Subsequently, government policies of relocation and a call for a labour force in the sixties saw the largest urban migration of Māori. The attraction of urbanisation appealed to many Māori as it meant homes, employment, education and overall, the promise of a new independent lifestyle (Consedine, 2007).

In 1965, almost two thirds of Māori lived around their marae, and by 2006 84.4% of Māori lived in urban areas (Consedine, 2007). Simultaneously, as the development of urban areas grew rapidly, development around the marae came to a halt. This problem was further exacerbated through local government restrictions such as newly implemented building and zoning compliance laws which then restricted Māori from developing housing on their land. The

combination of urbanisation and local government reforms seemed to mark the beginning of the end for the papakainga and marae system.

Urbanisation had complex consequences, both positive and negative (Walling, 2009). Māori had responded well to the strategic moves of government policy whilst at the same time satisfying the labour force requirements. Not surprisingly, Māori predominantly represented the blue collar industry of low-skilled occupations and under-represented professional industries and higher levels of education (Consedine, 2007). Hence, it was the strong representation of Māori within these areas of work who became particularly vulnerable to the changes in the economy in the 1980's (Consedine, 2007, p. 8).

The Māori diaspora which commenced in the 1980's has been the most recent post-colonial migration of Māori. The extent of this movement should be of great concern to Māori as it has both short and long term effects on the Māori economy. As the globalisation of Māori rapidly increases, tribal numbers are continuing to diminish. Despite the disproportionate rate of Māori already having been driven from their homeland, the New Zealand government still refuses to acknowledge the negative impact their legislation and policy continue to have on Māori. The most concerning fact about this is that over representation in negative statistics such as high unemployment, mental health, suicide, addictions, poor education, incarceration, poverty, teenage pregnancies and countless more others remain constant and enduring – now spanning across generations. Such statistics are further endorsed by the New Zealand media who continually attribute them as 'cultural problems' of Māori, instead of 'environmental problems' caused by external influences.

Since the Māori diaspora, the Māori economy has been through significant and rapid changes. Over the past three decades, tribal organisations have re-emerged and formed new strategies in pursuit of their visions. They have lead their people towards a renewed sense of activism and self-empowerment. Some positive aspects resulting from this has been a renaissance of Māori culture with the revival of te reo Māori, settlement of a number of Waitangi Tribunal claims, increased participation in higher education and most importantly an increase in

self-determination which strives for Māori lead development solutions (Consedine, 2007).

Today, with at least 25% of the Māori population living outside of Aotearoa, the negative aspects are felt in a number of ways. Whilst some graduates remain in Aotearoa, many more take the opportunity to exploit their skills offshore where they are well rewarded. Here is where the loss of tribal capacity remains highly under-estimated.

The Māori diaspora continues to be a huge deficit to the advancement of Māori because of the under representation, loss of talent, work force, skills and worst of all the declining interest, participation and regard for Te Ao Māori (in any form). Equally concerning is the lack of participation from ‘absent Māori land owners’ has it has consequences that reach far into the future. Whilst this group of Māori continue to be overlooked by the New Zealand government, their ownership rights are slowly diminishing within new government policies, such as new immigration laws around citizenship, and amendments made within Te Ture Whenua Act.

This research project attempts to take a glimpse into the minds and attitudes of Māori who left Aotearoa and to try and understand their perceptions of what they left behind. Did they retain a connection or did their minds and hearts migrate to a better life and future for their Whānau? Do they recall the dreams and visions of their tipuna? Do they feel a responsibility to uphold them? – Will they return or have they permanently transitioned to a new life of independence? I believe that these are some of the factors that may determine the reasons behind the lack of participation demonstrated by Māori who reside overseas.

3.4 Keepers and Seekers of Knowledge

Primary data was gathered during my 2014 research project “A framework to sustain Ahi Kaa”. Interviews were conducted with a range of interview participants who had been selected as either keepers or seekers of knowledge. The seekers of knowledge were a balanced cross-selection of rangatahi, pakeke and kaumatua. Some were based in Aotearoa, and the other had been living in

Australia for at least 10 years. The keepers of knowledge were a Māori land court manager, Māori land consultant, Māori librarian and Māori historian. Both groups were asked their views and opinions on Māori identity, whakapapa, whenua tipu, Ahi Kaa and of their experience in regards to the barriers in seeking, retaining and providing that knowledge. The following is a summary of the results:-

- All interviewees agreed that whakapapa was of the utmost important, and although all were familiar with their whakapapa, the extent of their knowledge widely varied. Whilst Australian interviewees confirmed they had a general understanding of their whakapapa, the cross section of participants revealed differing results as rangatahi knew much less than pakeke and kaumatua. Interviewees who resided in Aotearoa were able to elaborate much more about whakapapa, its history and tikanga. This theme was demonstrated throughout the cross-selection of participants which indicated that those residing within Aotearoa were more easily to access and/or to connect with whakapapa information (Jones, 2014).
- All interviewees agreed that a wide range of sources existed for learning whakapapa through various mediums such as whakapapa books, literature, verbal and electronic sources. Also, all interviewees had personal experiences learning whakapapa from parents, grandparents, kaumatua and/or other family members (Jones, 2014).
- One interviewee suggested that a database or some type of electronic medium would be the best forming of retaining whakapapa from all sources, as it facilitates integration by enabling all sources such as verbal records, urupa records, whakapapa books and literature to be captured. One interviewee talked about their experience of having collected whakapapa over the past 25 years from all sources. They affirmed how, over this time they became familiar with key names of 98 tipuna and that the information has become firmly embedded in their memory. They talked about the significance and tapu of whakapapa books, and emphasised the importance of treating them with respect (Jones, 2014).

- The Māori Historian specialises in whakapapa and as it is their area of expertise, they are approached by Māori individuals, Whānau and hapū groups searching for their whakapapa. They felt very strongly that whakapapa information should not be computerised as their main concern was based around the fact that once whakapapa is made available electronically, the data can be manipulated and even worse, accessed by the wrong people. They believed that the risk of uploading whakapapa to an electronic medium is that that ‘weak link’ within any Whānau who may upload sensitive information onto a public medium site such as Facebook. Whakapapa being so accessible in electronic form runs the risk of falling into the hands of those who do not respect it or regard it with the dignity it deserves. They stated that “truly linking with your whakapapa gives a sense of belonging which every person needs and restores ones’ links to the ancestral land. However, one rationale was that they themselves were not from the technological era of computers (Jones, 2014).

- One interview from the pakeke group (who resided in Aotearoa) considered the best way of learning whakapapa was the marae. They emphasised the importance of oral history and story-telling and that in order to fully honour whakapapa, it is essential that at least one Whānau member within each generation learn te reo Māori in order to retain the mana within the Whānau, whenua and the marae. They stated that within Te Ao Māori, it would be a loss for a Māori Whānau to lose their taha Māori. They provided an example, that if none of the tangata whenua within a marae could speak te reo but the in-laws of the Whānau could, then the mauri of that marae will be significantly affected. Therefore, in order to retain the whakapapa in the traditional way of oral repetition then moteatea, waiata and whaikorero could be taught in wananga or reo classes (Jones, 2014).

- The Māori Librarian witnessed a common demographic emerge in the past 8 years of 45+ Māori who are looking for their tipuna and whakapapa. Many who share their journey of searching are trying to find ‘where they belong in

society' and are re-connecting with the whenua. They stated that whakapapa and identity is the predominant factor which motivates Māori to seek out their services of cultural knowledge. They stated that many did not know how to research whakapapa and/or cultural knowledge and as they did not frequent libraries, initially felt embarrassed in approaching them for information. Many inquiries are received from Māori living overseas who are searching for whakapapa. They noticed that once Māori felt comfortable to request assistance and developed the skills of researching whakapapa, they were immediately connected to their taha Māori and became very frequent visitors to the library (Jones, 2014).

- Some agreed that whakapapa should be shared whilst some felt that it should only be shared with members relevant to the whakapapa group. As this was mainly based around fear of the information falling into the wrong hands and/or being abused, other members believed it would be a simple process of maintaining a level of security where the information is retained. The priority was around the retention more so than the method so as to ensure that the knowledge is captured. It was unanimous amongst all interviewees that whakapapa should be retained in any way possible because once it is gone it is gone forever (Jones, 2014).

Similar to other indigenous peoples of the world, Māori have a deeply spiritual relationship with their land through their whakapapa (ancestral) connections, and whilst they may share similar creation and migration stories they maintain their own unique whakapapa (genealogies) which provides the direct connection to their ancestral and tribal region (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). Bennett further endorses this, having stated “the essence of Tūrangawaewae is that the land is an outward and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual, and is a source of nourishment to the inner man rather than to his physical needs. His identity belongs there, his sense of self-awareness begins there, and his sense of mana and importance belongs there” (Harris, 2006).

Māori society was organised along kinship lines that determined a person's status and land tenure was gained through hereditary mana (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002).

Tenure of the land was vested in the community with the main proof of entitlement being continued occupation and use (Durie M. , 2006, p. 11). Therefore, ancestral connections affirmed the right of authority (or mana whenua) over particular lands and if long term occupation could be proven through successive generations of ancestors, then their Ahi kaa was acknowledged.

Literally meaning “long burning fire” - Ahi kaa is a metaphorical Māori legal term defined by Williams as “Title to land by occupation”. It refers directly to the phenomena through which the right of occupation could be both symbolised and established. “Keeping fires alive” is a metaphor for the active exercise of rights of occupation, is seen by many commentators as a prerequisite for both a legitimate claim to a particular tract of land, and to tangata whenua status within a district (Joseph, 2009).

The principle of keeping fires burning on the land symbolically served as a signifier of long standing occupation. The following whakatauki (proverb) captures this principle:-

“Kawera hoki I te ahi, e mana ano” - “While the fire burns the mana is effective.”

(Pipiwaharuroa, 1909)

Through colonisation, the introduction of Māori land laws and other barriers, the contemporary concept of ‘Māori land ownership’ or occupying Māori land now translates to the correct governance and management of those ancestral lands in order to develop an economic base for the benefit of the owners and their future descendants. However, as ownership becomes more fragmented through successive generations, the distribution of those benefits become increasingly difficult for the multitudes of descendants. Therefore, self-determination which is often reflected in successful governance aims to ensure that those benefits continue to reach current and future generations in perpetuity.

Within Te Ao Māori, connections to land are significant as they are simply an extension of cultural and ancestral identity. Durie states that “Human identity is an extension of the environment within which they live; the ancestors are to be found in as much in the world around them as in the lives of those long since

departed (Durie M. , 2006). As ancestral land holds spiritual significance within Te Ao Māori, self-determination and the focus of maximising economic returns would naturally be viewed as a shallow goal if Māori identity was absent from the equation (Durie M. , 1998). Also, if the value of land was simply measured as a function of market prices or economic yield, the indigenous values would be marginalised (Durie M. , 2005). Durie further endorses this concept, having stated “At the root, the ancestral lands represent the survival of the collective, and should not be regarded merely as an economic resource” (O'Regan, 2001, p. 52).

Today, Māori land tenure laws include all interested parties on the Certificate of Title with the lands being managed under the administration of Trustees who are sometimes family (but most commonly not). This seemed to introduce a number of barriers and inconsistencies, as the ideals of Māori land owners often did not align with the legislation. Durie stated that “Land, as a source of identity and a basis for filial relationships was dismissed in favour of an economic formula that effectively disinherited many Whānau” (Durie M. , 2006, p. 61). This of course, raises the question as to whether or not the existing Māori land management systems or frameworks continue to serve the needs, aspirations and development of Māori?

In the following table, Melbourne emphasises the on-going conflict between rights bestowed upon Māori by their tipuna, and the current world they try to exist within today (Melbourne, 2009).

Mana Tawhito



What is mana tawhito

Rights bestowed on ‘Māori’ by tipuna, by whakapapa

- Inherent
- Knowledge of our environment and of ourselves
- Our whānau, hapū, iwi history
- Our conflicts, our alliances within whānau, within hapū, within iwi
- Our conflicts, our alliances with other whānau, other hapū, other iwi

How this has been translated in law today

Rights that we had but can no longer claim

- Usurped by “nominal” sovereign right of the Queen at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi
- Thereby allowing the assumption of Statutes of Westminster and common law practise to be enacted by
- Proclamation
- New governance structures
- Establishment of Native Land Court

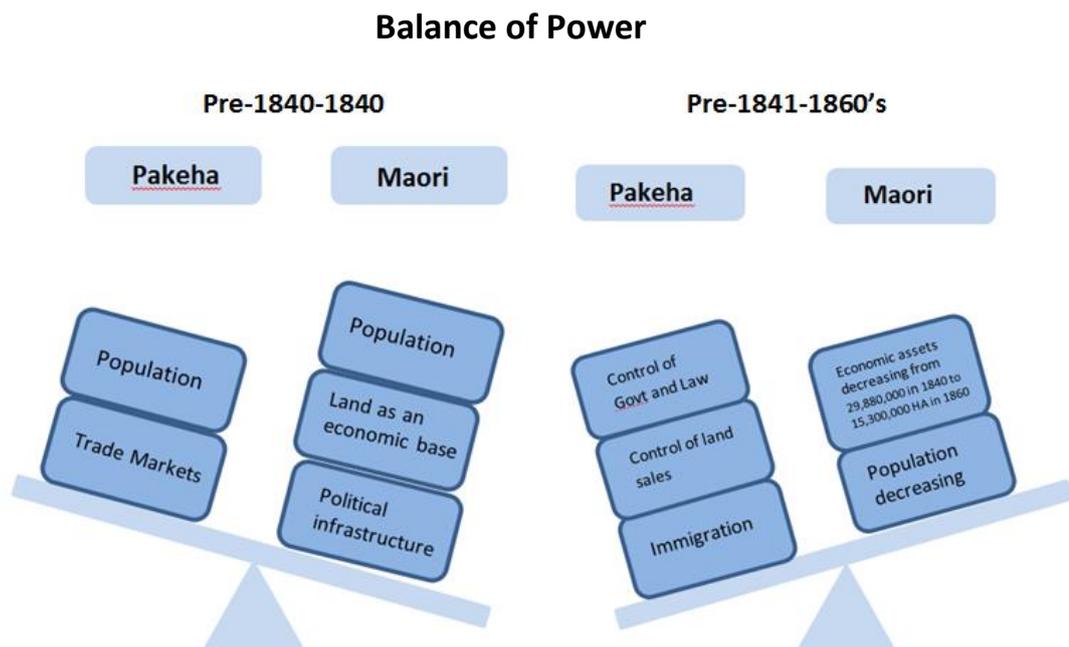
□

(Melbourne, 2009, p. 7)

Despite the paradox of trying to live between Te Ao Māori and the modern world, Māori continue to struggle to uphold visions of the past and the legacy of their tipuna. They continue to navigate through the current systems and processes that exist today. Within a rapidly changing world of technological, ecological, political and economic change, it is essential for us to understand that not only must we continuously assess the environment to forecast the future to be prepared to adapt and diversify in response to impending changes, but we must ensure that the sharing of knowledge is continued. The leadership qualities and political activity demonstrated by our tipuna enabled them to prepare for the future.

3.5 Māori Land Court

Various systems and/or frameworks have been developed over the years for the management of Māori land, assets, resources, whakapapa and knowledge. The balance of economic power changed significantly as Māori land holdings rapidly diminished following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and by 1891 many Māori had already been alienated from their land. A Royal Commission established that Māori virtually owned no land in the south island and less than 40% in the north island.



(Melbourne, 2009, p. 18).

As land sales proceeded Māori started to realise that their land resource had rapidly diminished and in response started to oppose land sales. The Crown received numerous petitions from Chiefs, tribal groups and individuals throughout the country and responded by establishing the Native Land Court in 1865.

Māori affairs was instituted as part of the process of controlling Māori political, social, cultural and economic life post New Zealand Wars. The Honourable Henry Sewell set out in 1877 what was the primary purpose for creating the Native Land Court and the Native Land Acts:-

The objective of the native Lands Act was twofold: to bring the great bulk of the lands of the northern island which belonged to the natives into which, before the passing of this Act, were extraomercium, with the reach of colonisation. The other main object was the de-tribalisation of the natives; to destroy, if it were possible, the principles of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social systems were based and stood in a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the native race into our own social and political system. It was hoped the individualisation of titles to land, giving them the same individual ownership that we ourselves possessed, they would lose their communistic character and their social status would become assimilated into our own

(Sewell, 1877).

The Māori Purposes Act 1947 resulted in the name being changed to the Māori Land Court. The Native Land Court was a device designed to appease Māori by translating customary Māori land claims into legal European titles recognised under English law. Strategically, the new Government did not want to see the Māori becoming the land owning Aristocracy of the latest addition to the British Empire, so a way to overcome this was to deprive them of their land. Initially, this was achieved by putting in place the principle or rule of pre-emption which gave the Crown the sole right of purchasing Māori Land, even to the extent of cancelling previous sales which had already been made to other parties. The following timeline illustrates the rapid decline of Māori land ownership over the years, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Number of Hectares of Land in Māori Ownership

Year	Acres
1840	66,400,000
1852	34,000,000
1860	21,400,000
1891	11,079,486
1911	7,137,205
1920	4,787,686
1939	4,028,903
1975	3,000,000

Source: (Asher, 1997, pp. 97-101)

Pre-emption meant that the Crown could control the price that the Māori received for their land which meant that Māori could also not be economically advantaged in any way.

Any non-Māori who had previously acquired Māori land was forced to go through a process of proving that they had acquired it legitimately. The new owner was required to prove they had paid a fair price, purchased it from the rightful owners, and if an individual claimed that the land had been sold by someone else, then the entire transaction was reviewed, and in many cases if the sale was deemed to be floored, it was cancelled.

Durie criticises the role of the Māori Land Court, emphasising the irony that whilst they assumed a “protective role towards Māori land owners” over the years, the clear purpose of its initial establishment was to bring Māori land on to the market (Durie M. , 1998, p. 122). Therefore, the Māori Land Court was established to facilitate further alienation and fragmentation of Māori land, ‘*not to assist*’ the Māori people ‘retain’ their land as was promoted. Therefore, it is worth considering whether these structures need to remain in place.

3.6 Māori Trustee (Te Tumu Paeroa)

The Māori Trustee (now known as Te Tumu Paeroa) was established through legislation in 1921 to act on behalf of, as well as hold unclaimed rent monies for owners who were unable to be found, were mentally incapacitated or incarcerated. Governed by the Māori Trustee Act 1953, their role was also to assist Māori land owners manage their land, collect, hold and distribute rental income for land owners and most importantly maintain an electronic Māori landowner database. An integral role of the Māori Trustee was that they played a major role in managing lease agreements for Māori land owners, many of which remain in place today.

Originally, if a person was leasing Māori land, the lease was deemed illegal if it was not sanctioned by the Māori land court. The main purpose of this was to protect the interest of the owners. However, this sometimes worked against the owners because the terms sanctioned by the court were unreasonably onerous to the owners. Around the late 19th and early 20th century, the Māori Land Court often sanctioned lease terms which were heavily favourable to the lessees rather than the owners. This was reflected in the terms of the lease, such as long term leases (up to 21-40 years) with low rent, no regular rent reviews, and with right of renewal to the lessee.

The rents were often based on the unimproved value of the land (the land in its bare state) without any improvements added. Also, in many cases the lessees were entitled to be compensated for any improvements that they made to the land. Therefore, if they had cleared land with the effect of raising the value of that land from \$50 to \$1000 an acre, the lessee was entitled to compensation of that difference, even if it far exceeded the actual cost of the work performed. Furthermore, the lessor was disadvantaged by inflation because if the lessee had erected a fence post in 1900 at a cost of 5 shillings (and that same fence post in 1950 was valued at 5 pounds) the lessee was compensated at the highly inflated figure (even though the lessee had the benefit of using that fence post for the past 50 years).

These types of leases and activity were regularly imposed by the Māori Land Court, and it was the Māori Trustee who was given the task of enforcing the terms of the leases. In many cases the Māori Trustee did not enforce that 'lessors' maintain 'their' obligations of their lease, such as complying with agreed fertiliser programmes or fencing programmes, ensuring that boundary fences were fully erected, maintained and stock proof. Whilst it was blatantly obvious that the lessees should have been made accountable for their part in the leases, and sued for the value of any breaches of the terms of their lease, this process was not a common occurrence.

Today, there are numerous examples of lessees, ending their long term leases, being compensated at highly inflated amounts, and in some cases these amounts exceed the value of the land. The lessee has had long term use of the land at a minimal rent, made a few improvements such as a few fences and tracks, and then walked away with a windfall, often far better off than the land owners. In some of these cases the Māori Trustee have 'come to the rescue' to finance the lessors so they are able to reimburse the lessees. The unfortunate results is that it forces the land owner to continue operating under the management of the Māori Trustee until the loan is fully paid which is sometimes a further 20-40 years depending upon the amount and terms of the loan.

Lending is another service that Te Tumu Paeroa can add to its charter of services. However, it would be worth exploring which fund is being utilised for this. Ideally, it would be wonderful if land owners could in fact utilise their dividends to access more real tangible benefits from their land interests for themselves or their Whānau. Being able to utilise their dividends and/or rental income to secure mortgage repayments for home loans would solve problems for many, especially when housing is a problem so prevalent for Māori today. However, the sad reality is that while the land itself may increase in value, it cannot be easily capitalised to benefit individuals and their Whānau (Davey, 1994).

The Papakainga Housing Scheme, introduced in 1985 was predominantly applied in rural areas. As only 901 loans had been approved by 1992, the future of the scheme was doubtful and the outcomes seemed somewhat ambiguous (Davey,

1994). One particular Māori Land Court office which serviced a large Māori population had processed only three papakainga housing projects since 2000, so therefore over the past fourteen years. It would seem that with all the complexities surrounding the current Māori land laws, land management systems, local government and financial institutions, one would require the tenacity and skills almost equivalent to a law degree, a high level of negotiation skills and an impressive bank account to successfully complete a housing or papakainga housing project on their Māori land.

Whilst this type of scheme fits well with Māori concepts of land and home, and facilitates a return to tribal areas, the scheme will not achieve its full potential without the promotion and collaboration of local government and other social services (Davey, 1994). The ideal of such initiatives (whilst not impossible) nevertheless are so complex and tedious to implement that it seems an unrealistic goal for many. Therefore, it is these types of visions which remain out of reach for many which discourages participation.

Today, the Māori Trustee is now a private company, independent of the Crown and has re-named itself as Te Tumu Paeroa. Despite still being subject to the scrutiny of government auditors, they are now accountable only to Māori land owners and the Māori Land Court. However, like any other private company, they are now competing in the market to generate income by retaining the management of Māori land. With their primary service or core competency, being leaders of Māori land (and funds) management, it would be appropriate at this time for Māori land owners to consider exactly who those competitors may be? What does Te Tumu Paeroa require to remain in existence? What does that mean for Māori land owners ?

It would seem that their competitors could be Māori land owners who attempt to take back management of their own lands. Therefore, how can Te Tumu Paeroa remain good custodians for the rights of owners, when in their pursuit to become the market leader in the management of Māori land, in effect they are competing with the very people they profess to be acting in the best interests of ?

3.7 Trustee Companies

Similar to the Māori Trustee, there were a number of professional trustee companies within mainstream that professed to ‘specialise’ in administering Māori estates. Again, this was brought about by those onerous complexities of dealing with Māori land as they were so much more difficult for Māori owners to deal with as opposed to general land rules.

The Public Trust Office and Guardian Trust are some general examples of trustee companies which have been in existence, managing Māori land since the early 19th century. Guardian trust originally started as Guardian Trust and Executors until they became a subsidiary of the South British Insurance Company, and then became South British Guardian Trust. Today they are known as Guardian Trust, its head office in Auckland with other offices throughout the country. The New Zealand Insurance Company predominantly managed European estates and whilst the Public Trust Office predominantly managed European estates, they were often appointed to devise and manage a number of perpetual leases prior to the establishment of the Māori Trustee.

Many trustee companies were not proactive in allowing the assets to pass to the rightful owners or the people who were entitled to them. Often, if they could see a way or opportunity to prevent that from happening, it would justify them retaining or controlling those assets. This was largely due to the fact that Māori were often perceived as incapable of managing their own affairs. Many Māori estates have been retained for so long that today there are numerous examples of sixth or seventh generation beneficiaries struggling with trustee companies to settle their ancestral estates. Many of these struggles continue today as trustee companies interpret that there is no obligation on their part to attempt to resolve certain issues or settle estates or be accountable to the current beneficiaries of the estate.

There are also instances where the estate is so old and the file has passed through so many managers, that the trustee company lacks the knowledge or capability to

manage or interpret the terms of the estate let alone implement them (yet they still retain them and charge fees to the estate). Perhaps this could be in light of the fact that they are only able to charge a fee for estates which they continue to administer. At this point it is also interesting to note that some trustee companies have introduced a new fee pricing structure where their annual fee is calculated, not on ‘activity’ or ‘work completed’ on an estate, but on the ‘value’ of the assets held within an estate, so in effect they could perform no activity whatsoever for five years and yet still charge a fee every year based on all the assets held within that file.

Therefore, historically and currently there are numerous examples of gross incompetence practised within many trustee companies failing in their due diligence and in fact, treating many clients’ estates as cash cows. One may question “How has this been made possible?” Ironically and once again, it seems with the very knowledge and expertise that a trustee company professes to maintain (to supposedly be acting in the best interests of their Māori clients) – ‘Knowledge which enables them to be able to manage the assets and mitigate through complexity’ – which they assume “Māori clients are incapable of doing”.

3.8 Māori Land Trusts & Incorporations

Following the introduction of the Native Land Court in 1862 (operation in 1865), Māori land tenure laws attempted to include all interested parties on the Certificate of Title. Today, many of these lands are not occupied by multi-land owners but under the administration of a governance entity. Māori Affairs legislation then created a range of Māori land trusts, incorporations and Māori Trust Boards with remnants of the colonial ethos of paternalism, individualism and land alienation (Joseph, 2009).

When the new Māori land block titles were created, all those having rights in a communally owned block of land were in fact not named on the title. The Court limited the number of names on the titles to ten, hence those people were deemed to be the only owners and therefore could alienate the land without recourse or consultation with the remaining owners. This situation facilitated the Crown to

then approach only those named in those titles, and where some favoured alienation or selling and some did not, those blocks were partitioned with those favouring sale being placed into one partition (and therefore able to sell their share to the Crown) and the non-sellers were left with the remaining partition. Thus created a situation where people in the same family became divided with later generations wondering why ‘they’ have been left practically landless while their near relatives (whose tipuna did not wish to sell) retained their land. Today, it is quite common for family groups to view one another with extreme suspicion simply because they were not aware of these types of things happening in the past.

The Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 was established in recognition of a clear view that any land which remained in Māori hands should be retained (Durie M. , 1998). The purpose of the act is to ensure owners of Māori land retain it and pass on to future generations. In addition, some provisions were made for owners to maximise commercial use of the land, including trusts and incorporations.

The Act attempts to integrate the concepts of Māori land ownership and a legal interpretation of Whānau and hapū relationships with whakapapa knowledge confirming joint interests of a particular piece of Māori land. The sale of Māori land is strictly limited as owners are not free to dispose of their interests at their own free will and whilst it is not impossible, the ‘freeing up’ of individual lots is legally (and culturally) complicated. Traditionally, it was often considered by the majority of residents and shareholders to be both socially destructive and morally questionable (McCormack, 2011, p. 4). The first option lies with ‘preferred classes of alienees’ or common owners within the block of land by virtue of a common ancestor, and spouses are usually only entitled to a life interest unless they are from the same hapū.

Today, most large land trusts and Māori organisations are now led by managers who are employed for their knowledge, education and experience and not necessarily their whakapapa or genealogical history. The administering trustees (sometimes family members but most commonly not) have the responsibility of managing and developing that land in order to maintain perpetual benefits for future generations of descendants.

In an ideal world, whilst it is highly desirable for a trustee or manager to possess both the whakapapa and requisite management skills, some do not possess either. Māori have numerous examples of good management synthesis within a kaupapa Māori context. In this context, Māori acknowledge the importance of aligning contemporary western structures of corporate management whilst retaining the traditional and cultural integrity within the foundational structure of its purpose, mission statement and overall kaupapa Māori values. However, many have difficulty executing it to its fullest potential. Could it be due to the paradox of western business and Māori business models not being conducive of one another? Or are do current Māori land laws restrict that potential ?

Mason Durie states that “Essentially Whānau development is about maximising the interests of the group so that resources are utilised wisely, cultural heritage is affirmed and Whānau members are able to enjoy a uniformly high standard of living, including good health” (Durie M. , 2001).

Chapter Four

4.0 CASE STUDY NARRATIVE

The Legacy of Rangatira

In acknowledgement of my tipuna before me, who left their legacy of vision, passion and courage - may they live on. This chapter is a case study narrative of the transition into my role as a legacy bearer within the contemporary world. It will provide brief profiles of Rangatira who have left behind a legacy, as well as some personal accounts which I hope will illustrate the importance of visions which are instilled in us.



This whakatauki was given to me by Dr Rangi Mataamua – Associate Professor in the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato in 2016. For me, it represents my eight year education journey of learning. The purpose of my research is to leave a smouldering ember for future descendants. For those who may return home some day to find there are no elders left to teach them the legacy of their tipuna. I hope that it may instil the same vision.

The role of legacy bearer is a role that I have gradually transitioned into since my return from Australia, the time that I spent with my mother during her final months, and her subsequent passing. The absence of my tuakana (elder brother and sister) who remain in Australia, meant that (by default) my younger brother and I have transitioned into various roles of responsibility that our mother held

during her life time, a role she inherited from her elders. It is through my studies that I have come to realise that I am but one of a long succession of those who uphold the legacy from previous generations, and whilst the era, context and methods may be different, the vision remains the same – *‘the development of our people’*.

Pukepuke Tangiora

At the inaugural hui of Ngā Komiti o Wāhine held at Kahurānaki marae in 1895, my great grandmother Pukepuke Tangiora addressed its members and is noted to have said *“Hold on to your land, A person without land has no foundation. Man may perish, but the land will always remain”* (Huata, 2003, p. 105).



“Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, toitu te whenua”
“Man may perish, but the land will always remain”

Pukepuke Tangiora 1895

The true essence of this whakatauaki² is about human mortality and the permanence of land. The poignancy infers to the importance of sustaining it for future generations. Today, Pukepuke Tangiora has over 3,000 descendants who are beneficiaries to her estate.

² Māori proverb

Te Heipora

Karanema Reserve (known today as Havelock North) was the land set aside for my tipuna - Te Heipora during the sale of the Te Mata blocks in 1855. It was set aside as a reserve by the Crown and principal chiefs of Heretaunga. Within the deed of sale, they stated *'This land is for the descendents of Te Heipora forever and ever (as we have no right to this land).'*

Today, this continues to form the basis of the Wai 574 treaty claim.



'This land is for the descendants of Te Heipora forever and ever'

The claim was lodged 22 years ago in 1996. Almost an entire generation has died before making it to the negotiating table, yet the fight continues within a new generation. Today, 'Nga Uri o Te Heipora' has over 4,000 descendants.

Te Hei Hineipakeitia

Hineipakeitia was a woman of highest rank in Hawkes Bay during the nineteenth century whose influence affected the trajectory of events which impacted severely on inter and intra hapū relations, yet she is barely recognised or acknowledged in historical discourse.

(Conlon, 2014, p. 14).



Pictured in this painting (from left to right) is Hineipakeitia, Puhara Hawaikirangi, Arihi Te Nahu (as an infant) held by her mother Te Urihe (who was wife of Karanema), Hinerangia (who was one of Te Hapuku's young wives), and her daughter Patuware.

(Conlon, 2014)

Hineipakeitia did not have children of her own. However, she raised her niece Arihi Te Nahu following the premature death of Arihi's father Karanema.

Karanema was the son of Te Heipora and Te Hapuku. He and Te Urihe had two children – Arihi Te Nahu and Hapuku Te Nahu. Following Karanema's premature death at the age of 18 years, Te Urihe returned to her people, Hapuku Te Nahu was taken by Chief Te Hapuku and raised at Te Hauke, and Arihi was adopted and raised by her Aunt Hineipakeitia.

Arihi Te Nahu

My great, great grandmother Arihi Te Nahu was a forerunner of a movement of Māori women of her era and like many of her contemporaries, had a grasp of whakapapa, tikanga and the history of her affiliated hapū (Huata, 2003). Even before she was of age Arihi was regularly pursued by Pākeha for the sale or lease of her lands (Conlon, 2014).



'Arihi was known to be a woman of good substance, a great negotiator and a leader.'

(Huata, 2003)

Havelock North, previously known as 'Karanema Reserve' had been set aside for Arihi and her younger brother Hapuku Te Nahu as it was never to be sold, and although the deed of sale contains an adult signature of 'Arihi Te Nahu' - she could not have been more than 4 or 5 years old at the time. Today, Arihi Te Nahu has approximately 100 descendants.

Mihiroa Te Huia

My grandmother Mihiroa Te Huia (nee Mohi) possessed the skills at persuading the most influential people to support her visions. By persuading the hospital CEO to ‘fix’ their services, she convinced him that by ‘adding a Māori component’ throughout the hospital was essential and would ‘enhance’ their services and implement tikanga Māori.



The Hawkes Bay Māori Health Service was one of the first kaupapa Māori health services to be established in the country. With the assistance of academics, professionals and family members, Nanny Mihiroa’s vision was finally realised in 1996, after her passing. Today, Nanny Mihiroa has approximately 100 descendants.

Raniera and Makuaiterangi Ellison

My great grandfather Raniera Tāheke Ellison II of Ngai Tahu and Te Atiawa descent, married my grandmother Makuaiterangi, daughter of Arihi Te Nahu. Raniera was a major contributor to his own iwi's original treaty claims and was a member of the original Ngai Tahu Consensus Committee.



advocated for her people alongside her brother Hori Tupaea and husband Raniera Ellison. After the 1931 Hawkes Bay earthquake, they argued against the Crown that tangata whenua should retain their land rights as the land was previously customary fishing waters in Ahuriri. Today, their arguments continue to form the basis of contemporary arguments with Waitangi Tribunal claims. Papa Rāniera and Nanny Maku were contemporaries of Nanny Pukepuke Tangiora. Today, they have approximately 100 descendants.

Each of my tipuna were committed to their vision which was always relevant to the context and circumstances in which they lived. They were leaders who advocated in areas such as land reforms, women's rights, religion, prohibition, education and health. Therefore, each one of these tipuna have been hugely influential on my ideas, concepts and philosophy of Rangatiratanga and leadership. In fact, so much so that their legacies are instilled within me as I attempt to uphold their visions.

Today, I am the product of my upbringing as I was raised between Te Ao Māori and the contemporary world and whilst I would not say that I am highly skilled in either, I would say that I am adequately skilled to be comfortable within both. My Whānau always spoke about our whakapapa. However, they never spoke of Chiefs, power, status or mana because I believe they were more concerned with developing characteristics that would stand us in good stead for life within a modern world. Therefore, in order to create strong, upstanding citizens that would cope well within a modern society, we were always made to work hard, at home, the farm, school and the marae.

I imagine my mother would scold me over the writing of this case study as she was a firm believer that 'it was whakahihi to talk about one's whakapapa', or as in the old adage 'the kumara does not speak of its own sweetness'. She believed that whakapapa was private and that one need not explain or justify one's blood line or status to anyone, and would say 'I know who I am and that is all that matters.' However, as our new generation are being born and raised overseas they may never have the same assurance of knowing, or learning their whakapapa, so may never know their history.

In the wake of the treaty claims process, there have been numerous histories written and re-written for the purpose of substantiating land claims. However, at the same time, modern day injustices are re-occurring where Crown processes are encouraging various iwi authorities to lay claim over lands and assets that they have no claim, right or authority over – which is usually in aid of the Crown being able to expedite the treaty settlement process. In which case, it is not the time to be quiet, sit back and be humble. It is the time to stand up and assert your rights,

your whakapapa, histories and not allow your mana whenua status be extinguished or mis-appropriated by others laying claim over it purely to gain power (whether that be for political or economic gain).

As early as I can remember, I grew up surrounded by a very strong presence of matriarchal leadership. Conlon's research confirms that patriarchal leadership was an ideal introduced by colonisation (Conlon, 2014). My own research (as my case study narrative) reveals that women have fulfilled many of the rangatira roles within my Whānau and hapū dating back hundreds of years, and most of my whakapapa connections outside of Ngāti Kahungunu are predominantly from male lines. After my male tipuna married into Kahungunu they settled within our hapū, and advocated alongside their respective wives. Hamiora Tupaea from Ngai Te Rangi married Arihi Te Nahu. Raniera Ellison from Ngai Tahu and Te Atiawa married Makuaiterangi Ellison.

It is with some regret that I did not always understand or appreciate the characteristics and conduct shared amongst my parents, grandparents and close Whānau. Confucius talked about humility being a key component in effective leadership (Temara, 2015), and without a doubt my Whānau always lead by example with humility, pride, courage, respect, love, generosity, emotional competence and impeccable manaaki. Whilst always remaining grounded, there was never a time they were not sharing a vision of some sort. Also, it seemed the clearer the vision, the less persuading was required for others to follow and I recall adopting many of their visions growing up as most were long term visions to benefit future generations.

I often struggle to uphold those visions which were instilled in me. Visions from years ago which were essential for the well-being and success of our future generations, are not easy to communicate today, let alone implement within a contemporary society. Whilst the concept of those visions remain the same, and we try and impress their importance to our next generation, the scenarios that depict those visions must continue to evolve through generations. The challenge would be trying to align the vision within the relevant context.

I, myself complain every few months to give up the struggle of upholding those visions as legacy bearer, as the work can be heavy, overwhelming and thankless. I believe it is during those dark times that I consider walking away from it all, selling my land shares and moving to Australia - because during those times I fool myself into thinking life would be so simple and uncomplicated. However, I am thankful for what pulls me back from those thoughts and uplifts me from that darkness as I am once again reminded of those visions from the past.

With the mounting complexities imposed by the ever changing external influences of globalisation, the visions of past must continually evolve to align with the contemporary world. Māori are now part of the global community and the rapid changes imposed by political, environmental, societal and technological influences are changing the attitudes, priorities and most sadly the values of many. Therefore, it is important that the visions have evolved to align within the context of the contemporary environment. It is important that the visions are hopeful, believable, tangible and within reach, so that they will draw our people home. Through my studies, I am learning the valuable skill of engaging and communicating such visions within my Whānau and other stakeholder groups. I will never give up as I am a legacy bearer, the product of my upbringing, prepared for this time.

Defining Leadership

I had never really considered what the term “leadership” or “rangatiratanga” meant to me nor how to define it, and over the past eight years, my investigations on leadership within my iwi has guided me right back to my own whakapapa. It has been a bittersweet experience with a range of conflicting emotions as it turns out that I had taken for granted that I had been raised amongst leaders my entire life, and it was not until I started researching my whakapapa that I learned that my parents, grandparents and great grandparents traced back to a succession of Chiefs.

I recall the month of September 2009 was a sad time for our Whānau as my mother had been diagnosed with terminal Cancer, and referred to palliative care. We had watched her health decline so rapidly that soon she was barely able to

walk. During her last few months I had accompanied my mother to a number of hapū meetings at our marae as her presence had been requested.

Despite my mother's illness and restricted mobility she was determined to attend the meeting. On her arrival, she was in so much pain she could barely speak. Yet, she commanded so much respect it was humbling to see. As she slowly made her way through the wharekai, a procession of people – (from kaumatua to middle aged) immediately stood and made their way to her, assisted her to be seated, proceeded to wipe her brow, place their hands on her head and shoulders to perform healing, and showered her with greetings of affection. Being overwhelmed by the attention, my mother just wept and I knew that in her current condition and humble presence, she did not feel worthy of the mana which had been bestowed on her.

My mother's presence at the meeting was crucial as her support and input were requested by the hapū, to make a decision for change, as our Whānau were the only family that could make such a challenge, and indeed she did. When she spoke, everyone listened and when she made the decision, no one challenged it. She lead and we followed, and for this I am grateful. I have realised that had my mother not made that move whilst she was still alive, it would have been impossible for us to make the same challenge in her absence. For this, I am grateful.

Never before had I witnessed my mother assert her mana, and command the respect that was essential on that day. She was always too humble or whakama to put herself forward in that way but for that necessity she did, and I know why. As her own sun was setting, she was worrying about the future sunrises for us, her mokopuna and Whānau. I felt ashamed that I never knew the mana of my mother. The mana was always there. My awareness of it was not.

A story of Connection

As a young woman, I was summoned to visit my grandmother at her home which was located on our marae. She was furious as she had heard that my partner and I had secretly planned to marry the following week, alone, at our home on the farm. As my partner and I already had children, we did not see the need, fuss or expense for a large wedding. However, my grandmother did not understand and immediately I feared that our wedding would snowball into something of a far greater scale.

My grandmother explained the importance of tikanga and marrying on the marae in front of our Whānau. I explained my reasons of costs, already having two children and that our desire to marry was the priority. Finally, my grandmother and I came to an amicable agreement. My partner and I married the following week in our wharenuī, followed by a happy hour in the wharekai. Thereafter, we celebrated over dinner at a restaurant with a hundred members of our Whānau.

“Tikanga kore” acknowledges the ability for customs and traditions to be adapted and modified within a rapidly changing and complex world, and affirms that tikanga, customs and traditions need not be set in stone (Te Momo, 2011). In hindsight I now understand my grandmother’s attempts to honour me and uphold the mauri of our marae.

Disconnected

My ex-husband and I became part of the Māori diaspora and migrated to Australia in 1999 and during my five years in Australia, I progressed well in a corporate career. My busy life was so hectic and demanding that I had forgotten about what was going on at home, only returning once in five years, and rarely spoke with my parents. During my parents visit to Australia, I also didn’t see much of them as I my attention was focused on building up my new business. By that time, I had persuaded and assisted with the migration of most of my immediate family – including my siblings, their spouses and all of our children. It is ironic

that today, 19 years later I am now praying for the opposite in the hope that they will return home.

Te Hokinga mai – The Return Home

My mother had been unwell for some years and yet it was not until I returned home from Australia in 2004 that I would learn of her condition. My return home to New Zealand was purely a reactive decision as my marriage and business in Australia had started to disintegrate. Whilst my son remained in Australia for employment, my 15 year old daughter was delighted to return to New Zealand with me as she had always yearned to return to her Grandma, who not only cared for my children whilst I worked but who provided an environment full of love and adoration for her mokopuna.

You are my connection

Some months before her passing, my mother and I disagreed on an important issue. Her death, and how her funeral was to be conducted. However, in my view? Not conducted. Out of the blue, she had changed her mind, deciding to remain at their home for the duration of her tangi. She no longer wished to lie in state at our marae, yet, she wished for a burial at our urupa (which would require driving past our marae).

Being the eldest of her six siblings I thought she would have known better and I knew that when the time came our elders would not allow such a thing to happen, so why was she entertaining such a ludicrous thought? That is not what she taught, so why would she place us into a position to put her ludicrous wishes above what she was raised us to believe?

I was confused and did not understand why I was so hurt, as logic and sense eluded me. Yet these feelings continued to chime on my emotions as I felt a sense of loss – as though I was losing something precious, or that something was being denied of me. I felt there was hurt, unspoken of perhaps, perhaps in denial or

forgotten but definitely still felt. So much so, that my mother did not wish to lie at her marae (our marae) at one of the most important times that she should. Why had she denied such a thing? Did she feel unworthy? Unwanted? Dis-connected? Not a part of?

That was a sad legacy to pass onto us, her children, her mokopuna, and went against everything we were raised to believe. It made a very firm statement of “not belonging” anymore, and so therefore stated the same for us, her children and our children. I felt that it denied who we were, and would dis-connect, alienate and isolate us from our marae and our Whānau. Her actions told me all of that, and as she was my direct connection to my Ukaipo, I felt it applied to me also.

As a result of our disagreement, I left and could not visit my parents for two weeks. I did not agree with Mum’s wishes, and even worse – I did not believe her reasons of affordability. I thought they were ridiculous, selfish and most of all I did not believe her reasons for denying the norm within our Whānau. I could not look in my mother’s eyes and not see her hurt, nor could she look back at me and hide what she felt. I could not hold back what I wanted to say, so I just stayed away for that time and processed my feelings, my thoughts and find the best way I could tell her that I knew.

Two weeks later when I returned to my parents’ home, I did not have to say anything as the look on their faces told me they were delighted to see me. Hugs and “I love you’s” dissolved my need for excuses or explanations from either side. Upon my arrival, one of my cousins was visiting and had come to apologise to Mum. They had been speaking and had resolved one of the hurts. It was good to see the hurt resolved as it had affected the relationship between her parents and Mum.

Later that day my mother and I spoke and I explained my feelings and thoughts in regards to her funeral wishes. I stated that I did not believe her reason for not wanting to lie at our marae on her death. I explained that finances were not even a consideration at such a time, that she knew too well that the Whānau have more

than enough resources needed. I think she understood her transparency, and plainly admitted that it was not a financial decision at all. She knew that she couldn't hide it from me and admitted everything such as the family hurts, disputes and disagreements that she had been holding, felt let down and hurt by members of her family. She understood that she could not rest with her decision and admitted that there were issues that needed resolving within her Whānau.

I explained to Mum, my struggle, hurt and confusion over her decision and how it went against everything we believed in, what she had raised us to believe, and that 'she was' our connection to the marae, our ukaipo. So, it was decided then that she would indeed lie at our marae, our ukaipo – for herself, her children, her mokopuna, our Whānau and our tipuna because it is about who we are, who we were, where we came from and who we are to become. At that time, I certainly didn't understand everything, but I did understand 'that' because it eased the hurt in my heart.

Loss of a Rangatira

During Mum's final months, there was little that we could do but sit and spend time with her. She warned of what was to come and shared so much knowledge, of whakapapa, stories of our tipuna, of our whenua, history and the importance of succession. Instinctively, I knew that we were losing much more than a wife, a mother and grandmother. We were losing a leader, mentor, protector, well of knowledge, and courageous tower of strength.

Mum was the eldest in her family and as long as I could remember, Mum not only had been the keeper of knowledge but had always openly shared it - of whakapapa, our tipuna, whenua and would often reminisce about her experiences, her days as a child, growing up on the whenua with the old people. She talked about being sent away to a Pakeha boarding school at aged six, to be transformed into a young lady, only allowed to return in the holidays – and how so many passed away before she finished school. Then she talked about the passing of her

own father when she was young, and the constant interference and exploitation they suffered at the hands of lawyers and trustee companies.

My mother's knowledge was extensive, undisputed, and whilst she didn't actively seek leadership, in times of need she was often sought out and her word was always final – within her Whānau, marae, hapū, whenua, partnership and treaty claim. I quietly worried about who would take on the enormous amount of responsibility she carried. What would we do? Who would we turn to? We were not prepared. I was not prepared.....to live without her knowledge, leadership, strength and courage.

Quietly and selfishly, I worried as I watched her slowly deteriorate. I clearly recall the precise yet fleeting moment that triggered something deep within me. A precious moment of lucidity when Mum's hinengaro managed to escape the confines of the morphine, she seized the opportunity to assure us that 'we' would be fine, and reminisced about the happy days of her childhood, growing up at her grandmother's homestead - describing in painstaking detail her experiences with her Nanny, her father and the old people. It was a story we had heard many times – yet on this particular day I saw through her eyes, felt her pain, happiness and relief, and realised this would be the last.

The memory of my mother's final story stays with me to this day because although my mother's words were beautiful and intended to comfort, her wairua was communicating another message – that she was soon departing and was eager to be relieved of her suffering. As many of our relatives and kaumatua gathered and waited in her hospice room, I knew they had come to witness her departure. However, my mother was so stubborn that she decided she would wait until morning when it was quiet, and she was with those nearest and dearest to her.

Faith Te Awhi Ellison Jones



This year, will be the eighth anniversary of our mother's passing, and since her departure, my four siblings and I have been struggling to uphold the responsibilities that she held for years. Never in our wildest dreams did we envisage the challenges we would encounter, the decisions we would have to make, the battles we would have to step up to. However, the biggest challenge to date has been the drastic change in close familial relationships, and the heavy burden of constantly being in the front line as a minority representing the majority. Therefore, my mother's legacy continues to guide me on my study journey in search of answers, and peace. As legacy bearer, it is never-ending, exhausting and cannot continue in perpetuity.

Chapter Five

5.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe the research methodology, including the research methods which have been applied within an indigenous kaupapa Māori framework. It will also provide discussion about my own positioning within the research and some of the challenges I encountered during the completion of this thesis.

The research question for this study is “Why do Māori land owners disconnect from their tikanga and legal rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world“. The research included Māori as participants, in particular land owners and/or shareholders as participants who had resided overseas and/or away from their turangawaewae for a period of ten years or more.

5.1 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Whilst Kaupapa Māori Theory does not reject western theories and knowledge, it does ensure that Māori are not ‘again’ narrowly defined in a sub-ordinate position of where they stand in relation to others – which in the past has been the all too common notion favoured by non-Māori researchers (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). Whilst it is important to note that indigenous knowledge is one body of knowledge, and scientific knowledge is another – it is even more important to note that the tools of one are not used to measure or analyse the other (Durie M. , 2005).

Positivism and objectivity in research are driven by a notion that quantitative methodologies are somehow more accurate and more valuable than qualitative methodologies. Therefore, whilst the common function of natural sciences is to apply a methodological approach that objectifies through the elimination of every subjective point of view, the qualitative research approach invites others to participate (Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Therefore, whilst there is a scientific

disbelief in indigenous systems, the indigenous continue to have a mistrust in science.

This research required a Māori centred approach as it was designed for Māori by Māori, and as Smith states “the research should be defined and designed with the intention of providing some type of short or long term benefits for Māori” (Smith L. T., 1999). In her research “Towards a secure Māori identity” Tomlins-Jahnke stated that “A Māori centred approach is considered necessary for the production of knowledge and development of theories that best describes and explains the nature and condition of their lives as Māori” (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002), and Durie states that “A Māori centred approach to research ensures that Māori people, their language and culture occupy the central focus of the research process” (Durie M. , 1997).

5.2 Research Positioning

In Decolonising Methodologies, Smith stated that “for a researcher to assume their own experience is all that is required is arrogant” (Smith L. T., 1999, p. 139). At the same time she acknowledges the personal connection and investment that an insider/outsider researcher would have within their research. This emphasises the important challenge of trying to remain impartial as an insider/outsider researcher because whilst the researcher is often easily able to relate well to the participants, they are often also able to understand deep feelings of experiences, and even motivations shared (Maydell, 2010, p. 1).

A key motivation behind the topic of this thesis is the fact that my own whānau (along with many other Māori whānau) are continuously experiencing the impacts of such challenges. A disproportionately high percentage (96%) of my own Whānau reside in Australia whilst only a small percentage (4%) remain in Aotearoa. At the same time an even a smaller percentage struggle to uphold the legacy of struggling to maintain our Māori land ownership and tikanga rights and responsibilities for the majority, and it often seems that it is a never ending struggle. Therefore, as a legacy bearer - I understand that throughout this research project, I have maintained the dual role as an insider/outsider researcher. However, I think it

important to mention that during the initial stages of my thesis proposal, I had deliberately tried to avoid the paradoxical position of the insider/outsider researcher. In doing so, I had recruited non-family members during the initial stages and deliberately avoided recruiting Whānau members as research participants.

Insider / Outsider Research

A problem with qualitative research is that of the ‘insider outsider’ relationships. The ‘insider outsider’ occupies the position of both the researcher as well as being part of the particular group that they are researching or they can also be a part of the community but not a member inside the group (Smith L. T., 1999). It is often questioned whether the qualitative researcher should be part of the group in which they are studying, which is in response to the perception of relative power and/or the inability for a researcher to remain impartial **Invalid source specified.**

Smith (Smith L. T., 1999) positions Māori researchers as being connected and invested to their research. Whilst the researcher may be an ‘insider’ within the particular Whānau, hapū, iwi or whatever core group they are researching, they can assume simultaneous roles when they choose to undertake a research project (Smith L. T., 1999). Either way, the dual membership of the researcher means that as an ‘insider’ they have the advantage of dual membership which places them in a position where they become both observers and analysts of their own environment which presents both benefits and challenges to any researcher (Maydell, 2010).

Research Challenges

Ethical Challenges

During the initial stages of my thesis proposal, a selection of interview participants had been recruited from Australia. The original participant group were Māori land owners/shareholders who had been resident in Australia for over ten years, and were non-family members. The specific criteria was declared

within my initial research proposal, along with the travel budget and schedules for my fieldwork in Australia. During my initial two field trips to Australia, I was unable to conduct my fieldwork (interview research participants) as I had not yet received ethics approval. Consequently, due to ethic approval delays and financial constraints, I was unable to return to Australia to conduct my fieldwork with the original interview participants ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’.

Geographical Challenges

As a result of the ethical challenges, new research participants had to be sourced and recruited within New Zealand, and the key challenge was trying to locate new interview participants that fit the specific criteria of my research. However, during a number of visits home to conduct Whānau or hapū responsibilities, I was fortunate to come into contact with potential research participants. Whilst most had resided overseas for a significant number of years, many of the participants had returned and were now residing in Aotearoa. Therefore, I simply made some minor amendments to the criteria of my research participants. The one reservation I did have - was that all but two of the new research participants were Whānau members. Hence, it automatically placed me into the role of insider/outsider researcher – which is a position I had intentionally tried to avoid for this thesis.

As an insider and legacy bearer - conducting research with Whānau members presented both benefits and challenges as I continuously traversed the boundaries between Whānau member and researcher. However, I understand that challenges involving familial relationships are eminent at times. Therefore it was important to be mindful of the simultaneous role of “the researcher” versus “the whānau member” (or insider/outsider research).

Hence, in the pursuit of this research, whilst communications were always focussed towards developing whānaungatanga, a professional approach was followed at all times. Also, whilst previous experience enabled me to mitigate some of the foreseeable challenges as insider/outsider researcher, the added responsibility of being a legacy bearer required a high degree of resiliency at times.

The most significant challenges I experienced were:-

- Establishing boundaries
- Traversing between the roles of researcher, Whānau member & legacy bearer
- Traversing between the emotional and intellectual mindset
- Becoming distracted by demands & expectations of legacy work during interviews
- Becoming too personally attached to the project

The most important benefit was that I could relate to most of my participant group because:-

- I am Māori
- I am a legacy bearer
- I experience and understand this research topic
- I am personally connected to this research topic
- I am personally invested in this research topic
- I am passionate about this research topic

As legacy bearer and insider/outsider researcher, it was especially important for me to ensure that I was fully aware of my role whilst conducting my research work, interviews, and analysis so as to maintain its integrity, and reduce any doubts of its validity or bias opinion.

5.3 Research Methodology

Methodology is the philosophical foundation and collection of assumptions that a researcher uses to guide their research. It informs the process of inquiry and determines the methods of use (Ellis, 2004).

The distinction between method and methodology is important (Pihama, 2005).

Methodology: A process of inquiry that determines the method(s) used.

Method: Tools that can be used to produce and analyse data.

(Pihama, 2005).

Kaupapa Māori methodology was the overarching framework for this thesis and working within a kaupapa Māori context seemed a very natural process for me. During the process of articulating the advantages, disadvantages and processes - I realise that my Whānau and I have always operated within this context. Ellis states that “Kaupapa Māori methodology is the articulation of those principles and assumptions from a distinctively cultural, ontological and epistemological position” (Ellis, 2004, p. 20).

Cultural & Emotional Safety

In order to maintain cultural and emotional safety, I created a support network of fellow students, lecturers, supervisor, kaumatua and key Whānau members who provided knowledge, expertise, support and guidance throughout the research process. Their support and guidance were to ensure that my practices remained professionally, physically, psychologically, culturally and spiritually safe. Unfortunately, throughout the extended process of this thesis project, and in the spirit of advocating for my rights as a student, I did not receive the support, knowledge, expertise and guidance from the very people I would have expected it from

Consequently, the treatment afforded to me was that of silent disapproval, distance, lack of acknowledgement and an unwillingness to implement fair discretion. The treatment and imbalance of power resulted in me feeling professionally, psychologically, culturally and spiritually unsafe - so as a student, it only served to alienate me. As an adult, it reminded me of institutionalised behaviours that I had experienced at different times during my working career. The power distance and silent disapproval reminded me of some of the behaviours

experienced within hapū relationships when the withdrawal of support is intended to send a clear message.

The completion of this thesis was an extended, punishing and gruelling process which has not only been a challenge but has tested my strength and tenacity. The effort expended into advocating for my rights imposed debilitating barriers that required an enormous amount of input. The struggle was not merely maintaining focus, but from feeling defeated so many times and there were numerous times that I wanted to walk away from this project.

Fortunately, I was very privileged to have received the continuous support, knowledge, expertise and guidance from my supervisor and staff from his faculty. Tikanga was always a natural process, and the awahi and manaakitanga they afforded me always provided a safe place, where I was always treated fairly with dignity and respect as a student, adult and professional. In my bitterness of the aforementioned, I have to acknowledge my supervisor's humility and innate ability to retain mana Māori of all involved. He not only encouraged me on my study journey but reminded me of the focus of my kaupapa and the bigger picture.

5.4 Research Methods

As Kaupapa Māori methodology was the overarching framework for this research project, it was decided that two methods would be utilised to approach my research. A literature review and a combination of qualitative research tools were utilised to collect data.

Literature Review

A literature review was conducted to reveal empirical evidence on any past and current research relevant to this research topic and the product of my research methods will seek to connect the two.

Case Study Narrative

A case study narrative was provided to illustrate the transition of the role of legacy bearer within a contemporary world, and the succession of visions that leave such legacies.

Qualitative Research

Primary data

In order to determine the reasons behind the dis-connection of Māori land owners and/or shareholders, primary data was sourced from 13 research participants during my fieldwork. I selected two specific interview participant groups in order to gain both a specific and broad insight into this problem. The groups were from opposing sides of the spectrum, and for the sake of this research project I will name the groups a) and b). Eleven of those participants were from Group A, and the remaining two were from Group B.

a) Māori Land Owners / Shareholders

Eleven members selected:-

- Three rangatahi (one female, two male)
- Three pakeke (one female, two male)
- Five kaumatua (two female, three male)

b) Māori Land Consultants

Two Māori Land Consultants were interviewed:-

- One female Māori Land Consultant (of Māori descent)
- One male Māori Land Consultant (of Pākeha descent)

Group A

All research participants are Māori land owners and/or shareholders who have lived overseas or away from their turangawaewae for a significant number of

years. Currently 6 of the participants reside overseas and/or away from their turangawaewae, and 5 now reside in Aotearoa.

Group A participants were made up of a cross section of kaumatua, pakeke and rangatahi, so as to provide a variation of generational perspectives, as well as a cross section of gender.

Group B

Both research participants are Māori land consultants, and for the purpose of gaining a cross section, broad and specific insight, and perhaps a different world view – both a female Māori consultant and a male Pakeha consultant were selected. Whilst both participants work full-time as Māori land consultants, both had previously worked for an extensive period within the Māori Land Court. Group B participant's primary work is commissioned by Māori land owners and/or shareholders who seek their expertise in Māori land connections, legislation, processes, knowledge and resolution.

Interviews – Kanohi ki te Kanohi

Most interviews were conducted kanohi ki kanohi, either one on one, or wananga. A semi-structured interview approach was followed, and whilst a script of both closed and open ended questions was used to guide the questions, story-telling and personal experiences were encouraged as it allowed for flexibility and the interview to flow.

Once the introductions, karakia and mihimihi had been completed, the declaration and informed consent process completed (and forms signed), the interview commenced. Each interview was recorded with an audio device, to be transcribed later. Every interview was concluded with karakia, and refreshments.

Whilst no initial interviews were conducted via skype, video calling was used to gain further information after the initial interview had been conducted (which was also recorded).

I have assured all research participants anonymity, and that the only data extracted from each transcript will be data which is appropriate for data analysis. Every

effort will be made to ensure comments will not be obviously attributable to any interviewee. However, if this is unavoidable extra care will be taken to minimise any risk, to ensure that the credibility or integrity of the interviewee is not adversely affected.

5.5 Summary

This chapter described the research methodology, including the use of historical and primary research methods which have been applied within an indigenous kaupapa Māori framework.

It provided some discussion around the different challenges and experiences involved in utilising specific research methods, and the challenges experienced in the completion of this thesis.

Acknowledgement to Research Participants

I would like to acknowledge all of the research participants who generously gave their time to contribute to the primary research of this project.

Thank you for your tautoko, faith and support – and availability at such short notice

I would not have been able to complete this research project otherwise.

Thank you to my Whānau for your love, support and input.

Finally, to the potential participants in Australia who I recruited but did not get the opportunity to interview – Thank you for your commitment anyway.

Your contribution has been invaluable in the completion of this research.

I have attempted to retain anonymity with the extractions of interview data, and have done my utmost to retain the data in its original form.

To summarise

I have presented the results of the qualitative data from all thirteen participants which was conducted within a Kaupapa Māori framework.

I will also attempt to synthesise the literature and the analysis of my findings, provided by you the participants.

Chapter Six

6.0 DATA FINDINGS

This chapter will present the results revealed from the research. Primary data was sourced from thirteen research participants, and were divided into the following two groups (a) and (b) in order to gain a cross-sectional perspective:-

c) Māori Land Owners / Shareholders

Eleven members selected:-

- Three rangatahi (one female, two male)
- Three pakeke (one female, two male)
- Five kaumatua (two female, three male)

d) Māori Land Consultants

Two Māori Land Consultants were interviewed:-

- One female Māori Land Consultant (of Māori descent)
- One male Māori Land Consultant (of Pākeha descent)

Common Themes

The data gathered from Group A was thematically organised to reveal the common themes, and identify significant differences. The data gathered from Group B was thematically organised to perform a comparative analysis of the themes found in Group A.

6.1 MIGRATION STORY

6.2 RETAINING CONNECTIONS

6.3 TIKANGA KNOWLEDGE / RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

6.4 MĀORI LAND / RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

6.5 CONFLICT / BARRIERS & CONSTRAINTS

6.6 NEEDS / SOLUTIONS & VISION

GROUP A

6.1 MIGRATION STORY

Rangatahi

Rangatahi - Male (28 years)

I currently reside in Hamilton, New Zealand. I moved home to New Zealand a few years ago with my children. I lived between Australia and New Zealand most of my life, but was predominantly based in Australia. I migrated to Perth, WA with my family three days after my birth, where I raised and attended school until my parents separated. Thereafter, my mother moved to Brisbane, QLD, and frequently returned home to her mother in Matamata. So, I grew up between WA, QLD and NZ.

Rangatahi - Male (32 years)

I currently reside in Sydney, Australia and have been here for 18 years. I migrated to Sydney, NSW Australia with family in 2000 at the age of 14 years. My sister and I joined our parents a year after they had been there. The move wasn't too bad because my cousins moved over at the same time so we all went to the same school. I have a family now and would like to move home one day, especially as things are changing here for kiwis. I will only go home if I can buy a home as I'm not going home to rent.

Rangatahi - Female (29 years)

I currently reside in Auckland, New Zealand. For the past ten years, I've lived away from home in Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington for the purpose of study and work. I migrated to Sydney, NSW Australia with family in 2000 at the age of 12 years. I never wanted to leave NZ or my Grandma. It was very difficult for both of us to be separated. For the 5 years of my residence in Oz, Grandma and I would scheme every month about how I would be able to return to NZ to live with her. My parents would never allow this, and I resented that fact.

Pakeke

Pakeke - Male (50 years)

I currently reside in London, and have resided there for 17 years. In 1997, I was living/working in Wellington and got to a certain level of my career. Senior positions in finance were few at that time, and I had hit a glass ceiling in terms of salary as it had maxed out, so I left for Oz for further business opportunities. My intention wasn't to stay away from NZ so long. It was kind of like "I'll give it a go and see how it turns out."

After a couple of years in Oz, the same thing happened so then I went to London and have been there since. My intention wasn't to stay overseas this long, but the opportunities were just so good as I could not earn this type of money in New Zealand.

Pakeke - Female (53 years)

I currently live in Brisbane. In 2000, I moved to Sydney, Australia with my husband and five children. My husband had moved over a year before we did, and the year back home alone with the kids was really hard. For us, life changed when the freezing works closed down in Hawkes Bay. We worked in the Whānau kohanga after that, but hardly ever got paid, so it was pretty tough financially trying to raise five kids on aroha.

I moved back home for a year or two when my husband and I separated, but when my first moko was born in Sydney – I packed up, sold our home to my brother and moved back to Oz. Our intention was not to be in Oz for this long, but I couldn't stay away from my moko. I have five kids, three who were teenagers when we arrived, and then my two youngest. But they are all adults now and have started having their own families here. I have nine mokos, one on the way - and eight of them were born here.

I moved to Brisbane two years ago as I wanted a lifestyle change, when my daughter moved back home to New Zealand. One of my sons lives here with me, and the other three still live in Sydney with their families and children.

Pakeke - Male (59 years)

I currently reside in Utah in the US. I've been in the US for almost forty years. The reason I decided to live there was for educational and career opportunities, and the experience. I left in 1977 to attend Brigham Young University in Hawaii where I gained a degree in Accounting. I met my wife in Hawaii (who was Samoan). We married and settled in Hawaii for 15 years. Thereafter, we moved to Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and for the last 23 years we have lived in Salt Lake City, Utah. I worked in Law Enforcement. We had 4 children but my eldest passed away at the age of 17 in a car accident. I was very touched that there was a write up about him in the newspaper back home in Hastings (not only about the car accident and his death, but about his talent as an athlete, and his success with scholarships). My mother told us about it as I didn't even know, and they sent me the article.

Kaumatua

Kaumatua - Male (60 years)

I currently reside in Te Hauke, Hastings and have been home from Oz for a few years. My wife and I moved to Oz on the last day of May 1989 for a new start and better lifestyle. We were in Colinton first and when shearing started I moved to Perth. I bounced at a pub for 5 weeks first. Around that time, my brother and sister also moved over and they lived in Moore, so that also became our base in the end. From Perth, we then moved to Muttaborra in Queensland.

Kaumatua - Male (60 years)

I currently reside in Te Hauke, Hastings and have been home for about four years. I moved to Australia in 1973 to play rugby, and stayed there for 39 years.

I was part of a pioneering group of shearers who went to Oz, and showed the Ozzies a few things. I lived in Queensland. The reason I went to Ozzy, and like many other Māori - was chasing the almighty dollar. Australia was really good to me, through education, employment, financial situations, and the lifestyle. I'm comparing the lifestyles to like 30 years ago in NZ when it was tough here. Then going over to Oz, and getting consistent work enabled a better lifestyle. Living was easy, your financial problems were non-existent because you were working all the time, you never had to worry about financial problems or anything like that. Then, when you live on the farms in Australia, you could go out to a cocky's place, kill a beast, mutton, pigs, and it was so easy.

Kaumatua - Male (66 years)

I currently live between Gisborne, Hastings and Rotorua, New Zealand, and I still head back over to Oz regularly as I have a place over there on a small farm. I lived overseas for 40+ years in Australia, Europe in Austria, Germany, US, Canada, Singapore, Asia, Middle East, Bali, New Caledonia and Vanuatu. For the past 13 years I've lived between Australia and NZ. I left NZ in 1973 to travel overseas for the experience.

When I left home I was a qualified Diesel Mechanic, Tractor Mechanic, a qualified pilot, a qualified beekeeper, and was qualified in Agricultural and Horticulture overall. I first left Manutuke, Gisborne in 1973 and went to Hawkes Bay to further my experience on servicing tractors and agricultural machinery, and also to complete my commercial pilot's licence.

After a year, I went down south and worked in a freezing works in Southland for a season. During that time I was able to get my diving and scuba tickets. From there I went to Australia in 1976. I worked in the Snowy Mountains in a ski resort as a diesel mechanic and maintenance staff. Then I travelled all over Australia doing all sorts, mechanic work, mines, and then got into flying, mainly moving stuff around Australia.

The first place I went to overseas was Austria and worked in ski resorts and driving private coaches. I started doing some commercial flying over there, usually transporting new aircraft from A to B. I then went back to Australia for a while before I went to Canada, where I lived in both British Columbia and Nebraska during the logging seasons. I had no trouble finding work wherever I went. I also got along with the local indigenous people wherever I went too. The Abbo's, the First Nations and the Inuit. We taught each other. I always found those people on the land and would work with them. I taught them how to look after their own equipment, and encouraged them into trades. In turn, they taught me their ways.

I ended up in Anchorage Alaska, right on the Arctic Circle. I hung out with the Inuit, met their elders there, and they weren't tough people but they were smart. You had to be very smart to survive those elements. From there I went back to Oz for a while then went to the Middle East. I did some flying there and was a tourist bus driver for an English company - Trafalgar Tours. I worked around the Continent, even in Israel where there were problems. It was all about the land and that's when I learned the true value of land. Their land was all bloody desert, but they fought over it. It was their ancestral lands. It wasn't as pretty as NZ as we have everything here. Over there, they were fighting over desert, sand and rocks. So it wasn't long after, I got out of there.

I was quite happy to settle back in Ozzy for a while. Then soon after, I went to Asia and Singapore and did about a 4-5 month contract there. From there, I went to Bali and stayed with friends and worked on fishing boats there. Then after that, it was back to Oz for another rest before I set off to New Caledonia and Vanuatu and spent quite a while there. I taught those fullas how to make a hangi, and they loved it, couldn't get enough of it.

Kaumatua - Female (69 years)

I currently reside in Brisbane, Australia. I migrated to Oz like most other kiwis do, to work and better opportunities. I love living in Oz and don't regret leaving one bit. I wouldn't be the person I am today, or learned the skills I did, or

developed as the person I am today if I had not left NZ. I do love home, and come home frequently to visit at least every few months. I often tend to land and Whānau business. I came home for about a six month stint one time when I retired, but ended up going back. However, I frequently come back and forth, and sometimes spend weeks here at a time.

In Oz, I worked for a Chinese as a PA, and that was in the 80's so dealing with the Chinese businessman, and whilst working for the Chinese I often negotiated on their behalf with the Pakeha Councils. So as I learned to do that, I also saw how they worked and how their culture thought. Then I worked for a Jew, and that was an experience. It didn't last long but was a great experience. His attitude was, 'If you can earn me a dollar, why can't you earn me a dollar twenty?'

Currently, I work for an Australian self-made multi-millionaire. However, when I went to work for him in his business we were borderline. I stayed with him for 28 years, and in that time I saw that for every \$1 he earned, he put \$1.10 back into his business. For a long time, we never took the privilege of having the flash car or the flash house, you know all those luxuries. We just had the basics within the company so that we strengthened that foundation. Now, we spend millions on overseas marketing. So, you see? From that perspective, you learn so much, and I would never have learned any of this, or had any of these experiences had I remained in New Zealand.

Kaumatua - Female (83 years)

I currently reside in Masterton, New Zealand. I was born at Te Hauke, Hastings in 1935. I'm 83 years old and am the eldest of my 8 siblings and am the only one living today as my brothers and sisters have all passed on. I was brought up in Masterton, and since I married I have also lived in the Bay of Plenty, Auckland, Wellington, Upper Hutt, Mahia, Wairoa, Martinborough and Featherston. I have 8 children, 27 grandchildren and 12 great grandchildren.

I am a retired accountant, social worker and pastor of faith. I still help to take church services and my husband and I help to entertain the old people and serve

lunch to them once a month at our church. I completed my PhD in my later years, and my sister and I lodged our treaty claim 22 years ago for our Nanny's land back in the Hawkes Bay. We spent years doing the research and representing our claim, and it has cost us dearly. It caused division within our family and so much hurt and pain that I want nothing more to do with it.

Our homestead was located behind our marae, and although I was born in Hastings, I have never returned to live there. My sister and I always wanted to, but we no longer own ancestral land there. We even requested a Kaumatua flat next to the marae, but were not successful. I think that had a lot to do with personal differences between some of our relations out there. It was very sad because despite having spent over 20 years of work and resources on our treaty claim, all we got in the end was criticism and malice. It was terrible how we were treated, so my sister and I stopped searching for ways to move home, and in fact decided never to return home to reside.

6.2 RETAINING CONNECTIONS

Rangatahi

Rangatahi – Male (28 years)

My connection to NZ was through my Grandmother (my mother's Mum). After my parent's separation, my mother frequently returned to NZ to visit my grandmother in Matamata. Consequently, I spent much time between NZ and Australia, until I became a parent myself. Thereafter, I decided I wanted to return for good and raise my children here (in 2014).

Acknowledging my marae, my whakapapa, kaitiakitanga of the whenua, of the urupa, of the iwi and hapū is important to me. Of course, I can only do a comparison to what I know and to those I know, so therefore compare myself to my cousins of similar age (both in Oz and NZ). Therefore, whilst my cousins have had similar experiences as myself being taught the same mātauranga, the same knowledge from our grandmother - it is more so myself who has continued to

persevere - to continuing learning the reo and Mātauranga that our Grandmother initially sowed with us.

Historically, if you look at the Māori protest movements and renaissance in the 60's, 70's and 80's - from that point to where we are today, there should have been different generations able to stand on the paepae. However, those between that transition (we'll call it the transition phase)...from the old koroua from the 1940's, to my mother's generation from the 1960's, to my sister's generation in the 1970's, and to me (I would say I'm at the latter end of that transition phase). Unfortunately, there is still a very big gap left on the paepae whilst waiting for those "coming up through the transition phase" are able to fill those gaps.

Realistically, many Whānau have no one, or some are lucky to have perhaps one child who was taught or learned te reo Māori, tikanga and the kawa of their marae. However, realistically - in the eyes of Māoridom, it would be insufficient for an iwi, hapū or Whānau because that individual is often overloaded to uphold the responsibilities (because their skills are so sought after, and have become scarce).

Rangatahi Male (32 years)

My connection to NZ and my Māori side is much stronger through my mother than my father. My Whānau have resided in my home town for hundreds of years. I used to mainly attend hui at my marae through my mother's family. I did occasionally with my father's side, but usually only for tangi because his marae were back in Mōhaka, Wairoa and Gisborne. I remember going to a Whānau reunion for my Dad's side at our marae in Muriwai, Gisborne when I was about nine, and all the same Nanny's, Papa's, Aunties, Uncles and cousins were there too from home. That's when I figured out that my Mum's Whānau had a connection there too. There were connections all over the place.

Rangatahi Female (29 years)

My connection to NZ and my Māori side is through both sides of my family (mother and father). However, my strongest connection is through my Grandma (my Dad's Mum). I consider myself very lucky to have been one of those very spoilt mokopuna who had (and still do have) a very special bond with my Grandma (Dad's Mum) who helped raise me since I was 8 months old. My Grandma and I have a wairua connection that when we are fretting for each other, I will give her a call or vice versa, right at the moment when we are thinking of each other. Sometimes it is enough for me just to speak from somebody from home when I am feeling homesick.

At home, my marae on my Mum's side is the marae that I mostly associate to. I feel a strong bond to this marae because since I have been a baby, I was brought here and grew up with my extended Whānau. I still remember being fed crayfish at the table by one of my Nanny's when I was about 2 years old. My Mum told me about that day, of how that one table was left when all the others had been cleared, packed away and the floors cleaned. That Nanny sat there feeding me crayfish for over an hour.

Throughout my life, I regularly attend hui at my marae, as well as my Grandma's side in Gisborne and Wairoa. Although I don't speak te reo Māori, I am very strong in my Taha Māori which I uphold through my immersion of kapa haka into my teaching. I watched my Nan, Mum and Aunties cook in the kitchen and my father and Uncles worked at the back while we played. Now when I return to the marae, it is me in the kitchen helping to cook and clean, my brother and cousins in the back helping, and my nephews and nieces are playing.

I never wished to move to Oz with my Whānau, and consider myself very much a 'home girl'. I love Aotearoa, my Grandma, my Whānau, hapū, marae and everything it stands for. I return home at least every 2 months. I pick up my Grandma and we hang out for a while. Being home grounds me, and feeds my wairua. It really does. I am learning and feeding my Taha Māori constantly. It's not a goal somewhere off in the future, it has been an ongoing process for me

since I was a young child. I often feel the calling to return home. It rejuvenates me and lifts me up.

Not long after I started teaching, I got sick a couple of years ago, so I returned home to recover where I spent time with my Grandma, with my Papa at our Whānau home, on our whenua at the beach, our maunga and visited my marae and Whānau at the urupa. It very much assisted my recovery, and after a year I was able to return to work teaching, and even though I moved to Auckland, I still need to go home for my fix every month. If I can't get home, I call my Grandma or my Mum.

Pakeke

Pakeke Male (50 years)

My main connection to home is my family. One of the main things I wanted to do with this trip back from London was re-connect with my father. That was kind of priority number one for me for coming back. Mum, Dad and I took a three day road trip last week. It was me that said "Come on, let's go". I kind of dragged Mum and Dad along really as they were initially quite reluctant but came around, so we went and stayed in Manutuke, Gisborne first, and then in Gisborne, and then Ruatoria. So getting him in the car was part of that goal. I said to him "This trip you're sitting in the front seat", and he was like "I'll sit where I want", and I was like "You'll sit where you're told". So I said "Mum, we're putting Dad in front" and she was fine with it as she can hear and see fine.

I wanted to go up the coast to visit the farm, and Whānau who I hadn't seen for a long time. My Uncle is very sick with Cancer so we expected him to be quite frail, but he was actually quite excited to see us and by the time we were looking at photos he had become quite energised so we spent quite a few hours there with him, and it was really nice. His daughter was there and heaps of photos so we were able to take lots of pictures of them. Along the way we were stopping in to visit and meet various Aunties and Uncles, looking at their photos, listening to

their stories and views also, and how they were able to fill in a lot of gaps. It's been fantastic and I would love to go to Wairoa too.

Pakeke Female (53 years)

We grew up with a close connection to our marae and extended Whānau, and regularly attended hui at our marae. Our grandmother actually lived on our marae, Māori was her first language, and we spent a lot of time with her growing up and through our life. Being the eldest daughter of my Mum (who was the eldest of her 7 siblings), I've always taken a leading role with organising and/or planning things within our Whānau (both back home and over here in Oz).

Right now, my connection to home is my daughter and her two daughters. I have five adult children, four sons (who live in Oz), one daughter (who lives back home), and nine mokos. My daughter moved home to Rotorua from Sydney three years ago with her partner and we all miss her terribly. As her partner was deported, moving home was not of their choice and it has taken a long time for her to settle as she misses us terribly.

Since I've resided in Australia, I just continued doing what I did back home - I ensured that I retained connections not only with my Whānau, but with my ex-husband's Whānau for my children's and moko's sake. Also, with the most children in my large Whānau, and with my ex-husband's large Whānau, I always practised an open door policy. My home was always the home that cared for, supported, and had gatherings and celebration for all our Whānau and friends. I cared for and hosted manuhiri all the time.

One thing I've noticed in the eighteen years I've been in Australia, is that Māori stick together, and whilst we tend to gravitate with many from the same iwi, we also have made many friends of other iwi as well. So, during times of celebration, illness and tangi (or even just in times of need), we come together in support of each other, so tikanga is still practised.

Pakeke Male (59 years)

My connections back to NZ still remains with my family. My mother still resides in Te Hauke in Hastings. I grew up in Te Hauke, a small rural Māori settlement where the marae is the focal point. One of my daughters brought her family back last year, and we gave them the marae experience where we slept in the wharenuui, and we had a powhiri. It was an awesome experience for them. They got to sleep there surrounded by all their relatives, both living and those passed on. By my son who lives in Texas, he's often spoken to me about coming to NZ to live. And I think out of all my kids, he would be the one. He's the youngest, my baby.

Our Māori community are currently planning to build a marae in Utah. However, there are some concerns which I think is because of the pan-tribal aspect. Some tribes have a dominant involvement (and somewhat ownership) of the project more so than other tribes, and I feel that it could be much more inclusive of all of the tribes (as I think some feel excluded). To me, it was very clear that we were going to run into problems down the road. Such as 'whose tipuna would sit on top of the wharenuui?' I have friends in Utah who are from other iwi, and they're just as dominant as we are, but perhaps not as outspoken. I can see conflict on the horizon, but I hope it resolves. The thing is, even the other pacific island groups (samoans, tongans etc) want to be part of it, which I think they eventually will. Hopefully, someone will see the light.

I didn't really use my degree (accounting). I worked in law enforcement, and my interest was really dealing with people. I've returned on this current trip to assist my sister with my mother as she is suffering ill health. My sister has been caring for our mother the past number of years. My sister lives in her own home in Hastings and visits mother most days in Te Hauke (which is a 20 min drive from Hastings). Mother's health has declined so much that it has become quite difficult for my sister to copy and manage alone.

This is just a brief visit, but my wife and I are planning to come back and stay for an extended period of time, and will re-assess where we're going at the end of six months (if we last that long). We're planning to bring back our grandsons (tend

and thirteen years) who we've more or less raised. I wanted them to come back, play sports (rugby and basketball), and learn about their culture through this kind of setting. They'll get to know their cousins, Aunties and Uncles. I want to make a strong connection, so they will think about it when they return to Utah. I think this stay will impact their lives.

Kaumatua

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

My Mum and daughter were my connections to home, but my Mum's gone now. My wife stayed with me over there in Oz for 3 years, and then she returned home. We had left our daughter here with my Mum, as she was very close to her. She was my gift to my Mum. She was born on Mum's birthday, just like Mum, even had the same allergies as her. So we couldn't take her away, and left her with Mum. You know, being there so long and then coming home, you get hit with all the mamae of all the land and everything, it's quite emotional. I ask Tawhai "Did you know about this before you went to Oz?" Then we realise the aborigines we had contact with in Oz, and that they were also going through this same mamae as us, and we didn't even know it. Now, I'm immersed in learning tikanga every day. I now live on the marae in the kaumatua flats and am on the marae every week. I would say that it would only be Tawhai and I, who are currently holding (and learning) that mātauranga knowledge within our own Whānau. And I guess that's because we are the ones kind of living it, living that life. But it does get passed down, you know, to our younger ones and so on.

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

I am now living a life dedicated to tikanga Māori. Since returning from Oz, I live on our ancestral land, visit the marae and kohanga reo most days and learning to speak on the paepae. My biggest regret was not spending enough time with my mother and father, and they're both gone now. I was asked by my sisters to take on this role as our family representative, in regards to our land and on the representing on the paepae. I've only learned about our people in the last 3-4

years, ie How we're still being degraded into second class persons, and how the lands have been swooped up.

I met my ex-wife (who is Māori) in Oz, our kids were all born in Oz and went to school there, and are all still there. In fact, none of my children or mokopuna are living here in NZ. When I was a kid here, I thought it was hard to live here. I hated school and wanted to work as young as 13, so Australia fulfilled all my needs at the time, and I was able to provide my family a better life, home and education for my kids. I had everything in front of me. I myself, I know that I still need a lot of learning, and yes, it's great how a lot of the elders around here retained all of that knowledge and wisdom. However, at the same time, I don't know how it's been handed down either. Whilst it helps to know certain people to go and see for certain information (and there's a lot of knowledge around), it's also important to know which people keep that knowledge tika, pono, and from whose perspective it is told.

Kaumatua Male (66 years)

I grew up in Manutuke on our ancestral land, both parents were of Rongowhakaata descent. Our land is very close to our marae, and our Whānau urupa is on our land at the back of the farm. There are few marae around here and I whakapapa to all of them. During my 40 years overseas, I regularly made a point of coming back here to see my Mum and Dad, especially when my Dad lost his sight. For the past 13 years, I started a project with about 8 others from Rongowhakaata, for the restoration of the wharenuī around Rongowhakaata.

Kaumatua Female (67 years)

When I was a young girl, and brought up by grandmother, we would always go to Ruahapia because that was her side of the family. Then I would go to our marae, Te Pairu, just out of Waipawa and Te Whatuiapiti and Pātangata. Most of my lands are in those areas, as well as Takapau.

So you kind of grow up knowing things because it was given to you, taught to you by those who raised you. It became intrinsic. Even though I would say I am quite pakehified myself, in the way I live, speak etc. I know who I am, I know my heritage, culture, whakapapa, my marae and who my people are, and I have always had frequent contact with them. My story is similar to your mothers I suppose because like her, I was sent off to a pakeha boarding school as a young child, and I suppose in those days our grandmother's believed it was the right thing to do. They stopped teaching us the reo, so that we could develop and become educated in the ways of the Pakeha.

Kaumatua Female (83 years)

Although I was born in Hastings, I have never returned to live there. I have wanted to, but we no longer own ancestral land there. I have been researching whakapapa, land and court records and have travelled up and down the country for years doing it. There is numerous methods of retention, from computers to books, to oral history, to paintings and photographs to the marae. I think the most precious source of information though, is the whareniui.

6.3 TIKANGA KNOWLEDGE / RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

Rangatahi

Rangatahi Male (28 years)

My Grandmother instilled tikanga values in me from an early age, values such as Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori and Kawa Māori. Both sides of my mother's Whānau were very tuturu Waikatotanga, Tainuitanga, so my grandmother taught me the mita of Waikato-Tainui waka, and I am so very grateful for that. I learned whakapapa from my Grandmother instead of my mother.

In my mother's day, there was an emphasis that te reo Pakeha teachings was the way forward. Hence, as times changed - I think this is why my grandmother invested mātauranga knowledge more in her mokopuna than her own tamariki.

Without whakapapa, you wouldn't know where you come from. I'm a firm believer you would be a lost soul without it, without knowing who you are. I think the best sources of Mātauranga is our Kaumatua. Learning from your kuia or koroua goes way back and pre-dates colonisation. Their word was lore, ture. Having learned what I did from my grandmother, provided me with a foundation and a firm direction when I came to University (instead of turning up at University with no knowledge at all). It enabled me to keep adding to my kete mātauranga.

Rangatahi Male (32 years)

I remember 11 years ago, at the time of my 21st birthday. My mother and Whānau organised a large celebration for me back home at our marae. There was a lot of emotional discussion and arguments over it because I wanted to stay in Sydney to celebrate. Mum explained the importance of tikanga, and the significance of acknowledging my milestone at our marae. My Nan explained the importance of returning to my Ukaipo, my place of birth and the place where my pito is buried. So, I returned home to celebrate my 21st birthday at my marae which was organised by my Whānau.

In hindsight, and now that I have sons of my own - I understand that what my Whānau did was a good thing and they were trying to honour me. I used to think that learning whakapapa and tikanga knowledge was the responsibility of the older generation like my Nan, Papa, Mum, Uncles etc. But since I have become a father two years ago, I want to learn about our whakapapa, our land and our connections. I want to pass it to my sons and want them to know their connection to home too.

I think whakapapa knowledge is important in understanding ones roots and history. It's important because it helps us understand ourselves - both as individuals and as a Whānau. Our connections to others. My first lesson which really stuck with me was I have started learning whakapapa from my Mum. It started when my partner was due to have our first baby. Mum was forever suggesting ancestor names to us, so was thrilled when my partner suggested a Māori name. Mum immediately knew the name, and asked about her whakapapa.

Turned out that we were both from a Rangatira line at home, and were fairly closely related. So, that was my first whakapapa lesson that really stuck with me.

Rangatahi Female (29 years)

I grew up with tikanga in my life all the time, through my Nan, Grandma and Mum. It was just part of who we were and I practise within my classroom and with my students all the time. The school I teach at (which is a predominantly Pakeha school in Auckland) look to me for guidance in this area.

There are times when I feel the call to home and I know that it is time for me to return home to get some rejuvenation from my Whānau, the land at home, the moana, and especially my Grandma. I think whakapapa knowledge is important. It has helped me to connect with people by finding connections with them - whakawhānaungatanga. I do it all the time and don't even know I am doing it. I think the best sources of are our Kaumatua, and research. I love sitting and listening to my Grandma's stories.

Pakeke

Pakeke Male (50 years)

I've been living in London for the past 18 years, so in regards to Māori knowledge, tikanga and whakapapa, I think my consideration of its level of importance has only increased recently, and I think it comes down to the individual really. For some people it's quite important and is one of those things that gets more interesting as you get older. Well it has to me anyway so maybe I shouldn't generalise, but it definitely has for me. Up until that point, I think my own knowledge of my whakapapa was fairly limited. Over the past week it has increased considerably.

On this trip home, re-connecting with my Dad was a priority this visit, and I wanted to take him with me up the coast so I could learn. I learned as we went to visit people, talked, looked at photos, but the most important part for me was

getting in a car with your parents with no radio for several hours, and just talking. We went up to Ruatoria and Gisborne because I really wanted to find out more about our history, whakapapa and roots. I spent so much time talking with Mum and Dad during our visits and driving, and we talked about everything from family, whakapapa, their parents and siblings. Our talks were great.

Pakeke Female (53 years)

My grandmother was very strong on tikanga, and always encouraged us to attend our marae. Tikanga values were a huge part of our Whānau, and it's so natural that I can't even name everything. Two of my siblings and I were married on our marae, in our wharenuī. Whakapapa is very important and I grew up within a large extended Whānau where whakapapa was discussed all the time. I wouldn't say that I'm an expert in whakapapa knowledge, but I can easily whakapapa to both sides of my Whānau, but only for about 3-4 generations by heart. If I need to know or verify any whakapapa information, I just contact my Dad or brother. My Dad, who is quite the whakapapa expert, and my brother who is steeped in tikanga and has the reo. Our brother upholds the tikanga at home for us, and is the Chairperson of our marae. He holds quite a big responsibility within our Whānau, and especially for us living away from home.

Pakeke Male (59 years)

Whakapapa is extremely important within our Whānau as we always talk to our children a lot about our culture, its values and whakapapa, who they belong to, where they come from. However, I don't think it made as big of an impression as when they came home. When my children visited the marae, I think they got a real appreciation of how the Māori are here in NZ, in terms of how they were accepting and loving here, and how they were treated like Whānau straight away. They recognised that right off. So, they had a strong connection because of that reason. I'm pleased that we were able to bring my eldest son home to visit NZ to meet all his cousins and Whānau, before he passed away at the age of 17. Somehow my children just to identify with their Māori side much more.

My Whānau and I have access to genealogical records from the LDS church, and a lot of our whakapapa is in there. So we have access to that also. We can all sign into the website from the LDS church. It's huge, and easy to use. However, it always makes more sense to them when they ask questions or they hear stories about certain individual tipuna. It is always a major topic of conversation when we have family gatherings, which is quite often. Back in Utah our house is like a marae, you know, not only for our own Whānau but for our extended Whānau, friends and anyone visiting.

Kaumatua

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

Since I returned from Oz, I've been immersed in learning Tikanga for the past few years. I've been home since 2010, and the first thing I said to my cousin who picked me up from the airport was "Can I learn the reo for nothing?" So, I'm learning to represent my Whānau on the paepae, and manage all of our land matters, as well as helping with other families too. You could say that I hold the mana of my father, and his father. I now live on the marae in the kaumatua flats and am on the marae every week.

One of the best sources of knowledge I've found is going to our kaumatua. I always go to an Uncle and enjoy all his little stories, especially when we share photos. I'm the eldest of my Dad's family and also the eldest of the grandchildren on Mum's side. The tuakana are my younger cousins. However, I'm the only one trying to uphold the tikanga in my Whānau. It goes right back to WA, where it all started for me. I was having alot of visions in the form of dreams, getting the call to come home, so I think wairua brought me home. My daughter said she wanted to learn all of the knowledge that I've been learning, from both my Mum and Dad's side. Hearing that really made me think that it has all been worth it.

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

Since I returned from Oz, I've been living a life dedicated to tikanga Māori. I was asked by my sisters to take on the role as our family representative for our land and on the paepae. It gave me a bit of a fright because I didn't know anything about it, especially because I had been away for 40 years. Their response was "Well bro, you have to learn." So, since returning from Oz, I've been living on our ancestral land in our Whānau homestead where I grew up, visit the marae and kohanga reo most days and have been attending wananga a few times a week learning to speak on the paepae.

I've been learning for the past couple of years from a tertiary course through Te Wananga o Raukawa. It's a course on te reo and whaikorero. It's for us to learn how to structure, putting up structures on how to speak on the paepae, how to speak in all different occasions. It's a big thing for the cuzzy and I. The language I used to speak to 20 - 30 of my mokos is very different to speaking on the paepae. It's a 2.5 year course, called 'Te Toki Pakohe te Whaikorero'. We attend it out at Porangahau at Kurawaka - a private marae.

I'm from a very big family, and have two brothers older than me and they're still alive, but as far as my family goes, there's no one in my family that's doing (or even interested in doing it). So, that's what I'm doing right now, trying to uphold the tikanga in our family, by learning, researching attending hui, tangi and the likes. I've come forward and really come ahead in the last few years, just to be able to understand. A single sentence is enormous for me.

My father had a favourite saying about me and my shearing, and travelling around the world. He used to say "At the moment, you've got too much sheep shit on the brain because you just want to shear sheep and travel the world." My biggest regret is not taking on all the teachings that were available to me, even when I was in Australia. Now that I'm finally home, my parents are not here. I was too late. My children were born and raised in Australia, are still there and I think will remain there. Sadly, they have no inkling of what their heritage is or

what is being lost. They're not interested. I just love talking to kaumatua, those with knowledge, and hearing all their stories. That's a real treasure.

Kaumatua Male (66 years)

Growing up and living near the marae, we were always down at the there, cooking, cleaning, tidying the grounds, and building. From the early 60's my Dad, brother and I were involved in the building the first wharekai at the Whakato Marae. We started that in 1966, and it took us about 5 years to complete. All that money was raised through raffles, local community and koha. I was about 15-16 when we started construction on it, and also at that time we also serviced and maintained all of the marae around the Manutuke, Muriwai, Te Karaka and around the rohe. During those times, even though I was doing my apprenticeship, we were still required to do work at these marae.

I think whakapapa knowledge is very important. It's who we are. Its quite a beautiful record to have. We relate to the land, the wheuna, te moana. The old people. I think learning knowledge from kaumatua is very important - within any Whānau. Knowledge those people had passed on through my father to us. We still carry those practices. Wananga are a good way of learning whakapapa. And also books. I remember a book that I found when I was renting a house in Perth. "Parihaka Women, by Claudia Orange". I thought it was meant to be. It kept me in touch.

Kaumatua Female (67 years)

What our elders teach us - I truly believe it stays with us. Our old people knew what they were doing in teaching us certain things, and even the ways that they would instil it within us so that we retained it, so that it came out when it needed to, even if it was years later, as in my case. So you kind of grow up knowing things because it was given to you, taught to you by those who raised you. It becomes intrinsic.

Even though I would say I am quite pakehafied myself, in the way I live, speak etc. I know who I am, I know my heritage, culture, whakapapa, my marae and who my people are, and I have always had frequent contact with them. My story is similar to your mothers I suppose because like her, I was sent off to a pakeha boarding school as a young child, and I suppose in those days our grandmother's believed it was the right thing to do. They stopped teaching us the reo, so that we could develop and become educated in the ways of the Pakeha.

Even though I learned the pakeha ways, and way of life and left home, I never forgot what was given to me and what I was taught. It came as quite a surprise to me as well and it was not until I started getting involved with the land, and returning home, to the marae as well. Everything just came back to me when I needed it, especially when I started doing all of this work for our land. Things started coming back to me, so I truly believe that these gifts and ways that area given to us, stay with us and they re-surface within us when we are ready. Sometimes, I surprised myself with certain things, or sayings or ways that came from me – as I did not consciously remember having learned them. They happened out of the blue, but as soon as it happened, I knew exactly where or who it came from – it was from the nurturing I received from my grandmother and others around me during my upbringing.

Kaumatua Female (83 years)

The best source of knowledge is the marae, and a person that knows the history. It is laid out in our marae, like a story book. All you need is someone who knows the history, to tell you the story. Get them to tell the stories. It is always amazing.

I think whakapapa is a very personal issue. For myself, it's important to know where you came from and whom you belong to. I was absolutely comfortable with both my parents whakapapa and they wanted me to know that I did not come from a low class background. We descended from honourable family lines, and a long line of Chiefs. From generation to generation, our whakapapa has been handed down, never to be lost (on both sides of our families).

6.4 MĀORI LAND / RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

Rangatahi

Rangatahi Male (28 years)

Our land is held within a farm trust. I have visited the land and know its location. When I was young, I visited one of the farms with my grandmother, when she told me "this is going to be yours when I'm gone". Since her death, I have researched the land, the background of its management, performance and reporting, and is why I question the management performance. However, because I am the child of my mother, I don't have a say as of yet. That is why I am preparing, and researching. In regards to whenua and whakapapa, my grandmother passed much of the knowledge onto me, so when she passed - I already understood the land, because I understood the whakapapa, and most of all I understood my Grandmother's reasons and own desires. The only kaumatua I have sought information or knowledge from was my Grandmother as I mentioned earlier.

The Māori Land Court are very helpful in terms of being a centre of holding information. I haven't had any dealing with the Māori trustee. I think the Te Turi Whenua Act is outdated. It has had too much input by the government, and is highly influenced by the focus of the government in power. Ie. With National in power, there is a dominant capitalist and privatisation aspect to it. Labour would take a more socialist approach.

Rangatahi Male (32 years)

I know our lands well as I grew up there until I was five as my father managed the Whānau farm for my mother's family for a few years. I have good memories there, and because of that I feel very attached to our land. I know my cousins do too because they stayed with us most weekends. I hope to return with my family and live there one day. I know our Whānau have a long history of managing their lands well. I've heard cool stories of my grandparents, great and great great grandparents, and how knowledgeable and wise they were. They fought for their

people, were very political in both Hawkes Bay, Ngāti Tahu 'and' Ngai Te Rangi. They done great things, and I guess that's why my Whānau are in the position that they are today. And that's why I know I have to step up, especially now I'm a father.

I don't have any experience with any Māori land management systems as my mother deals with all of that. I think it's time that we got involved though because I don't want to learn when no one 's here to teach us anymore. I've heard a little of the proposed changes around Māori land, and what it means for us Māori here in Oz. I did a little bit of research on the NZ immigration laws because of our two boys that were born here in Oz, don't qualify for citizenship both here and NZ. I came across information in regards to ownership of land back home in NZ, I read that if my son stays here in Oz, and has a child born in Oz.... then 'his' child legally can't own land in NZ. I'm not too sure if I interpreted that right, but that's what it sounds like to me.

I don't know much about Te Turiwhenua Act, except that the proposed changes were making moves to take away rights of Māori land owners that live overseas. So I guess that would mean me, my partner, most of my Whānau who also live here in Oz. I don't agree with that but I suppose most Māori here in Oz would feel that way. If I decided to remain in Oz, I wouldn't be happy that my sons would lose any rights at all, especially legal ownership. I'm glad that it stalled, but if it came up again, I reckon it's something worth fighting for. I'd be into that.

Rangatahi Female (29 years)

My Whānau are fortunate as we still have a lot of our land, and my Nan and Papa have a lot of knowledge that they have passed to my Uncle and Mum. My Mum has been researching and studying for years, and has recorded alot of that knowledge in her writing. I feel the need to start learning now, and have started talking with my Mum and Papa about learning that knowledge. I know where a lot of our land is (but not 'all of it') as we lived on one of our farms when I was very young.

When I returned from Oz, Mum wanted to move there again but as a teenager I didn't want to. However, now I'm older that has changed as it is now my vision to live out there some day. I haven't had much personal experience with many of the Māori Land Systems, but I've been to a few Māori land meetings with my Mum and Grandma and have taken my Grandma to the Māori Land Court quite a few times because she wanted to do different things. One thing I know for sure is that a lot of fighting over land goes on, and it can get out of hand. As far as the Te Turi Whenua Act goes, all I know is that the government were trying to make changes to it, and Te Ururoa Flavell was pushing those changes. I don't agree with it as so many of my Whānau still live over there.

Pakeke

Pakeke Male (50 years)

Our land is all over the show, Ruatoria, Gisborne, Waimarama, Hastings and Tūwharetoa. I don't know the details of it all but it's become a lot clearer on this recent trip - the extent of it. I knew there were blocks and I knew some of the names but I didn't know the details until this trip.

I haven't had any experience with many of the Māori Land systems. This Māori Trustee? On one hand you consider "Is it operating in the best interests of the land owners? And is that the best way to do it?" But I guess the flip side is that they probably do know about running farms and running them well, but I guess the cost of doing that would be higher. You know, you can't say - if you were to look at their returns per hectare or whatever, and then were to benchmark them against what we were getting on our station in Ruatoria? - Who's to say that they wouldn't be better? You just don't know.

Overall, I don't think any of the Māori Land systems serve the needs and aspirations of Māori land owners because having witnessed first-hand, the challenges that our owners are facing, and I don't think that they know where to go and get help, which I think is part of the problem. I don't know much about the

Te Turiwhenua Act, but I don't see why your rights to involvement in Māori land should be any different to any other type of land or asset. Why would you want to dilute, diminish or reduce your rights in any kind of interests that you have, Māori or otherwise.

Pakeke Female (53 years)

I am an owner and shareholder of ancestral land. I know who we inherited it from, and how we whakapapa to that land. I don't, however, know ALL of the details, or their locations. My Dad is the expert of this information and since I've been in Oz I've given him my power of attorney to manage my land affairs for me, and he does a good job.

I've attended a few Māori land hearings at the Māori Land Court - Some of them quite serious too. But my Dad takes care of most matters. I receive rents from the Māori Trustee (or Te Tumu Paeroa), and have used the services of Māori land consultants a few times. I don't think the Māori Land Court really serves the needs and aspirations of Māori. I think that they're just there to hold records, and mediate to make land court decisions. One thing they do have though, is all the right land records and whakapapa information to back up the decisions they make. I don't know anything about the Te Turiwhenua Act. My Dad does though, and he takes care of all my land matters. I've heard a little about the push for Māori land owners that live overseas might lose their rights, but nothing more than that? Either way, I don't agree with it.

Pakeke Male (59 years)

I'm a shareholder of Māori land that we inherited from our father. My siblings and I decided to put all of it into a trust. All of the whenua is here in Hawkes Bay, in Te Hauke (where we grew up). Other than that information, my knowledge is very limited. I know that it came from my grandmother, and that the older people didn't really explain it to us. We basically had to do our own research. I've seen the land, and if I need to know anything about the land I go and visit my cousin who lives out there. He's very knowledgeable.

I don't have a lot of experience with many of the Māori Land Management Systems. My sister manages our Māori land shares etc. I don't participate too much as my knowledge is very limited. However, I would not say that I'm dis-engaged at all. I think my mother is kind of connected to some of her land. I make sure I get the reports sent to me through email, and a newsletter. So I guess I participate through keeping informed, and voting when elections of trustees come up. But I think a cause for conflict is a general lack of information or accountability from the bigger land trusts or the Māori Trustee.

I think one of the biggest things that deter me from participating more is my lack of understanding of what's going on. I'm not too familiar with the Te Turiwhenua Act. I think that I need to have a look at the proposed reform, as I don't think I'm going to like it. I think I should retain my rights as a Māori land owner even though I live overseas, and I think my children should also, even if they have never lived here in NZ. Because it's not only part of our identity, it is also part of preserving who we are for future generations. I think we have a responsibility to maintain it because we are part of the collective. We are part of the bigger picture here.

Kaumatua

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

I am a land owner - there's bits and pieces everywhere. Pātangata, Waipawa, Waimarama. Wherever he's got land (refers to other participant), I will have it too. Since I've returned from Oz, I've got to learn a lot about our land, especially as that's my family status. I'm the representative of all my brothers and sisters since I returned home three and half years ago.

I haven't had many dealings with the Māori Land Court but I think it's a service that is essential, and they should always make themselves available - kanohi ki te kanohi. I haven't had any dealings with Māori Trustee or Trustee companies, and I don't know about the Māori Land Act.

I think all Māori should maintain their ownership rights whether they're here or overseas. If it's yours, it's yours. There'll always be someone trying to take it. If the land is his, then it should be his, even if he left. It shouldn't give anyone else title to that land because it's his. It burns on, you know – the ahi kaa. If you're a land owner, when you're overseas, it's still your responsibility unless you lease it out to somebody to care for.

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

I'm a land owner, and since I've returned from Oz, I've resided on our family land, and am the representative for our Whānau. My experience with the Māori Land Court has been good. I had to register as a trustee, so I think the land and ownership information they hold is important information. I haven't had any contact with Māori Trustee but I've had some dealings with private trustee companies. As I'm a trustee now, I've had dealings with estates through Public Trust and one was a bit of a headache too. I think the Māori Land systems are old and outdated, and don't serve the current needs of owners. They don't really help with the management of land, or with the care of our resources and environment either.

I don't know much about the Māori Land Act or reform, but I believe that if you're a Māori land owner or shareholder and you have to go away, then it should go back to your family that are here. I'm not saying they should lose it but if you're going to leave the country and leave the land, my view is that “to own that land, you have to keep the fire burning on that land”. I think, if you're going to leave the land, leave NZ and the land is in your name, I reckon that land should be given back to the family. That way, it will release you from responsibility - but the family still owns it. The responsibility should rest with the people on the land - the ahi kaa. I even feel that way about my own children owning land. It should be given to the family that's living on the land. What can they do with it, they're in Oz.

Kaumatua Male (66 years)

I'm an owner of Māori land and I know the details of it and have seen it, walked on it, worked on it, had bees on it. Our Mum and Dad always encouraged us to 'never' give our rights up to land. Never sell our land, because if we sold it, we were conforming to the western ideals, so ours was blood, our toto, our whenua. Knowledge that those people passed on through my father, and then to us? - We still carry those practices today.

I thought the Māori Land Court was quite divisive really because I remember when my Dad was alive. We got shares in this land Ripungare, and the shares were to be transferred from my father to me and my brother. But the judge said "you can only pass to one". That's the Māori Land Court for you, 'divisive'. At the time I thought "Why can't it be left to both of us?" But it was left to my brother. I haven't used their services since then except for information. I don't trust them, or the decisions they make because as a 17 year old, you knew instinctively that that wasn't right at the time.

I haven't heard of the Māori Trustee or Te Tumu Paeroa. I've always been to see kaumatua for information ever since I was a little boy - right up to now. And those experiences have always been positive. I think learning knowledge from kaumatua is very important - within any Whānau.

I don't know about the Act or the reform, but immediately, it flashes to me "I'm about to get ripped off". Straight away, you think "Here we go, I'm gonna get me black ass kicked again." I think that Māori land owners that live overseas should absolutely keep their Māori land rights. Our tipuna wanted it that way. They didnt want some other taurekareka coming in to do it, to look after your land, you do it yourself. Now this guy Flavell, Te Ururoa. What's he trying to do? I wish I knew what his bottom line was. What is it that he was really trying to do to us? Or want from us? Because, he has come out with words that maybe we don't understand....Like 'land utilisation'. At the end of it, WHO benefits from all this land utilisation? The owners? The farmers? The government? If you're gonna chase it, and they keep moving the goal posts, who wants to play?

Kaumatua Female (67 years)

I have extensive lands left to me by my grandmother, and I know them very well as I was brought up by her. The majority are in Ruahapia, Te Pairu, Te Whatuiapiti and Pātangata and Takapau. However, today the fragmentation has really played a great part for me. We had a trust, and it was being run by the Māori Trustee, and we got rid of them. The reason we had to do it is that they just would not listen to what “we, the owners wanted”. We needed a trust and structure that was effective, where ‘all’ of the land owners could benefit, not just the large owners.

It took us five years to reach a stage where we settled. We could have gone on another fifteen years fighting but there were two things to consider. Either, I’ll either have a heart attack and won’t survive those 15 years, otherwise after another fifteen years’ worth of fighting, we could end up on the wrong side of the ledger. So we needed to ask ourselves, “For the trust to go forward and develop further and faster to get a better income, we have to settle now”. And we did. One thing I knew for sure is that I would ‘never again’ go through the Māori Land Court.

Kaumatua Female (83 years)

I have lived long enough to know what blocks of land I have. I also know that we should have a lot more land than what we do have. My research shows me that very clearly. I have a part share in my mother’s side, and my father’s side, and my children’s father’s lands on both his parents side. I am familiar with Te Tumu Pearoa (Māori Trustee website). It will have its benefits to those who need extra information. The Māori Land Court and Māori Trustee serves the needs of the Māori under their own law and systems. However, they believe that they have done Māori a wonderful favour, on our behalf, but after a hundred years we are all still confused with the many structures produced over the years, and by the influence of the educated European on behalf of our lands, and what ownerships we have left. All we, the people have, is to follow the structures and systems produced by the partnership, and it had proven time and again that it does not serve us.

6.5 CONFLICT / BARRIERS & CONSTRAINTS

Rangatahi

Rangatahi Male (28 years)

Conflict - Values and Knowledge

My family inherited a substantial amount of land from my grandmother and following her death in 2013, many came forward with their hands out. Despite my grandmother having left a will with specific instructions, the end result was that some family members totally disregarded the will in favour of tikanga Māori with the final ruling resulting in splitting the land equally. Since then, conflict has been a dominant presence within our Whānau in regards to the non-execution of the will, the distribution and/or size of shares, the lack of consultation and consent, and finally the consolidation of lands and formation of a trust. I think this is when tikanga is outdated, or should be adjusted or amended for the contemporary world, as it is just wrong.

However, the most important aspect is the process in which their selection was engineered. They totally disregarded the wishes of their mother by deliberately disregarding her final will, in favour of implementing what they considered 'tikanga Māori' and distributed the land equally among the ten siblings.

Conflict - People and Skills

I think the main barriers are some family members, and personalities. Everyone has their own agenda, their own goal – 'Self-Interest'. Differences in people's aspirations, and self-interest again. Our Whānau trust is under the management of Whānau members from the older generation, and is managed very poorly. The selection of trustees into their management status was based purely on being the mataamua. I think this is wrong, as the board is absent of the adequate management capacity as no one possesses the essential skills required for their roles. I think this is when tikanga is outdated, or should be adjusted or amended for the contemporary world, as it is just wrong.

Whilst there are 10 siblings amongst my mother's Whānau, the decisions are made from only three of those siblings. Their decision making is questionable, as they do not have the skills. However, the most important aspect is the process in which their selection was engineered. They totally disregarded the wishes of their mother by deliberately disregarding her final will, in favour of implementing what they considered 'tikanga Māori' and distributed the land equally among the ten siblings.

Distribution became one of the main causes of conflict within my Whānau. My mother and two of her sisters wished to challenge the final outcome that effectively dismissed my Grandmother's wishes within her final will. However, whilst they did not pursue any further action, it did create divisions within the Whānau. In response to the conflict and the lack of consultation, my mother has been trying to partition all of her land shares out of the trust - which is a long expensive process.

Our trust requires the specific skills of people who are business minded, management skills. However, most importantly it requires someone who is also skilled in tikanga Māori, as well as qualities of a Rangatira.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

As I mentioned earlier, the Act is outdated, and I think the whole structure is outdated, and is need of an entire revamp. It has had too much input by the government, and is highly influenced by the focus of the government in power. ie When National are in power, there is a dominant capitalist and privatisation aspect to it. Labour would take a more socialist approach.

There are so many things that hinder Māori Development - lack of access to knowledge, information, services such as Māori Land Court, Māori Trustee, etc. All of that is pretty much hidden unless you have grown up within a family that has been dabbling within it for some time. Unfortunately, if a person has literally just come onto the scene, they would not know where to begin.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

The future looks dire because under the current management of our ancestral lands (which is my own family). Effectively, they are juggling and playing with our inheritance or future, and I don't say that as a spoilt child expecting something for nothing. I mean it because it's my grandmother's, my grandfather's and great grandfather's legacy. The current management do not have the experience or knowledge to successfully manage the land adequately. I have a substantial amount of fear for my cousins and I with regards to it. Whether it be lost, or continues to be cut up, or the bickering and politics continue. So, at the moment, I see it as nothing, but troubled waters.

Rangatahi Male (32 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

I think a lack of knowledge is also what holds Māori back. I've been living in Australia for 18 years and only return home mainly for tangi, celebrations and the odd holiday. If we come home to live and don't know anything, we'll be in a bad way. I think another issue for Māori is trying to live 'too' collectively when we live in a world that makes it very difficult. While people always want the best for their Whānau - I think clashes a lot in the world of today because if they are honest they really want to lead individual lives. I think this is the main problem. We talk a lot about collective goals, but really everyone has (and pursues) individual goals for 'their own' families.

Why do we have to 'make money' from our land? Who said we have to do that? Why can't we just build a home and live on it? How many Māori own their homes now? I know I don't and that's all I want from my Māori land when I come home - is a home for my family.

Conflict – People and Skills

Unfortunately, there has been some divisions within our Whānau due to the distribution, lack of consultation and inequity of decision making over our ancestral lands. I don't think this would have happened if my Nan was still alive. I think a major cause for conflict, is people ignoring the rights of others, and

wanting more for their own families. Once this starts happening, conflict begins. Depending on how it's handled (or not), depends on whether it ever gets resolved. Greed and selfishness - which I think is the main motivation behind hidden agendas that creates Conflict - a major barrier. I think we (Māori) get in our own way sometimes. As soon as it comes to Māori land ownership, control and money - everyone suddenly becomes concerned with others having more than them, or having more say, power than them etc. Conflict is the result, and when that happens family relationships are affected, and sometimes beyond repair.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

It was the government who placed restrictions of what Māori can do with their land (not Māori). I don't know much about the Māori Land Act except that the proposed changes were making moves to take away rights of Māori land owners that live overseas. So I guess that refers to me, my partner, most of my Whānau who also live here in Oz. However, I'm pleased that latest push for the reform stalled.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

If, for some reason that I decided to remain in Oz, I would not be happy that my sons would lose any future ownership rights. As I said before, I think a lack of knowledge is also what holds Māori back, so if I didn't learn and we were to come home and didn't know anything, we'll be in a bad way.

Rangatahi Female (29 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

Since my Nan's passing, I've noticed that distribution of land or shares has been a major cause of raruraru within our Whānau. It's a great shame actually because it has caused quite a big division within our wider Whānau. Before my Nan passed, it used to be that no matter what raruraru my Whānau were going through- we always came together at important times such as tangi, birthdays, weddings and other important hui. However, since then I've seen lots of changes, and I know that people often don't attend many hui because of raru. The worst thing that I've seen is the hurt that my Grandma experiences over

conflict caused by land issues. It divides Whānau, and it's sad seeing them forget about their aroha for each other over land (money and sizes of shares, control and who is doing what etc).

Conflict – People and Skills

Currently, with all the ones involved, who are land owners, I think their perspective and the way they see things is clouded because that they are part of that raru, and the decisions that are made are very emotional because of that. I think conflict is caused by some individuals focussing too much on others having bigger shares than them. It's sad but it's real, and those points of view are causing conflict. I know it's an 'ideal' to try and do things together but it is just not practical, or reality today. If we continue down this track, we will never be able to live on our land, and our family in Oz will never come home. Our Whānau living away from home? All they want is a home. I think the main barrier is conflict and the stalling that it causes. I've seen the hurt that the conflict causes in Whānau, and sometimes I think that the systems have intentionally been made that way (and they just don't work for us - Māori).

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

Ultimately, I think the Government has a lot to answer for and their systems are the cause of a lot of conflict. I think it is deliberate, that the systems are complicated. Why can't Māori do what they want to with their land? We have the complicated Māori Land Act, then Council's imposing zoning restrictions and huge costs if we want to build houses, then they sting us for rates, even if the land is vacant and unused. But I don't understand why does the land always have to be used for farming? We don't all want to be farmers? No one in my generation knows how to farm?? We don't even have houses. Yet, we will inherit farms in the future. I know one thing for sure though - that it wasn't enough for the Government to drive our people away overseas, but then to turn around and try to take away rights of Māori Whānau living overseas, just to get their hands on our land. It's not a surprise, but that's the reality for Māori.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

If things keep going down this track, it doesn't look good. But I know that I need to learn as much as I can from my older generation, so that I can start trying to make some changes. I know it won't be easy but we can only try. One thing I know for sure, is that our parents try and protect us from the raruraru that they're all dealing with. The raru is in their generation, not ours and we don't want it in ours. I reckon if they handed the management to our generation and just stepped back, I think we would do a better job because we're not carrying that emotional raru that they have (and we don't want it).

My brother and I want our Mum to partition her shares out of the Whānau collective interests. The reason for this is that we've seen that things have become stalled, and this is because everyone cannot agree, so then it has been impossible to make firm decisions. All I can say is that, I hope my Whānau resolve the issues they have soon. It's been 8 years, and we don't want it to drag out another 8 years.....or our Whānau will never come home. That's the main reason we need things to be sorted, so our Whānau can return home as I know many of them want to. We just don't know how to make that happen, as 'that' is in the hands of my mother and her generation.

Pakeke

Pakeke Male (50 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

What I want to understand is what Māori law requires in terms of buying and land and borrowing. I don't quite understand how just one person (or chairman) can go off, borrow money, buy land and sign all the paperwork, especially when a committee is appointed to represent over 1000 shareholders. There's a committee, and a constitution so how can that happen? But I guess it's not unique to Māori families or trusts, and I guess it's the risk and the possibility that you lose what is left, or its under-utilised or poorly managed. From what I've heard I think the problem is that the chairperson role on the committee interfered with the day to day running of the station, more so, like a CEO type role. The manager

was also acting in a type of CEO role. It was all a bit blurred. It is operating with a structure of a corporation, but under the Māori Land Court.

Conflict – People and Skills

In my very brief experience it has become clear that the reasonable expectations or assumptions that the right people are running things satisfactorily is an incorrect assumption. I think the people who are running these corporations are ill equipped to deal with the challenges that these corporations are facing. I think the way a lot of these corporations or trusts are run are out of date and antiquated. I think they are applying kind of, you know the people who are running these corporations are ill equipped to deal with their lands. Also, someone may be a great farmer and know how to get the best value from their land and stock but it doesn't mean that they can run a \$2.5M corporation, and work out what the strategic direction of that corporation should be. So I think people are ill equipped, and I think with this whole governance thing, people just don't understand how an organisation runs, or how a well run organisation should be structured to ensure that you basically achieve the best results. Also, to avoid the risks of people who are acting out of self-interest, and stop that from happening.

Overall, I think that the biggest thing is that I think there are multiple objectives in play, and I think that different people want different things. Self-Interest. Unfortunately, this is not a new problem. Look at the way governments operate. They're supposedly there to operate in the best interests of the people of the country, yet you have situations where governments throw everything out the window and operate in their own best interests. An example is what's going on in British politics, where they were all prepared to tell whatever lie they had to, to get the outcomes they wanted to achieve. They told lies to win the Brexit referendum, and when Cameron resigned, they all did a complete about face and were prepared to say whatever they had to, to become PM. They didn't give a stuff about the people of the country. They just wanted top job. They should be the stewards of our fortunes and future. Yet, they act in their own best interests. Self-interest, it's human nature.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

As for the Māori Land Act, I don't know much about it. However, I don't see why your rights to involvement in Māori land should be any different to any other type of land or asset. Why would you want to dilute, diminish or reduce your rights in any kind of interests that you should have, Māori or otherwise. I don't think any of the Māori Land Management systems serve the needs and aspirations of Māori land owners because having witnessed first-hand, the challenges that our owners are facing, and I don't think that they know where to go and get help, which I think is part of the problem.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

Speaking as someone who has recently come to the party in regards to Māori land, I would say that I think there's kind of an assumption, and perhaps it's not a reasonable assumption that the people who are managing these lands are qualified, and skilled to do so. And if they are not, then they need to ask for support because if you have a farm and you know nothing about farming, then what are you doing running it? The future does not look good if they do not sort out the structure, governance, skills and very definite clarity between roles and responsibilities. I think once this is sorted, then progress might happen.

Pakeke Female (53 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

After my mother passed away, we inherited her land shares. Due to the distribution of certain shares, it has created quite a few issues within our Whānau. The result has been conflict and divisions within our Whānau and shareholders - Not so much amongst my siblings, but with our extended Whānau.

Conflict – People and Skills

The main issue that has created problems since our mother's passing, and since we inherited our land interests, is that our extended Whānau continually try to exclude my siblings and I from the decision making. They forget that we succeeded from our mother, so 'we are our mother' so playing the elder role, and ignoring us doesn't apply these days. I think it is a generational thing, even

though the majority of my siblings and I are in our 50's and have grandchildren. The conflict has been ongoing, and has caused things to stall. The insulting thing is that they use 'tikanga' as an excuse to justify their actions and behaviour.

It has caused divisions within the Whānau that are now starting to affect our next generation as our children are now starting to feel it. It is a shame because it has created such a division that it has now been transferred over to the marae. I believe the conflict comes as a result of them wanting the controlling share, so I think the main barriers is arrogance, greed, selfishness and jealousies, and wanting more than the other, and worried others have more than them. This creates conflict, and when conflict appears - it just causes hurt and pain.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

Professionally, I think it's the difficulty and confusion in trying to deal with the Māori Land management systems. As I have been living in Australia for the past 18 years, I have appointed my father as my Power of Attorney as he has years of knowledge and experience in the area of Māori land and whakapapa.

As far as dealing with the conflict with our extended Whānau goes – it has dragged on for a few years now and if it can't be resolved through hui and communication, then we will have no choice but to settle things in the legal systems, with courts and lawyers. I often wonder if the land is worth fighting for, with the damage it does to family relationships. They will never be the same, but what choice do we have.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

I am unsure of how we can resolve our conflict, but we need to do it soon. We don't want our children to inherit these problems.

Pakeke Male (59 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

My mother is very unwell and has been talking about leaving her land to different members of the family and to the grandchildren. I said to her "I'm not sure if they

really understand what that land really means. Why would you want to give it to someone that doesn't understand what it means?" I think it's important that they know what it really means before they take possession of it. My sister and I have talked about it at length, about how important it is that they understand. We even talked about the grandchildren going to university to study degrees that would be beneficial for us.

Conflict – People and Skills

While I wouldn't refer to it as conflict - for a long time there has been an expectation that my sister would care for our mother. My sister has been caring for her for years, and receives little support from our other siblings and is at the point she is burnt out, and unable to cope. This is why I made the decision to return home from Utah, as my Whānau at home in NZ (my mother and sister) just need some Whānau support right now. My mother is very unwell, and my sister is heading down the same track if she doesn't receive some support too. As well as caring for Mum, my sister also manages all of our land interests too and is trustee on a few land trusts. We can't expect her to continue carrying the load without some assistance from us other siblings.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

From hearing the experiences of others, including my sister - I think the greatest barriers are the government bureaucracy - because it makes it so difficult for us to understand, or what is going on, and exactly what changes are happening or being put in place. I have to wonder if they do it on purpose so that we have to hire an attorney to help us understand. It should be a much more simpler form, that everybody can understand, without having to seek legal advice. How can current government policies and outdated systems work together. It's just too complex. However, I often wonder whether the government understand Māori, and the way they view land. Did they understand all of these things before they make sound policy, especially in order for Māori to utilise their land. I often wonder about the complication and the complexity of the laws and rules affecting Māori land.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

I'm not satisfied that our ancestral land has been retained adequately within our Whānau. I think more could be, and should be done. I think I should retain my rights as a Māori land owner even though I live overseas, and I think my children should also, even if they have never lived here in NZ. Because it's not only part of our identity, it is also part of preserving who we are for future generations. I think we have a responsibility to maintain it because we are part of the collective. We are part of the bigger picture here.

Kaumatua

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

In the old days agreements weren't always done with paperwork and often distribution was completed through oral agreement. However, modern day irony allows relatives to take advantage of loopholes and get back in to land blocks they don't really have entitlement to. It goes back to that resolution of what land can make you do. Because as the generations of families are slowly moving apart, it makes it easier for them to do, take legal action. As families get bigger, generations grow, relationships become more diluted. Those bonds aren't as strong or enduring anymore. This is when it becomes easier to take adverse action.

Conflict – People and Skills

Land issues can get nasty. One example, my Whānau have a 'big take' with one of our Aunties, who is kaitiaki of the land block next door (even though she is whangai into it). She said quite horrible things to us and really went off. So with Māori Whānau, and especially my siblings and I. You hurt one of us, we all feel it. Land can turn people horrible. I've seen it so many times. Therefore, my thoughts are "Tread carefully on land because it can change you big time."

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

I think one of the main things that hinder Māori development is Māori Land Management Systems and the Laws. An example is seeing what our cousin went through to get his house out here on his land. That was a big journey, getting people to agree and sign. Then there new laws to work through, the Council stuff. You almost had to have an education on sewage and all those other things. However, they got there in the end. Should such a thing be so hard? I think things are so over-complicated. The headache with collective land interests comes about when trying to do something with the land, such as building a home on it.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

I think one of the main barriers we face is our Whānau's lack of learning - who leave and forget about home. People don't bother learning, lose knowledge, about land and whakapapa and tikanga. I, myself have many regrets about this as I didn't come home until my Mum was gone.

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

I came home to die, but I've improved, and so now have become our Whānau representative. I think, if you're going to leave the land, leave NZ and the land is in your name, then I reckon that land should be given back to the family, and that will release you from responsibility of owning that land, but the family still owns it. The responsibility should rest with the people on the land - the ahi kaa. I even feel that way about my own children owing land, as they're all back in Oz. It should be given to the family that's there living on the land.

Conflict – People and Skills

As far as conflict goes, sometimes it can be more aggressive not to say anything. Sometimes the passive aggressive approach is used as disapproval. I think what hinders Māori Development and Utilisation of Māori Land is poor management.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

I don't know much about the Māori Land Act or reform but what deters me from participating is the white man. The hardest thing for me is being stood over. They still keep the foot on the throat. They will only let you go so far, then pull the rug out from under us. I've only noticed that since I've been back here. I never used to think like that when I was young fulla but since I've come home, you can just feel the racism and suppression towards our people. It makes me depressed when I think about of how they just kept the foot on the throat for so long.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

Now I've returned home, it's sad that many Whānau members have gone, especially the elders including my parents. I've been away so long, and now I am an elder. While my Whānau have nominated me to be our Whānau representative - to learn about whakapapa, the land and most of all learn about our tikanga - it is too much for one person. I'm not the eldest, and have two elder brothers. However, we need more people in our Whānau to learn than me, and most of all we need the next generation to start stepping up, and all of my children and mokos were born, and are still in Oz.

Kaumatua Male (66 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

I'm the eldest, and grew up on our farm as my father purchased his brother's shares. We were on that farm from 1955 to present day. My younger brother Colin took over the farm and it is now in his name through agreement as the farm was too small (16 acres) for all four of my siblings and I. However, I have my own land there as well in my own name as it was willed to me by my father, behest of working him. That was my reward. I never built a whare on it because I didn't plan to reside there. I'm looking at putting a nursery of Manuka there.

Conflict – People and Skills

I think what causes conflict are forces outside, and trust – or more so a lack of trust, and it's very evident in this country. Who can you trust? Your Whānau trusted the bank with those taonga, and now the whole, all gone. I think it's possible to resolve conflict with communication, and Māori need to learn the art of communicating with each other and stop learning the white man's tricks.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

I don't know about the Act or the reform but immediately, it flashes to me "I'm about to get ripped off". Straight away, you think "Here we go, I'm gonna get me black ass kicked again." As I mentioned before, I thought the MLC was quite divisive. I'm unsure if the ML management systems serve the needs of the people. Maybe they do. I suppose they had their moments, and it depends on the individual so it's quite subjective. As for me, I don't trust the Māori Land Court or the decisions that they make. Never have. I know who I'm dealing with. A bit frustrating at times and I don't think it is effective as it should be. I believe that they work to what is expected of them, like all public servants but you can't wish for, or expect too much from them. They won't elaborate what you're entitled to. You know the mushroom principle - Keep you in the dark and feed you bullshit.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

I think that Māori land owners that live overseas should absolutely keep their Māori land rights. Our tipuna wanted it that way. They didn't want some other taurekareka coming in to do it, you do it yourself. I can see that we're getting to a stage now, that everything is nearly exhausted. And this doesn't exclude us here in NZ. We are vulnerable to changes.

Kaumatua Female (67 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

You kind of grow up knowing things because it was given to you, taught to you by those who raised you. It became intrinsic. I truly believe it stays with us. Our old people knew what they were doing in teaching us certain things, and even the ways that they would instil it within us so that we retained it, so that it came out

when it needed to, even if it was years later, as in my case. If you know knowledge that was passed down, then stand by it and don't let others try and berate you for it.

Conflict – People and Skills

Whilst we may have intrinsic knowledge that we were instilled with from our elders, or that we were raised with, we still need to learn the skills of today, of modern life, and to research. It should be so clearly in your mind - Know your subject, so if you've travelled the journey with that subject, no one can challenge or question what you're doing because you have the answers to deflect any negativity or you have the answers to qualify your korero.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

Even though I learned the pakeha ways, and way of life and left home, I never forgot what was given to me and what I was taught. It came as quite a surprise to me as well and it was not until I started getting involved with the land, and returning home, to the marae as well. Everything just came back to me when I needed it, especially when I started doing all of this work for our land.

Things started coming back to me, so I truly believe that these gifts and ways that area given to us, stay with us and they re-surface within us when we are ready. Sometimes, I surprised myself with certain things, or sayings or ways that came from me – as I did not consciously remember having learned them. They happened out of the blue, but as soon as it happened, I knew exactly where or who it came from – it was from the nurturing I received from my grandmother and others around me during my upbringing.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

Fragmentation favours larger shareholders and dis-advantages smaller shareholders where their dividends or income is miniscule, and I think our people need to re-structure their governance so parts of it are consolidated, so that smaller shareholders and future beneficiaries will benefit as well.

Kaumatua Female (83 years)

Conflict – Values and Knowledge

Over the generations, the Tangata Whenua have lost their way and do not understand the concept of ahi kaa and mana whenua. There is an absence of strong Māori leadership to guide the tribes like the chiefs did. Only the influence of the European who has very little knowledge and no understanding of our people. Greed and Distrust is our fellow man.

Conflict – People and Skills

My sister and I always wanted to return home to live on or around our whenua. Sadly, we never did and there were two reasons for that. 1. We had no land there anymore, and 2. Many of the people, our Whānau who lived there did not want us there. They were nasty, stopped us returning, drove us away.

What hinders Māori Development is that we have no unity, leadership and vision. We are still treated today as second class citizens, and we need to re-assert our authority over our lands and assets, as it was guaranteed to us in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Conflict – Māori Land and Management Systems

Although I was born in Hastings, I have never returned to live there due to damaged family relationships. The MLC and Māori Trustee serves the needs of the Māori under their own law and systems, and they believe that they have done us a wonderful favour, on our behalf. But after a hundred years we are all still confused with the many structures produced over the years, and by the influence of the educated European on behalf of our lands, and what ownerships we have left. All we, the people have, is to follow the structures and systems produced by our partnership.

Conflict – Fears for the Future Generations

Most of our people are now renting homes, and we have become tenants in the country we once owned. We are still waiting after nearly two hundred years for

justice and compensation for the lands taken from all Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa tribes. The Commonwealth is a fraud to the people of the lands, as the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees equal partnership between two peoples.

6.6 NEEDS / SOLUTIONS & VISION

Rangatahi

Rangatahi Male (28 years)

- *My direction for wanting to learn te reo Māori and tikanga, I believe is preparing me for when I go onto the paepae - I can do so confidently and competently.*
- *Knowledge is power. That has become my motto and motivation. I have a plan, so for me it's all about wanting to be a representative on the paepae, and anything in regards to Māoritanga, Māori land shares and anything with regards to Te Ao Māori or tikanga Māori. My end goal is to hopefully have the dominant shares within our family trust. That's where it comes to for me. I have a pathway to my end goal - which is to one day be head of our Whānau trust.*
- *Our trust requires the specific skills of people who are business minded, management skills. However, most importantly it requires someone who is also skilled in tikanga Māori, as well as qualities of a Rangatira.*
- *I've been toying with the idea or the concept of removing trustees, and implementing a third party who manages the assets. I know there's already such models in place with bigger trusts etc.*
- *From a self-interest point of view, I think it's great that people remain ignorant and not know about this for the success of others (aka sort of what I'm going through). However, of course that view is not in line with tikanga Māori. If I continued with that attitude, I would be following*

exactly what the white British rule wanted. Colonisation wants Māori to stay ignorant and remain underneath their feet. They don't really want Māori to succeed because as soon as they start to prosper, they have the carpet pulled from underneath them.

Rangatahi Male (32 years)

- *Since becoming a father two years ago, my vision has expanded, not only for me and my Whānau but for life itself. I now want to positively contribute to my people and the world. I want to return home soon, to build a home on our ancestral land, near our marae. I want my sons to know where I grew up, and play on the marae where I did. I think when I do move home, that I will be a regular down at the marae. I just know it.*
- *Learning as much as I can from the people I need to, so that I can be confident in my knowledge. When I return home with my family, I want to know everything there is to know so that my family and I can be comfortable and no one can challenge us or say we don't belong. As long as I know my place, that's all I need to know.*
- *I think all information relating to Māori land ownership or business should always be documented for future reference.*
- *I think that the lands should be divided up among owners as it's too difficult for all owners to reach a consensus. As long as we know the history and whakapapa of that land, and its significance - owners should be able to do what they want with their land.*
- *I suppose a good start would be to ensure all knowledge is kept alive in every way possible. A Whānau database would be an effective means of tracking information for future generations.*

- *I will start by learning all there is to learn. I have started learning my whakapapa so that I know who I am and where I'm from, and my connection to our land. I'll continue learning and will ensure I pass it to my children, who I hope will pass to theirs and so on.*
- *I'm glad that my partner also wants to return home. We met in Oz, but have found out that we are from the same marae (and even the same tipuna). She wants to live on our land too, to raise our sons there, grow veges and herbs, raise chickens and animals. My partner is a designer and could do her business anywhere in the world from home. I hope our dream and vision becomes a reality. I don't want my sons growing up in Oz, disconnected from home. We need that connection again.*

Rangatahi Female (29 years)

- *As a teacher, my vision is to help make children become successful civilians of society, to have self-esteem and self-confidence, and to experience pride and a sense of achievement. That is important to me, and the children don't necessarily have to be Māori. However, I dearly do want to break stereo-types and stigma associated with 'Māori'.*
- *All I can say is that, I hope my Whānau resolve the issues they have soon or our Whānau will never come home from Oz. We just don't know 'how' to make that happen, as 'that' is in the hands of my mother and her generation.*
- *I think the Government has tied Māori land up so much with all their legislation, I dread having to learn all of that before we're able to even do anything with our land. I think the biggest thing that needs to happen is to simplify the Māori Land Management systems. Māori land is so complicated and hard.*
- *I absolutely want to contribute to improving things and have started already. My first cousin and I (who is also a wāhine) are the only two in*

our generation that have returned to live in NZ. Our other siblings and cousins still live in Oz. We miss our brothers, cousins and the rest of our Whānau dearly and want them to return. What have we done so far? Well, we both attended the governance training, and we both feel we are ready to learn and take on roles of responsibility such as trustee roles.

- *I think it should be compulsory for ALL Māori land owners and/or shareholders to attend Governance Training workshops. Last year I went to a Governance Training Workshop that my cousin (26 years old) and I attended a governance training working. I wasn't sure if I wanted to attend, but was so glad that I did. My cousin and I were the only ones of our generation, and we attended it with some of my wider Whānau who were trustees on some of our land blocks. I really enjoyed the day and it taught me so much. I learned about Māori land, trusts and responsibilities of a trustee. Most of all, it gave me the confidence to be able to step up to trustee roles soon. I think I would be a good trustee, and that some Māori trusts need young people like me and my generation.*

- *I think it's important for my mother and the generations before her, to open the doors to allow my generation to have a say, have our opinions and ideas heard. We live in a different time now. We're more educated and live in the modern world. We are a generation, with different views, are in the new age of technology and education, and therefore have many new ideas on ways to use the land. I think our generation has a lot to give with the education and skills behind us. I think we would know how to utilise the land, other than farming. Eventually the land will be passed to us, so why are the doors being closed on us. Why is everyone trying to protect us, so that the raru isn't handed down to us?*

- *Personally, for myself? My vision is to return home and live on our whenua. My brother and I talk about living next door to each other, and our kids growing up with one another with our Mum living nearby. I always imagine my Grandma to be living with me until the end....and I cannot even imagine the end (or a world without my Grandma in it).*

Pakeke

Pakeke Male (50 years)

- *It's important to ensure that information, knowledge, photographs and manuscripts doesn't end up in boxes under someone's bed that dies, and then it never sees the light of day again. So ensure information is regularly shared, so it's retained.*

- *I think there is a number of things that need to happen, and this is me putting my professional hat on, rather than me personally. I think the governance is lacking. I think every single member of the committee need to understand what their responsibilities are, what role they're playing being on the committee. I think that needs to be written down so they can read it, and they understand it. Also, that they sign to say that they actually understand what their role is there, and finally that they don't allow themselves to be bullied or pushed into doing something that they don't understand. Most of all, it's essential to ensure that a committee has the right collective mix and expertise, so that they know what they're doing.*

- *Identify the relevant skill gaps and ask for help when needed.*

- *Governance is absolutely key, and the thing is that I don't think there is necessarily one governance model that is going to be suitable for all scenarios. I think there are some template governance models that could be created.*

- *Provide governance training for free. Get your foot in the door, to actually be able to consult on the governance or structure and strategic model! Give the governance training for free, but charge on the strategic planning.*

- *I would like to contribute if my family would allow me to, I would like to offer my expertise and knowledge. But when I do return home, I never see myself getting involved in the day to day running of our lands. However, I have definitely taken an active interest in it.*

- *Above all, I think the shareholders, the committee members, the chairman need to get together and work out what this corporation is here for. Because if one person wants to be the biggest land owner on the east coast, and is prepared to kind of mortgage the station up to the hilt to achieve it, versus another who might just be wanting a regular income stream in the form of a dividend every year. They are mutually exclusive, you can't achieve both - SO WHAT IS IT? And other shareholders might just want to sell their shares in 5 years' time.....or is it that you want to achieve a legacy for your children? WHAT IS IT?*

- *It's not rocket science. People want different things, and unless you work out what it is that the corporation or trust, or your family is trying to achieve, that EVERYONE BUYS INTO?, then you are going to end up in conflict every time.*

- *Personally, for me - I've spent a lot of time at home the past couple of years. However, the main reason I would like to return home is my Mum and Dad really. Dad's 84 and hasn't been well. I would really love to come home and am planning to transition home. However, I'm looking for work, and whilst I know I won't make the same income, I want to get close to it, in preferably something I like. I'de like to do a spell in Sydney and then come home but if something comes up sooner here that would be good. But please don't tell anyone here about my plans (Mum, Dad and sister) or I'll never hear the end of it. I'de rather tell them when it's definite.*

Pakeke Female (53 years)

- I think it's important to record, store and retain this knowledge for us and our future generations.
- Resolve conflict, and I'm not sure how we would do this. However, a good start would be honesty. We need to do it soon as we don't want our children to inherit these problems.
- I know that we as Māori need to ensure that we learn as much knowledge as possible, regarding our whenua, whakapapa and Whānau, not only for our own purpose, but to pass on to the next generation. Maybe it would be better just dividing up the land so we are unaffected by each other.
- I contribute all the time, even if I don't live in NZ. I am involved in Whānau hui all the time from home, via skype and internet. I try to keep up to date with important matters. Here in Australia, I support tangi and Whānau and friends here, as well as support and get involved in Māori initiatives here.
- I think an important thing we need to remember when it comes to Māori land is that we're all family, and should count for something.
- My aspiration for myself is to live a comfortable life back home, and be happy in the knowledge that my children are able to live their lives, the same, wherever that may be. I would dearly love to move home and bring my whole family back with me so that can bring their children. However, what keeps me here in Oz, is debt.

Pakeke Male (59 years)

- *I think it's important that our future generations know who their people are.*
- *It is important for me to ensure that my children, and grandchildren retain a strong connection to home, through their whakapapa, land, marae and our Whānau.*
- *I think that Government needs to simplify things. The thing is make it easier for Māori to understand what their rights are, and exactly what they are able to do with their land.*
- *Because I live in Utah, it is difficult to fully participate due to the distance. However, when I return home for the six month period I will definitely take a more active role and will support my sister and familiarise myself with the knowledge I need to.*

Kaumatua

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

- *My motivation is to ensure that the Tikanga is kept alive in our Whānau and that our Whānau is well represented.*
- *My Whānau need a representative in our Whānau to learn about whakapapa, the land and most of all learn about our tikanga. Our rangatahi live in the world of the Pakeha and need to live in Te Ao Māori. Learning and Education, and don't leave it too late.*
- *My daughter said she wanted to learn all of the knowledge that I've been learning, from both my Mum and Dad's side. Hearing that really made me think that it has all been worth it.*

- *Talk. Keep the relationships good with your Whānau, and don't grow too far apart.*
- *I contribute as the representative of my Whānau. I live it every day, I live on the marae, and am fully immersed in learning tikanga Māori.*
- *I think wairua brought me home. I used to get visions big time, in my dreams and most of it was on the paepae. I would go and see clairvoyants and they would say that I was supposed to go home. I returned when my Mum passed away. I was coming home twice a year just to spend time with Mum. At that stage, you really don't want to go. You know, being there so long and then coming home, you get hit with all the mamae of all the land and everything, it's quite emotional. A big thing about why we come home is because of sickness, and death - just the bad things happening - that's often why you come home.*

Kaumatua Male (60 years)

- *We need more people in our Whānau to learn than me, and most of all we need the next generation to start stepping up.*
- *My first experience that I remember feeling that wairua of my taha Māori after I returned from Oz, was when my cousin picked me up to go to a one week wananga at EIT. We listened to different kaiako and koroua whaikorero, and learned the do's and don'ts on the marae. One thing that amazed me was that one of my nephews who I'de known since he was 4-5 yrs old, and had grown up in Australia, was one of the tutors there. Jeremy (Tātere). I didn't recognise him when he bowled up to me and said "Don't you recognise me Uncle?" Well that day was just amazing. From that moment on, I've just been learning.*
- *I think that all Māori land shares should be put together, consolidated, and we talk about it. What it boils down to is that you're going to get anywhere if you're not going to talk to anyone about it. And to make those*

decisions, actually it takes a better person to make a decision than one to complain about it.

- *Education and Learning, and learn as much as possible from your parents, grandparents while you can. Because once they're gone, they're gone forever.*

- *After 40 years in Oz, I came home to die three years ago. I was bitten by a king brown snake, and the venom had started to eat out the walls of all the tissue surrounding my heart. My heart rate was only working at 23% of its ability and I had two heart attacks. So, I left my business there to my sons and family and came home because I didn't think I had long. I had a kiwi surgeon over in Oz, but told him that I didn't want to be cut up or have surgery on my heart so I put my faith in him, and allowed myself to be a guinea pig on some new heart medication. Now my heart's working at 55%, so things have improved since I've been back. I'm still alive today because of it. But my surgeon says it's NZ that's made it work, not the pills.*

- *Since I came home I'm living a life dedicated to tikanga Māori. I live on our ancestral land in our Whānau homestead, visit the marae and kohanga reo most days and am learning to speak on the paepae. My biggest regret was not spending enough time with my mother and father. I was asked by my sisters to take on this role as our family representative, with our land and on the paepae. It gave me a bit of a fright because I didn't know anything about it. Their response was "Well bro, you have to learn." There's no one in my family that's doing what I'm doing now, of trying to uphold the tikanga in our family by learning and researching. I've really come forward in the last few years, just to understand. A single sentence is enormous.*

Kaumatua Male (66 years)

- *Māori need to learn the art of communicating with each other and stop learning the white man's tricks.*
- *I would say that Communications are our biggest asset. Knowledge, what's happening. Being up with the play.*
- *Research and Training being active and ongoing, and Communication. I think there should be people there, in the ground, Ahi Kaa.*
- *What people should understand is that word F E A R. Don't be afraid aye. False Evidence Appearing Real. Kids are fearless....until they go to church and are confirmed. Then it's you can't do this or that, everything is wrong, and don't enjoy yourself too much or you're going to hell.*
- *I've always contributed. It's never ended. Even when I was travelling and living around the world. I always came home, always contributed, to my Whānau, my hapū, my marae, my whenua. I just carried on. I never left, abandoned or neglected any of that.*
- *I didn't really realise it but I guess my whole life, I have been involved in helping to uphold the mauri of my marae, for our people. Over the 40 years I've been away, I regularly returned home to stoke the home fires. I would always come home to help the old man on the farm, and with things at the marae.*
- *I came home to restore the wharenuī in my rohe. For the past 13 years, I started a project with about 8 others from Rongowhakaata, for the restoration of the wharenuī around Rongowhakaata. I wanted to learn how to restore wharenuī, especially as a lot of our wharenuī here were quite run down. We started with about 8 or 9 of us in this project, but it quickly dwindled down to only 2 of us. My nephew and I continued as we*

wanted to learn. So over 12-13 years we restored Epiha, Hinehou, Rukupo, Takipu, Whakato, Pahau, Ngai Tamanuhiri, and our local church Tokotorotapu. We weren't paid either. So during that 13 year period, although I was still following the work in Oz, I always made a point of coming back here to assist my nephew with the restorations. After we had finished each project, I'de take off back to Oz for a bit to make some putea, then I'de come back when it was time to start the next one. I'de live on the smell of an oily rag (I'm used to it). One year, we restored the 3 wharenuui in Manutuke in the one year. So it was aroha work here at home, and go to Oz to make some money.

- So now there's an art exhibition in Wellington, Te Papa, and we were supposed to do the restoration for KiokiTuranga - the wharenuui, and it is in a state of desecration, that it has to be carved. About 80 odd pieces have been stolen, or are counterfeit. This is quite a high profile project, with putea attached, and has been taken over the by our Iwi. Although my nephew and I have restored all the wharenuui and the church in our Iwi, at no cost, with no pay, over 13 years, our services have been overlooked and we will not be needed for this project. But kei te pai.

Kaumatua Female (67 years)

- Our old people knew what they were doing in teaching us certain things, and even the ways that they would instil it within us so that we retained it, so that it came out when it needed to, even if it was years later, as in my case. If you know knowledge that was passed down, then stand by it and don't let others try and berate you for it.
- Whilst we may have intrinsic knowledge that we were instilled with from our elders, or that we were raised with, we still need to learn the skills of today, of modern life, and to research.
- If you've learned your subject well, travelled the journey, with that subject, no one can challenge or question what you're doing because you

have the answers to deflect any negativity or you have the answers to qualify your korero.

- *Fragmentation favours larger shareholders and dis-advantages smaller shareholders where their dividends or income is miniscule, and I think our people need to re-structure their governance so parts of it are consolidated, so that smaller shareholders and future beneficiaries will benefit as well.*

Kaumatua Female (83 years)

- *Māori are still treated today as second class citizens in our own country, and we need to re-assert our authority over our lands and assets, as it was guaranteed to us in the Treaty of Waitangi.*
- *In my opinion, Māori have no unity, leadership and vision, So that's what we need to make progress.*
- *I have spent my life contributing to our people, my Whānau. It has been never ending, and often thankless and unappreciated. Be mindful what you dedicate your time and energies into.*
- *Over the generations, the Tangata Whenua have lost their way and do not understand the concept of ahi kaa and mana whenua. There is an absence of strong Māori leadership to guide the tribes like the chiefs did. Only the influence of the European who has very little knowledge and no understanding of our people. Greed and Distrust is our fellow man.*

GROUP B

Māori Land Consultant – Female

Connections

I assist people, by providing guidance to reveal opportunities to land owners, so they are better equipped to manage and utilise their land, and develop and set up businesses. I can show them the entities and structures to enable them to manage their land, such as the Ahu Whenua, Corporation, Whānau trusts etc. I am an ex-employee of the Māori Land Court, and spent a considerable number of years with the Courts in a management role. After being made redundant last year, I decided to start a Consultancy Service. My passion is about the management and utilisation of land, and encouraging people to manage their land themselves instead of allowing others to use their land. It is about stepping up and being responsible.

Tikanga Knowledge / Rights and Responsibilities

Māori are unique people and have a gene that is completely different from most people, the way we perceive things are different. Most Māori see land as a taonga to hand down to their children, where other nationalities view land as an asset. Māori nest, make a family home, look after our land. That is the inheritance we've received that we're going to hand to our children. Our ahua and the way we perceive and view things are different, so Māori need to have been hearing, and been raised within an environment where the korero was always about the korero, whenua, our whakapapa and the Lord. It is how we relate to others, and also to ourselves. Māori are unique. Indian and aboriginal are also indigenous but are also very different to us. So, Māori always want to protect their land, any way we can.

I am not sure exactly what mana whenua means and I'm sure other people may interpret it differently. My Māori side, or the way that I was raised...I personally prefer "Ahi kaa - the light that was burning despite all the land wars and adversity our people went through, many of our Whānau members that remained, is the main reason that people today still have Māori freehold land. These people

sat there that deserved to be there, and they kept that fire (ahi) burning, and they perpetuated a story like in our lore, Māori lore and tikanga that made generations believe that story, and since that Whānau (who are entitled to that certificate of title) still have that land. I personally don't like that term because the mana to me is with the people whose land is attached to that whenua. So if you are going to talk about mana, are you talking about all the names of that whenua? Or are you talking about only one person having the authority over others of that land.

Māori Land / Rights & Responsibilities

The mana lies with the owner and nobody has mana over other people's assets (only those owners do). A good example is - Say I want to create a trust over a piece of land so I can start developing it as I want to. There may be 17 other owners in that block and I may not talk to the other owners, and just go ahead to do this on my own. However, when I file an application, the Judge will ask if I have the consent of the other owners, such as - where are the minutes of those meetings? - How many owners were present at that meeting to create this ahu whenua trust? etc. - If I was to say no, then the onus will be put back on me to speak to the other owners. It is impossible to work unilaterally I guess, or autonomously in exclusion of the other owners.

Judges are recommending trusts to stop further fragmentation. Once many more people understand the benefits of trusts such as stopping fragmentation of shares, protection of assets from relationships etc, it will empower them more to adopt those structures. It is important to have key people to manage those trusts well. A great deal of my work is requests to assist Whānau establish structures such as trusts etc.

The key is how well it is managed as trusts are very enduring and can go on and on forever. If they are managed well and like any other business venture, good management and new opportunities will ensure long term success of the trust, Whānau and future generations. You could start with a farming enterprise today, and there is no reason why in 20 years you could diversify into other areas of business. As your beneficiaries and Whānau grow, so should your business view as you then become a hapū. Your trust should be the entity that enables you to feed that hapū and so on.

The capability within the Whānau would also grow through generations. So if you have people with vision managing the trust who can predict different types of business that they can guide their Whānau into. Many iwi organisations reflect that, with many of the benefits eventually trickling down to the beneficiaries. It is about diversification and development. Therefore, you need people with visions to see the opportunities, and knowing how to implement skills. Succession planning is also wise to implement to ensure the correct people are prepared to manage for the future. Unfortunately, many Whānau who have Whānau trusts do not look that far into the future. A good head with good vision is essential.

Te Tumu Paeroa's role is to tell owners what to do and how to manage their land. I do not believe they serve any greater need in my opinion in their role than the Guardian or Public Trust. At the end of the day they are an entity of people looking for work that involves using other peoples' assets. Do they protect them? I know they mean well and want to work with Māori, and their focus may have changed now they're Te Tumu Paeroa in the sense that they want to engage more with the decision making of the land with the owners. That is a good thing as long as they know when to step back from the owners and hand the management back. They need to recognise that they've done succession planning, and sown a seed with the owners, and we have a tree growing now, so you (owner) need to nurture and grow that tree, so continue to grow that tree and turn it into a forest? Can you turn that forest into houses?

Conflict / Barriers & Constraints

One challenge I see is 'Whānau issues' or 'conflict', and they see the courts as a way of sorting it out. If there is genuine conflict which requires the implementation of the Act, then OK, but don't use the courts to air your dirty laundry because the words are taken down on public record. If you have Whānau raruraru, keep it at home and resolve it out of court because you don't want others to hear the nastiness. Sometimes, the challenge is trying to get Whānau to behave and be a Whānau.

Another challenge is the complacency that our Whānau have, being very laid back. Trying to encourage them to see opportunities and take risks is difficult. There are lots of opportunities out there and if Whānau knew about them and took

steps to investigating those opportunities, having a Whānau business created from their Whānau land would open up vast opportunities. Trying to enthuse Whānau to see opportunities that they have the capability, and encouraging them to investigate opportunities (for me) is the most difficult thing. The old adage, you can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make it drink. You can paint a picture or scenario for an individual or Whānau. However, if they cannot visualise themselves doing it, then it will not work.

I think what holds Māori back is 'the processes', amount of bureaucracy, red tape and different people that they have to go through the likes of Māori Land Court, Māori Trustee, Councils, Winz and numerous other government and private organisations? Unfortunately, this is the reality in the modern world, and for many Māori (most Māori, not the educated Māori) it's too difficult for them to engage. It all becomes too overwhelming for them, and is why many do not want to rock the boat, or stand up and be heard.....so they become complacent.

Also, the fragmentation of all these services, and dealing with them all just becomes too hard for Māori and unfortunately, Māori today have shown that they do not have the tenacity, drive and commitment to deal with these services. Most of our people are not academic but are often skilled in the arts or practical works. If more of this was provided, then Māori would have a better understanding, better health esteem and abilities, but the formation of policies such as social, housing, health and education have a direct impact on our people.

Needs / Solutions & Vision

Housing needs are very high. We always talk about land utilisation and social issues, ie. access to health, food, money and education whether you are Māori or other. Māori are always asset rich but the mechanism to enable them to start their own vesting (or nesting) is housing first. The main difficulty is the barrier that Māori face with trying to obtain housing on their whenua, and the impossibility for them to finance themselves into a mortgage. All due respect to Housing New Zealand trying to get first home owners into homes, but the reality with Māori is that due to the lack of financial literacy, or poor decisions made in earlier years has resulted with adverse credit ratings that stop them securing finance for mortgages.

Everyone wants independence. No one wants to be dependent on the state, parents or Whānau, or renting other people's homes. People have a natural right to be independent and it is something we all yearn for. How do we help our Māori people? That is where the biggest need for Māori is. Housing.

During my 14 years of working for Māori Land Court, I only saw three groups successfully undertake and complete papakainga projects. That is a poor result. Papakainga housing does not need to be complicated, it needs collaboration. If there is a group of you that each want a home on a papakainga, then the group of you each need to take portfolios on, such as one to take on the council, one take on the finance, one deal with the Māori land court, and one deal with the utilities, and then if you each have a portfolio and pull your efforts together, then you have a house started.

One of the most satisfying experience in my work has been the three papakainga housing developments I assisted with. They were tangible things that I could see the progress, participate and collaborate with others very effectively. Just to see the achievement was the biggest thrill, to be there right from the beginning....from drawing the plan, directing people to Council, roading, services etc...but then to finally see the houses sitting on the land looking out to see with unimpeded roadways.

We need to understand that we have a responsibility to our Whānau, hapū and Iwi to try and use that taonga for the betterment of all of us. How do we do that? With vision, from very forward thinking people, who will plant a seed, to grow a tree, and a forest, and then a suburb.

Māori Land Consultant – Male

Connections

My services are to assist Māori to fulfil their desires and in some cases obligations, and to provide assistance to create Whānau trusts, land trusts. I also assist in arranging leases and licenses, and assist Whānau in creating their Whānau trusts in a way that fulfils their wishes. In other words, if one person doesn't want to be part in the Whānau trust it doesn't mean that the Whānau trust should fail.

I am an ex-employee of the Māori Land Court, and spent a considerable number of years with the Courts in the role of registrar. I started my own consultancy business as I saw the ability to help people, where I could assist them in finding information. If people really wanted to find information, whether it was land, whakapapa or historical information, then I am able to assist by charging a reasonable fee within a reasonable timeframe. The main reason clients seek me out is for information, not because they are in conflict. I do not advertise any services of a mediator. If there is effective communication, and information shared, conflict does not occur.

My main supplier is the Māori Land Court which is an information base, and without that base, I would be very limited in providing the services that I do. My core business at the moment is predominantly two parts.

- 1. Conducting research, and providing information for the court and,*
- 2. Managing the leases and licenses for a local farming operation.*

Sometimes I feel as though part of my role is to be a referee. However, at the end of the day it is the owners that need to get satisfaction and make decisions about their land. The days when others make the decisions regarding others land are well past, and all owners really need to front up and take responsibility for the decisions made about their land.

Tikanga Knowledge / Rights and Responsibilities

Whakapapa can be traced through land if it was inherited through natural succession. However, if it was inherited through 'will' then the research needs to go much deeper.

I am not sure exactly what the term of Mana Whenua means. Once the land is transferred to a trust, the trustees will then have the mana whenua. Maybe it means "To remain in control of our own destiny of their land."

Māori Land / Rights & Responsibilities

Key issues that complicate Māori land is that on some blocks:-

- *Many owners have no interest or participation with their land shares (many never have attended a shareholder meeting)*
- *As many as one third of the shareholders or owners on a land block may have passed away (with shares never succeeded to)*
- *At the time of the influenza epidemic at the turn of the century, entire hapū or Whānau passed away (with shares never succeeded to, and/or no one to succeed to them)*
- *Further fragmentation of shares*

A lot of people look at Māori land and if they look at the Te Turiwhenua Act that has everything in it, it is really only the one piece of approximately 30 pieces of legislation that we actually use.

Trusts

Since the introduction of the Te Ture Whenua Act in 1993, (when it provided legislation to create Whānau trusts), the courts have been promoting these trusts because politicians said to.

However, I have a concern with this structure:-

- *In any other recording system of ownership within the world, the owners are recorded as registered proprietors and this is what is recorded on the official record.*
- *However, within Māori land - the real owners are not recorded within the normal general land title, so in the DLR only the trustees of the trust are (not all the other real owners).*
- *Therefore, once it becomes a Whānau trust with Māori land, the courts no longer have the onus of maintaining that ownership record, so.*
- *Is this a legislative decision to get the Crown away from having to maintain these Whānau trusts, and leaving the onus on the Whānau trust to look after their own.*

The overall risk is that within 2-3 generations:-

- *These Whānau trusts will fall over, and*
- *Hence will be very difficult, if near possible to bring back to a general land title, and*
- *How will the correct owners be proven?*
- *At least 50% of families are divorced, and quite often there will be children from blended families and children borne out of wedlock, so*
- *How are trustees going to be expected to know every single Whānau member two or three generations down the line?*
- *How do you qualify or dis-qualify an individual who then claims to be a descendant (even if estranged from the Whānau).*

Then other complications that could occur when the inclusion of 'their' spouses, and stepchildren, and their children and children's children:-

- *How do you manage this?*

And then there is the next subject of wills:-

- *Who makes these decisions?*
- *How are they tested?*
- *Do the future trustees have the capability and skills to maintain such extensive records and implementation of trust deeds, policies and regulations?*
- *How can conflict be resolved?*
- *How can action be taken if the Courts do not maintain records?*
- *Has anyone thought this far ahead?*

Strategies should be considered now.

Conflict / Barriers & Constraints

Unfortunately, the sharing of MLC records is becoming more and more difficult to access and is a symptom of the current Government. A person used to be able to access information at IRD, or the Department of Land Information. Much of this information is now unavailable, centralised to Wellington or charged at a premium price. Many electronic systems which were once available is now either

unavailable, difficult to access and/or charged at a premium price. The only way a legal claim to Māori land can be substantiated is through the Māori Land Court records. Knowledge is power, and economic power.

I think there is a gradual move to close the Māori Land Court regional offices, and perhaps centralise the records. The staff numbers had diminished considerably and the courts productiveness is assessed through the amount of applications lodged and/or hearings held in their regions. The irony here is, if Māori land court records become inaccessible, then the applicant is unable to lodge their application. It will become an impossible. The worst scenario is that a few generations down the track, the records will be unattainable. If families do not retain their own records and, then all may be lost in the future.

I think people become frustrated with the systems today. With many families, the first time that the children have anything to do with their land is usually when they succeed with the parents die. In some cases the information is completely lost because the parent has not involved the children when they were alive. The worst case is, if the parents do not start preparing their children while they are alive, those children will struggle trying to start from scratch once their parent has died.

Thousands and thousands of Māori have walked away from their Māori land interests because of the complexities, difficulties, raruraru, conflict and helplessness feeling that the expenses far outweigh the benefits. It just all gets too hard with some feeling as though they suffer through it and they just give up in despair.

Needs / Solutions & Vision

In contemporary times, Māori have moved on and as the whole Māori land system structure itself is similar to that of the 1950's - it no longer serves Māori today. The legislation seems to be written in such a way almost that for any Māori person with land interests, all of their transactions 'must' go through court. Why? Is it because they are considered nothing but a dumb Māori? This doesn't apply to general land, so why Māori land. I don't like that at all because I believe that there are very astute people out there, no matter what colour they are. In my

experience I think Māori land owners are being impeded by the Act to a great extent.

No matter what decisions Māori make, there are so many legislative changes occurring all the time that could have a direct impact on the direction that Māori move. For example, tax laws on trusts are constantly reviewed, and whilst you have other parties that make decisions on behalf of others, I am certain that there are no two families that will always want to be at the same place simultaneously. Māori need to put in place a business plan - short term, medium term and long term plans - with a number of contingency plans in place.

If the parents actively participate with their Māori land interests, and start familiarising their children with the information while they are still alive, then it is much simpler for those children to step into their parents role as Māori land owner. Preparation and familiarisation is the key. It is never too early to start preparing and familiarising your children with Māori land interests.

Chapter Seven

7.0 ANALYSIS

The data revealed indicated that the generation of rangatahi were taken to Australia as children, as their parents were searching for employment opportunities and better lifestyles. They all seemed to have a very strong emotional connection to New Zealand, and all yearned to return home throughout their child and adolescent years. Today, two have returned to New Zealand and have no desire to ever reside overseas again. The one that remains in Australia wishes to return home with his young family as he believes New Zealand is the better country to raise children. However, his only reluctance to return is around the lack of employment and housing availability, and fear returning to a life of struggle. All rangatahi wish to raise their children in New Zealand, as they have fond childhood memories themselves.

The pakeke group had all been living away from New Zealand for a significant period, and had similar migration stories of leaving to pursue better opportunities, and although they did not intend to stay away from New Zealand so long, they had all progressed and adapted well overseas. Whilst one did not have children, the other two raised children, and now have grandchildren overseas, and whilst they have strong emotional connections to home, they have a much stronger connection to their children and grandchildren. Whilst moving home is a desire for all, it is not a priority. All feel that New Zealand does not offer any opportunities whatsoever in the way of work, income, housing and lifestyle. One pakeke has no intention of ever returning home to live as his son passed away at 18 years old, and is buried overseas.

The data revealed that only three of the kaumatua group had returned home to reside, after having spent between 20 – 40 years living overseas and/or around the world. One returned home to die as he believed he did not have long to live. Another returned soon after his mother passed away. Two of that group acknowledged that during their long absence from New Zealand, they weren't heavily involved with matters at home, and did not return until after the passing of

their parents. Today, they have both been given the task of Whānau representative, both heavily involved in daily activities on the marae, and both acknowledge they now live in the world Te Ao Māori, learning the reo, tikanga, whakapapa, histories of their Whānau land. The other kaumatua said that he returned home regularly during his 40 years overseas, to assist his parents at home, on the farm and at the marae. He spent the past 13 years returning home on a regular basis specifically to perform restoration on the marae in his rohe. The data revealed similar results for both kuia, that they both moved away with their respective husbands/partners, and whilst they have both resided away from their home (place of birth), they have been heavily involved in advocacy work in land matters. Neither have intentions of returning home to live.

All groups reported to having been raised within an extended Whānau environment, and had a strong connection with their marae (if not now) at some stage in their lifetime. Surprisingly, all interviewed had a strong connection (if not raised) with a grandparent (usually grandmother) figure at some point in their lives. With the rangatahi group, the connections and memories were still strong, clear and very emotional. Whilst the pakeke group had a good recollection and fondness of those memories, they were not as emotionally attached to those memories. The kaumatua group had stories of their tipuna and grandparents, but often expressed some regret at having lost their parents prematurely, or not having spent enough time, or learning with them.

All rangatahi have a strong connection to their culture and tikanga values. However, only two of the rangatahi (that reside in New Zealand) are actively involved in learning whakapapa, te reo, kapahaka and feel ready to step up to the responsibilities of land management, such as trustee roles and learning about governance responsibilities. The rangatahi that remains in Australia wishes to develop his learning in this area as well.

The pakeke group shared similar experiences, in that whilst they feel a strong connection to their culture, and would like to contribute to land and tikanga responsibilities at home, they do not participate on a regular basis. They stated that the geographical distance and lack of information available is a barrier.

Two members of the pakeke group said that they had both been given the task of Whānau representative, since they returned home from overseas and as a result have had a complete lifestyle change as they are at the marae every day, learning the reo, sitting on the paepae, and helping in the kohanga reo. The other kaumatua has spent the past 13 years returning home on a regular basis specifically to perform restoration on the marae in his rohe. One of the kuia regarded herself as having become quite ‘Pakehafied’ after her grandmother (who had raised her) sent her to a Pakeha boarding school. Yet she was able to explain in great depth about the tikanga skills and knowledge that her grandmother instilled in her. She explained that she was surprised that she was able to retain all of that information, and that it came back to her whenever she had to deal with land matters. She was able to recall place names, people, land marks and whakapapa knowledge. The other kuia had spent a considerable amount of years researching and performing advocacy work for her hapū, and became head claimant for her hapū treaty claim.

In regards to the marae connections, it seemed that the marae connection was strong for the rangatahi group, and seemed to become less significant for the pakeke group (who reside overseas), and then becoming very strong at the level of the kaumatua group. In saying that, three of the (male) kaumatua had taken on the responsibility of representing their Whānau on the marae. Only three of the male participants (one rangatahi and two kaumatua) acknowledged the dire situation of Whānau members participating in marae activities.

The two pakeke that still reside overseas stated that although they have not resided in New Zealand for a number of years, they still practice tikanga values and practices over in Australia and the US. One believed that she retains sufficient connections to home by participating in whānau hui via skype, and through the organisation of events / hui, having an open door policy and always hosting manuhiri in Australia etc, and believes that she (and many other Māori in Australia) have just transferred their tikanga values and actions over to Australia. Their statements are as follows:-

“One thing I’ve noticed in the eighteen years I’ve been in Australia, is that Māori stick together, and whilst we tend to gravitate with many from the same iwi, we also have made many friends of other iwi as well. So, during times of celebration, illness and tangi (or even just in times of need), we come together in support of each other, so tikanga is still practised”.

Our Māori community are currently planning to build a marae in Utah. However, there are some concerns which I think is because of the pan-tribal aspect. Some tribes have a dominant involvement (and somewhat ownership) of the project more so than other tribes, and I feel that it could be much more inclusive of all of the tribes (as I think some feel excluded). To me, it was very clear that we were going to run into problems down the road. Such as 'whose tipuna would sit on top of the wharenuī?' I have friends in Utah who are from other iwi, and they're just as dominant as we are, but perhaps not as outspoken. I can see conflict on the horizon, but I hope it resolves.

In regards to whakapapa, tikanga and historical knowledge – all participants were concerned that not only is there a lack of individuals available to learn the knowledge from, but there also was a shortage of family members willing to step forward to learn. Also, whilst many of the participants were interested and had a desire to learn, most had not implemented them.

In regards to the land, all were familiar with the details and management of their lands and/or family land. Some stating as follows:-

- *Our land is held within a farm trust. I have visited the land and know its location. When I was young, I visited one of the farms with my grandmother, when she told me "this is going to be yours when I'm gone".*
- *I know our lands well as I grew up there until I was five as my father managed the Whānau farm for my mother's family for a few years. I have good memories there, and because of that I feel very attached to our land.*
- *I know where a lot of our land is (but not 'all of it') as we lived on one of our farms when I was very young.*

- *Our land is all over the show, Ruatoria, Gisborne, Waimārama, Hastings and Tūwharetoa. I don't know the details of it all but it's become a lot clearer on this recent trip - the extent of it. I knew there were blocks and I knew some of the names but I didn't know the details until this trip.*
- *I'm a shareholder of Māori land that we inherited from our father. My siblings and I decided to put all of it into a trust. All of the whenua is here in Hawkes Bay, in Te Hauke (where we grew up).*
- *I am a land owner - there's bits and pieces everywhere. Pātangata, Waipawa, Waimārama.*
- *I'm a land owner, and since I've returned from Oz, I've resided on our family land, and am the representative for our Whānau.*
- *I'm an owner of Māori land and I know the details of it and have seen it, walked on it, worked on it, and had bees on it. Our Mum and Dad always encouraged us to 'never' give our rights up to land.*
- *I have extensive lands left to me by my grandmother, and I know them very well as I was brought up by her.*
- *I have lived long enough to know what blocks of land I have. I also know that we should have a lot more land than what we do have. My research shows me that very clearly.*

Only a few were involved with the direct management of their land with some feeling that their rights had been superseded by older family members, or trustee organisations. Only two were familiar with the Māori Land Act. However, all were aware of the proposed Te Turi Whenua reform. What was surprising, was that all participants agreed that anything in regards to Māori land was complicated and that there is a lack of information available.

The data revealed some very distinct themes from all of the participants, which were that conflict, barriers and constraints arose due to a number of reasons. Inequity or disagreement over land distribution or succession, non-execution of legal wills, non-consultation, poor governance, poor management, poor communication, self-interest, conflicts of interest, arrogance, selfishness, greed, legal battles were some of the reasons and the list goes on, as confirmed in the following statements:-

- *Despite my grandmother having left a will with specific instructions, the end result was that some family members totally disregarded the will in favour of tikanga Māori with the final ruling resulting in splitting the land equally. Since then, conflict has been a dominant presence within our Whānau in regards to the non-execution of the will, the distribution and/or size of shares, the lack of consultation and consent, and finally the consolidation of lands and formation of a trust. I think this is when tikanga is outdated, or should be adjusted or amended for the contemporary world, as it is just wrong.*
- *Unfortunately, there has been some divisions within our Whānau due to the distribution, lack of consultation and inequity of decision making over our ancestral lands. I don't think this would have happened if my Nan was still alive. I think a major cause for conflict, is people ignoring the rights of others, and wanting more for their own families. Once this starts happening, conflict begins. Depending on how it's handled (or not), depends on whether it ever gets resolved. Greed and selfishness - which I think is the main motivation behind hidden agendas that creates Conflict - a major barrier.*
- *Since my Nan's passing, I've noticed that distribution of land or shares has been a major cause of raruraru within our Whānau. It's a great shame actually because it has caused quite a big division within our wider Whānau.*
- *After my mother passed away, we inherited her land shares. Due to the distribution of certain shares, it has created quite a few issues within our Whānau. The result has been conflict and divisions within our Whānau and shareholders - Not so much amongst my siblings, but with our extended Whānau.*
- *The main issue that has created problems since our mother's passing, and since we inherited our land interests, is that our extended Whānau continually try to exclude my siblings and I from the decision making. They forget that we succeeded from our mother, so 'we are our mother' so playing the elder role, and ignoring us doesn't apply these days.*

- *The conflict has been ongoing, and has caused things to stall. The insulting thing is that they use 'tikanga' as an excuse to justify their actions and behaviour.*
- *While I wouldn't refer to it as conflict - for a long time there has been an expectation that my sister would care for our mother. My sister has been caring for her for years, and receives little support from our other siblings and is at the point she is burnt out, and unable to cope*
- *My mother is very unwell and has been talking about leaving her land to different members of the family and to the grandchildren. I said to her "I'm not sure if they really understand what that land really means. Why would you want to give it to someone that doesn't understand what it means?" I think it's important that they know what it really means before they take possession of it.*
- *In the old days agreements weren't always done with paperwork and often distribution was completed through oral agreement. However, modern day irony allows relatives to take advantage of loopholes and get back in to land blocks they don't really have entitlement to. It goes back to that resolution of what land can make you do.*
- *Because as the generations of families are slowly moving apart, it makes it easier for them to take legal action. As families get bigger, generations grow, relationships become more diluted. Those bonds aren't as strong or enduring anymore. This is when it becomes easier to take adverse action.*
- *Land issues can get nasty. One example, my Whānau have a 'big take' with one of our Aunties, who is kaitiaki of the land block next door (even though she is whangai into it). She said quite horrible things to us and really went off. So with Māori Whānau, and especially my siblings and I, if you hurt one of us, we all feel it. Land can turn people horrible. I've seen it so many times. Therefore, my thoughts are "Tread carefully on land because it can change you big time."*
- *As far as conflict goes, sometimes it can be more aggressive not to say anything. Sometimes the passive aggressive approach is used as disapproval. I think what hinders Māori Development and Utilisation of Māori Land is poor management.*

- *Over the generations, the Tangata Whenua have lost their way and do not understand the concept of ahi kaa and mana whenua. There is an absence of strong Māori leadership to guide the tribes like the chiefs did. All we have is the influence of the European who has very little knowledge and no understanding of our people. Greed and Distrust is our fellow man.*
- *My sister and I always wanted to return home to live on or around our whenua. Sadly, we never did and there were two reasons for that. 1. We had no land there anymore, and 2. Many of the people, our Whānau who lived there did not want us there. They were nasty, stopped us returning, drove us away.*

Chapter Eight

8.0 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to identify why Māori disconnect from their associated rights and responsibilities - as land owners, shareholders, Whānau, hapū and tribal members. Whilst it sought to reveal hopes and solutions for the future, the objective was not to seek resolution. The focus was to identify what deters or dissuades owners from returning and/or participating in their legal and tikanga rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world.

Can 'Māori land ownership' be sustained at a meta-physical level by non-residents who remain dislocated by time, space and distance? (Sarup, 1996). Whilst repatriation was an uncomfortable topic to discuss with many Māori who wish to retain their overseas residency, many continue to dismiss the effects of their absence and/or non-participation even though technological advances suggest this is possible. However, poor participation indicates increasing disconnection.

This research identified why Māori disconnect from their associated rights and responsibilities as land owners, shareholders, Whānau, hapū and tribal members. The data identified suggestions of resolution from the participants, and identified what dissuades Māori from returning and/or participating in their legal and tikanga rights and responsibilities within a contemporary world. However, what was even more significant was the adverse effects of the conflict, and the damage on familial relationships resulting in the division of families, disconnection and estrangement of family members which at its worst is transferred through successive generations.

The data from the Māori Land Consultants provided some good insight to be able to perform a cross analysis from the other side of the spectrum as their role is to assist Māori in regards to their land, knowledge and tikanga rights. Both consultants confirmed that through their years of experience (as consultants and in the land court) that they have seen thousands of Māori spend years in court in legal battles, or walk away from both their legal and tikanga rights and

responsibilities – all over Whānau differences which finally destroy familial relationships. Both said that the barriers, difficulties, complexities, onerous nature of dealing with Māori land and authority over lands and rights were also major contributors.

Closing Statement

At the conclusion of the third stage of my study journey, I have to say that this has been a particularly arduous and drawn out project, and whilst my faith and passion waned a number of times, it did not diminish my vision. Driven by the legacy – inherent - from my mother - from my tipuna – and one that I come to realise has no ending, no finality and most definitely no happily ever after. I believe the answer for any generation is to find a way to live the best today, and to keep looking ahead to tomorrow, and forever.

The sad reality that Māori face is that our tribal capacity is rapidly diminishing as the 25% of Māori now living overseas continue to reside and raise our future generations outside of Aotearoa. The major concern is that if it continues at its current rate, not only could Māori land ownership rights be extinguished within the next two generations but there may be an entire generation of Māori land owners who were born and raised overseas, completely disconnected from Te Ao Māori.

The ongoing result is that land and business interests may continue to be represented by extended family members, who do not necessarily work in their best interests. Succession of land and genealogy will not necessarily occur, and the ahi-kaa (home fires and rite of passage) may be extinguished, as absence and non-participation could so easily be viewed as dis-interest or upholding their responsibility. Eventually, they may lose their voice, but most importantly their interest and desire to return home.

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