Moving Away from Home: Some Social Consequences for Tūhoe Migrating to the Waikato

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Abstract

To better understand the social consequences of migration away from traditional iwi regions, Tūhoe researchers intensively interviewed 40 Tūhoe people who had moved to the Waikato. It was found that most missed whanau and the community and made regular visits back home. Participants reported utilizing extensive whanau links to set themselves up in the Waikato, and many joined the Tūhoe associations in the Waikato. Others who did not join reported liking the idea that Tūhoe were there if needed. Some participants felt stronger in their Tūhoe identity since moving, and most reported noticing changes occurring in themselves or those back home over this period (they felt more worldly but saw those back home as more insular). While they did not interact much with tangata whenua, or participate in tangata whenua events, many said that they had a better appreciation of the local Tainui and the Kīngitanga groups since migrating. Finally, most would like to return to their iwi region for employment if it were available but saw little chance of this happening, and most reported wanting to retire there. The policy implications of both these points are explored

Māori have been migrating for centuries. Oral traditions tell of the voyages from Hawaiiki, over a thousand years ago (Orbell 1975; Starzecka 1996). More recently, Māori were visiting Europe in the 1800s (Hogan 2003), and travelled to Australia and Hawaii, with some choosing to settle. During World War II, many served in Europe, Asia and

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North Africa. Of more importance for this paper, there have always been large movements of Māori within Aotearoa itself, even before colonisation (eg. Belich 1996; Morrison and Waldegrave 2002).

The most serious internal migration for Māori was that between the 1930s and 1960s, when thousands moved from 'traditional' rural regions to the new urban centres (Butterworth 1991; Kawharu 1968; Waitangi Tribunal 1998). Metge (1964) records that in 1936 there were about 10,000 Māori living in urban regions, making up about 13 per cent of the Māori population. In 1951 there were 27,000 Māori living in urban regions making up 23 per cent of the Māori population. By 1981, 80 per cent of Māori were living in urban regions (Metge 1995). In two generations, New Zealand experienced the emptying out of its Māori communities from their rural homelands and into the towns and cities.

There were numerous reasons for Māori urbanisation (Butterworth 1991). First, during the 1930s many Māori were directed to work in essential industries in the cities by the Department of Labour and Employment assisted by the Māori tribal committees of the day (Orange 2003). The committees could enforce registration of Māori for war-related service and recommend the type and locality of employment. The committees handled a range of issues: employer–employee relationships, absenteeism, tracing workers who used aliases to change jobs and other irregularities. Many also moved of their own accord to help out with the War effort, while some were attracted by higher wages and the greater availability of work in the urban setting. Education was another key motivator, even though secondary schooling was not compulsory at that time. Work and social activities were probably the greater attraction for young people (Broughton, Grace, Ramsden and Dennis 2001).

As mentioned above, World War II had exposed Māori to the greater world, and many more Māori were venturing across the seas. This exposure to lifestyles other than those of their rural homelands also probably appeared attractive to many at the time. Those who migrated in turn were likely to have a 'snowball effect', with relatives and friends encouraging those at 'home', to move as they had. In addition, some moved simply to escape or avoid conflicts at home (Collette and O'Malley 1974; Hohepa 1964; Metge 1964; Ritchie 1963).

Concurrently with the urban migration of this period, the Māori population more than doubled its size between 1936 and 1961, mostly by

natural increase aided by a decreasing mortality rate, particularly infant mortality (McCreary 1968). This, of course, put pressure on rural lifestyles and on Māori families reliant on seriously fragmented lands, the product of over a century of land legislation designed more to dispossess than entitle (Davey and Kearns 1994; Scott and Kearns 2000). The *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*, because of zoning restrictions, prevented many Māori building on their own land. This meant that without the ability to build housing on their own lands that had been set aside for housing/homes, or "papakainga" lands (Davey and Kearns 1994), many simply had no choice but to migrate and find shelter elsewhere. All these factors contributed in different ways for groups to move, and this period saw a large proportion of younger Māori, as well as some older, move away from homelands and into the city.

In the 1980s, there was some migration back to rural areas reported, although the extent of it is not as well known (Pearson 1988; Scott and Kearns 2000). This also arose from several factors rather than a single cause, including economics and the high cost of living in urban areas, a revitalization of Māori identity, and people preferring the "quiet" life and a change from city living. For others, "home" was where familial ties were strong to the land, whanau or marae, and they chose to move to these areas regardless of the forces that propelled people into urban areas originally. Similarly, the perceived safety and freedom of country living also attracted some. Finally, the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* had been changed which gave Māori the ability once again to build on communally owned land, and some chose to do this.

Despite the returning home of some Māori, migration away has continued, primarily by younger people seeking education and work opportunities. What is still not known, however, are the effects of such migrations, especially the social consequences. There are likely to be effects on the people moving away from homelands, on the people who remain with many of the youth gone, and also on Māori whose own urbanised homelands have been settled by incoming migrants. Very little is known about these questions.

Our bigger research project therefore set out to find more about such social consequences, by looking at one case study, of those Tūhoe who have migrated to the Waikato region and their families who have stayed behind. In this paper we report on the effects claimed by those who have moved, and

future papers will document the effects on those who stay behind and on *tangata whenua* (original inhabitants) who had other iwi migrate to their regions (Kawharu 1968). We were also keen on using this research to identify the strategies for enhancing supportive relationships between Māori outside and inside their iwi (tribal) or hapu (sub-tribal) regions.

Tūhoe in Waikato

Tūhoe have traditionally lived in a region that overlaps the Whakatane and Wairoa Districts, mostly incorporating the Urewera Ranges. In 2001, 29,256 people (five per cent of the total Māori population) reported belonging to Tūhoe, although most now live outside the traditional region. In 2001, 81 per cent of Tūhoe reported living outside their iwi region, with 35 per cent of all Tūhoe in the Bay of Plenty region, 17 per cent in the Auckland region, 11 per cent in the Wellington region, and 10 per cent in the Waikato region. This last group makes up the population for the present research.

The size of the Tūhoe ki Waikato (Tūhoe in the Waikato region) population is uncertain because of high mobility and other iwi affiliations. For these reasons, we have seen estimates of the Tūhoe ki Waikato population varying from 800 to 3000, and we are trying to establish better estimates at present. Some have settled now for three or four generations, and many have come to study at Waikato education institutions. There is a strong Tūhoe sodality in Hamilton, and this group has at various times considered building a Marae in Hamilton. This last issue was explored in some of the interviews because it is contentious (Kawharu 1968; Waitangi Tribunal 1998): establishing a marae in Hamilton might be seen as disrespectful to those remaining in the homeland and might also mean fewer visits back home.

The Tūhoe ki Waikato therefore provide a good group for studying the social consequences of migration. Our aims were to describe the motivations, experiences, coping strategies, and intentions of those who have moved from the Tūhoe iwi region (and places in between) to the Waikato region in the last 1-5 years, 5-10 years, and 10 years. We also describe the community of Tūhoe people living within the Waikato region, the changes and challenges that community has gone through, its interactions with original Waikato groups such as Tainui (the tangata whenua of the Waikato region) and Kīngitanga (a Maori political

movement), and with te hau kainga (those Tūhoe remaining in the traditional Tūhoe iwi region).

Methods

We conducted lengthy, informal interviews with 40 people of Tūhoe descent who were currently living in the Waikato district, with five Tūhoe ki Waikato community researchers employed as the primary interviewers. Initial contact with potential participants was made through inter-whanau connections and snowballing from other contacts given by participants. All who were approached to participate agreed to do so. A semi-structured interview schedule was used but as the interviewers were from the community, there were subtle mixes of ethnographic and narrative enquiry. The main areas explored were: who does the "homeland" contact in Waikato, why and when; who does Tūhoe ki Waikato contact in the homeland, why and when; how socially coherent is the Tūhoe ki Waikato community; where do Tūhoe ki Waikato congregate; how do latter generations of Tūhoe ki Waikato view themselves as Tūhoe; how is Tūhoe ki Waikato perceived; and your future intentions. The research proposal was examined and approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Waikato Psychology Department, and was discussed with a number of Tūhoe beforehand.

Participants

There were 24 females and 16 males interviewed, their average age being 39 years old. Of the 40, the majority lived in Hamilton and its suburbs. Of importance to the research questions, 75 per cent had lived in their tribal boundaries at one point or another, meaning that they had migrated out of the homelands, even if not immediately to the Waikato region. As their first language, 47 per cent reported both Māori and English, 27 per cent Māori alone, and 25 per cent reported English alone as their first language. The majority, therefore, had Māori as a first language. Since moving from the homeland region, the participants had lived in an average of 2.5 places before the Waikato. One participant, for example, moved from Ruatoki in the homeland region to Auckland, back to Ruatoki, and then to Hamilton in the Waikato. Another moved from Ruatahuna in the homeland region, to live in Auckland, then Rotorua, then Opotiki, before moving to Hamilton.

The majority of participants moved to the Waikato for education or employment opportunities.

Results

Why Move to the Waikato?

Education was the primary reason reported by the majority of participants, with the University being the main point of that attraction and the biggest beneficiary. Many of those interviewed were completing a qualification and continuing to live in Hamilton for work opportunities. More often than not, the education pathway to the Waikato had been established beforehand by family or friends, which made the transition easier.

As a note, it should be remembered that these results come from 40 participants and might not be indicative of the larger population trends. Also, the interviewers could have biased their initial sampling towards educational-migrants since a few of the interviewers were in the education system themselves.

Work was another attractive feature of the Waikato although this lagged well behind tertiary education in terms of reasons to move. Finding work had proved difficult for some, in fact, although a few had opportunities in place through family and friends. Some participants spoke about "coming with parents" and having very little choice in the matter.

One reported attraction of the Waikato included being "close to home". The geographical proximity to Tūhoe homelands makes it easier for members to readily return. The often 2.5 hour drive from the Waikato to the Tūhoe region is easier than a four hour drive from Auckland or a six hour drive from Wellington. However, while some reported proximity to home as a good feature, another common theme of moving included the desire to start afresh away from the limited education and employment opportunities of their homelands. This invoked comments about self-sufficiency, independence, and improving one's circumstances.

Challenges Faced When Moving

Coming to the Waikato meant moving away from parents, grandparents and extended family for the majority of participants, and most reported this as the most serious challenge in moving. Many left smaller rural centres and

towns for the Waikato: "I was leaving my whanau behind, leaving everything I had behind and starting up a new life". This movement included adults with pre-school age children to secondary school students and the many challenges of settling them into a new life. A small number felt it necessary to leave their children and/or partners behind with the intention of them joining later. Not having family and friends to call upon was a challenge which was lamented, "I miss the country life. I miss seeing whanau. I miss whanau being around. It's hard for them to come up here and visit". One participant was quite overawed at first and exclaimed, "I had no one here!"

The obligation to return to home was mentioned as a challenge by some, including the duty to attend family events such as tangihanga (death and grieving rituals) and ra whanau (birthdays). Although not always stated in the interviews, this responsibility probably strained the resources of most participants, both financially in terms of travel, particularly for students, and culturally in terms of whanau commitments.

The logistics of setting up base in a new environment was highlighted as a major ordeal. Finding accommodation and fitting into the new environment is a concern, as is dealing with rental agencies and landlords, and having enough money for rental deposits and advances. The main strategy in dealing with accommodation was contacting family networks for immediate accommodation. As one person mentioned, "It's probably easier if you've got relations staying in the area just to start off, before you break out on your own". A small number were upfront about homesickness and others longed to hear their dialect being spoken. A few of those interviewed missed being involved in Tūhoe activities within their tribal area.

What Helped Them Cope?

Having family contacts within the region was the main coping mechanism reported by those interviewed. As mentioned above, having contacts already established in the Waikato eased the burden of "finding a place". More often than not these places were inhabited by other whanau members including aunties, uncles and cousins, the main recommendation being, "Go stay with some friends or family". As a warning to others, participants also spoke of the need to establish this contact before moving to the Waikato. As one may expect, the younger participants found this task a little more daunting

compared with the more mature participants. Overall, very few of those interviewed needed to set up in the Waikato on their own.

Having family present went beyond having a room in which to board. For some, familial connections allowed face to face get togethers and a shoulder to lean on. This connection helped orient people with their new environment and circumstances as "…networking is probably the main thing". Having family present also meant that news of "home" and events related to "home" were relayed through this network. It helped people keep abreast of tribal and whanau activities. Networks also appeared to assist in the maintenance and strengthening of Tūhoe identity outside of tribal boundaries. The Tūhoe ki Waikato group in particular was seen as assisting this maintenance and was noted by many as a positive interest group within the Waikato region. As one person said, "I think it (Tūhoe ki Waikato) tries to get that whanaungatanga (sense of connectedness)…tries to get everyone together". One other participant extended this by claiming Tūhoe ki Waikato also provided, "a sense of belonging… [and] a place of learning".

Trips back home were important to most participants in one way or another. The organisation of "Tūhoe" events and trips back within tribal borders is considered essential according to another, who claimed: "We're pretty lucky that we do have our haka group because then we can go back to the Ahurei (a biennial Tūhoe festival of celebration) and meet the rest of the whanau".

Te hau kainga is referred to by the majority of participants and most return home for particular events or for no other reason but to "be at home". If returning home is impractical then keeping in touch via phone and email is important. Te hau kainga for many also includes catching up on gossip through Tūhoe ki Waikato networks from those who have recently returned. It is very apparent that returning home is important for visits and keeping an ear out for employment opportunities (particularly for students). For most, returning home is a necessary facet of their lives as they attempt to maintain links with immediate and extended family members.

> Tainui, Kīngitanga, all that stuff is like the main focus here…so when you get to see the ones from back home it's like a breath of fresh air.

> I wish there was more work back home so I could go back home. Not just for myself but for my partner as well. That's probably the main reason we're still here.

When asked about giving advice to others who might move to the Waikato region, the answers generally reflected the strategies reported for coping:

> I think just like everything else there are networks here. Come and see your families. The other thing, of course, is a lot of our people, especially our kids who come from back home, they're a bit shy. You come out here. [If] you're shy -- you're last!

> … I think it's having that confidence and belief in their ability and being safe in the knowledge that they've got family here also to help them out if they fall over.

Being Tūhoe Outside of the Tūhoe Region: How Life has Changed

Moving from relatively isolated rural homelands to a city obviously means a number of changes. In general, participants reported that they were less suspicious of people now than those back home. They were a lot more sociable, more appreciative of Te Urewera and Tūhoe history, and more individualistic in pursuing personal goals and ambitions (focused on own work and achievements). As an example of the latter, one participant reported:

> Probably [changed] because I'm staying amongst a few Pakeha and there is sort of no whanau around to give you that, you know, that whanau feeling. So I just work. You know work is work.

However life does not have to change for others.

> First of all being Tūhoe to me is about being staunch about your tribal identity and to remain staunch to that; be family orientated, be staunch to that… which also means your reo (language) and tikanga (customs). Don't compromise on those even though you're somewhere else, but also one of the things with Tūhoe is, what I would like to think is, that they don't go trampling on other peoples mana and tikanga—know your place. That doesn't mean to say you just roll over for every Tom, Dick and Harry, but you don't go around and takahi (put down) another people's mana.

> I stick to my Tūhoe tikanga …we sort of know who's Tūhoe and where everyone else is from but all of us ones for Tūhoe stay tuturu (genuine) with our tikanga.

Some also reported that Tūhoe in the Waikato were different to those back home; they were more inclined to help out others, and extend their personal networks:

> I think the ones back at home… I think they stick to their own and they only help their own whereas the ones here in Waikato, they're helping

everyone else; you know they're helping all the other iwi, especially like at the varsity. There are more and more Tūhoe tutors out there helping all these other iwi whereas the ones from back at home, they just look after the ones back home and even the ones back home, it's usually each family or each hapu looks after their own before they look after the ones down the road or the ones across the river, however it goes.

One person reported that those back home had, in fact, changed and were different now; and more likely to look inward and keep to themselves:

Ruatoki now is no longer as… it wasn't totally isolated when I was growing up back at home, but it was to a certain extent. You know for us going to Taneatua, Whakatane and Rotorua were big things, you planned it for a week, therefore we tended to depend on each other a hell of a lot more. Now I can't really speak about back home, but I have suspicions that depending on one another back at home is starting to wane a bit, you know, that people are now focusing on their own individual families more and more now, rather than the wider family, which is the whole valley.

Others have learned more about Te Urewera and Tūhoe history and feel stronger for it, but are also aware of the home people's view of their enthusiasm:

… The relationship definitely changes in that for people like me anyway, who are staunch about their identity as Tūhoe and staunch about helping our people, because you've been away from te ahi kaa [a metaphoric fire; right to land by occupation] for such a long time, you can't just force those intentions on the people back home. What you do is you be patient and signal your availability to help out if it's needed, and they'll let you know when they want your help, but you don't force [it] …or they'll say 'It's that bloody know-all from Waikato again!', you know, you don't go down that track!

Relationships with Nga Iwi o Waikato

Interacting with tangata whenua and participating in tangata whenua activities were infrequent for those interviewed. The idea of moving into another iwi area did not seem to be of concern. Although some participated in various Tainui events, it was not common and mostly occurred through activities at the University. Others spoke of friends and family who are of Waikato descent but believe this has little impact upon them in terms of their own tangata whenua interaction.

In spite of this, many reported an appreciation for Waikato and Tainui kawa (rules of conduct) and history, and many now understand this difference better and respect it as they would like others to respect Tūhoe kawa. The differences also highlighted to some the need to strengthen their sense of being Tūhoe within Waikato.

I suppose at that time I wasn't really worried and I didn't think about it that much

[Family] told me to watch out because their iwi will be different to ours and because their ways are different to ours and to have respect

The Waikato people, they're good people when you get to know them. They tend to treat you like one of their own after a while

I think te iwi o Waikato is, from my association with them back here, it's a very cosmopolitan type tribe you know because they've had longer links and interaction with tauiwi (non-Maori) than the ones from back home. Now, whether that's a positive or a negative, I'm not too sure. I really appreciate the fact that we were quite isolated back home and I think through that isolation it made us, we've held onto those [old] values and made us who we are and actually quite stronger in my opinion.

On Tūhoe ki Waikato Needing a Place or Marae

The contentious question was raised in the Introduction of building a marae in the Waikato or establishing a special place or centre, and the results showed arguments for and against such a proposal. Some felt a need to have a "place" for Tūhoe to congregate, host events, hold activities and to give visible and physical expression to the notion of "Tūhoe ki Waikato". Some also felt that a physical "place" could engender a greater sense of social cohesiveness and be more accessible to newcomers. It could also provide a focal point of contact for other groups or organisations. While these positive aspects were identified, some felt that the establishment of a Tūhoe marae in the Waikato could detract from supporting marae in Te Urewera. One participant spoke of an earlier attempt to establish a marae in the Waikato:

> Personally, I would like that people who come away from back home to always think of their marae back home as being their marae... I was part of a group in the early years that looked around for a place for us as our Tūrangawaewae here, and I'm glad that we failed because it's still making us go back to our own marae.

While a marae may have been the initial type of "place" first considered, other "places" were also considered:

> …one of the things we were looking at was to see if we could purchase a hostel and that's for the ones who were coming from back home here and providing them with a place to stay till they can find their own. I don't mind that being a kāinga, you know it's not that I'm opposed to that, it's just that I, I'm not a staunch supporter of us building a marae like Tirahou or Mātaatua in Rotorua, because I think when we start doing that, you start losing your links with your own tūrangawaewae.

Ironically, the Mātaatua marae in Rotorua began originally as an accommodation facility for Te Urewera families who had people being treated at Rotorua Hospital in the early 1900s, in the same way this participant suggested building a hostel for accommodation instead of a marae.

On Tūhoe ki Waikato as a Social Network

Tūhoe ki Waikato is a social network that has supported many Tūhoe engagements and activities within the Waikato region. Synonymous with Tūhoe have been taurahere (connecting groups) groups living outside of Tūhoe boundaries. For most of the participants, connecting with other Tūhoe taurahere groups such as Tūhoe ki Poneke and Tūhoe ki Rotorua, was not a significant part of their life as a Tūhoe person within Waikato. It occurred on an infrequent basis, usually every two years for the Hui Ahurei. For a small minority, connections with another urban taurahere group (Tūhoe groups living outside of Te Urewera) were sustained because of established kinship ties and being from the same community. Going "home" and connecting with those at home appeared to be more important.

Taurahere groups such as Tūhoe ki Waikato often return to the bi-annual Tūhoe festival and become active as and when called upon to respond to various requests. While participants were aware of the broader Tūhoe ki Waikato network, and of other Tūhoe taurahere groups, many were neither actively involved in them nor sought involvement. Nevertheless, knowing this type of group exists was important to them and having the option to participate was comforting.

Keeping in contact with Tūhoe people has increased with the advent of the Internet and email. Many spoke of the usefulness of email and email networks set up to distribute information relevant to Tūhoe issues. Being informed is appreciated even if connecting with the wider Tūhoe base is not always managed.

Changes over Time Away

The amount of time spent away from te hau kainga varied for participants. There were a few differences noted between those who had moved in the last few years and those who had moved more than 10 years ago. This is

illustrated by the following person who had moved away from Te Urewera more than 10 years ago, and made comparisons between the two:

> My view of Waikato was the Kīngitanga and I was pretty ignorant; I didn't know what the Kīngitanga was all about and the Treaty and all that. My excuse was that Tūhoe didn't sign the Treaty and we don't have a Māori Queen, but then now I've learnt more about that I kind of respect that. I think it was just being ignorant at first and the more you find out the more you know.

> [It] just opens your mind right up to the fact that there are other iwi in this motu… I don't mind anything about Waikato or Tainui and all the Kīngitanga stuff …you respect them because that's something that they really believe in, they passionately pursue, so you respect them for what they're trying to achieve.

This is in contrast to the thoughts of some of the more recent arrivals, who are much more inward looking about their place in this new environment.

> Probably be more staunch and more protective…you come across other Māori and they're trying to get your reo or our reo and our ways…There's a lot of wannabes out there. So you have to be pretty protective.

> I came here as a single person but now I'm starting a family of my own…No matter what goes on, I stick to my Tūhoe ways.

On Returning to the Tūhoe Region

When asked about intentions to return home, some spoke about the desire to return and assist with social, educational and employment ventures and even seek employment opportunities if possible. These people usually moved away from the Tūhoe region for education and employment in the first place and were keen to return with those newly acquired skills when the opportunity arose.

The majority of participants, however, claimed that a return to Te Urewera was an option more likely to be pursued on their retirement from work.

> I don't want to be growing old up here. Once I hit my retirement I expect to go home, but if my daughter wants to stay up here for instance, that's her choice, but for me and my partner we'll just like to go back home because we wouldn't want to die up here.

> Ka noho ahau ki konei, kia kuia ra ano ahau ka hoki atu ai ki te kainga na te mea ki a ahau nei kare tonu he mahi ki reira
> I'll continue living here until I'm an old lady then I'll return home. There's no reason for me to return because there's no work back there [translated by the researcher].

Conclusion

Through all this material, we can begin to get some answers to our research questions. First, those Tūhoe ki Waikato interviewed seemed well aware of the social consequences of their migration, but most had little choice but to move. The bottom lines were education and employment, which at present are just not available in their homelands, although the education possibilities have changed somewhat with the development of Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, an indigenous university and Anamata, a private training establishment. It was clear from the interviews that this situation was causing some stress; by missing whanau and the Urewera environment, by becoming different in some ways to those back home, and by setting up a residence.

Secondly, it was also found that initially, when first moving, that there was considerable reliance on whanau and other Tūhoe already living in the Waikato. Many reported visiting first and linking up with these relatives to make arrangements. In the interviews, many also spontaneously gave these ideas as advice to those who might intend moving in the near future -- to network with relatives here before moving and staying with them upon arrival.

Not everyone interviewed participated in the Tūhoe ki Waikato group but they all knew about it and some of those not directly involved with the group were reassured by knowing Tūhoe ki Waikato were available if and when required. Most not only enjoyed the contact and talk in Tūhoe ki Waikato, but also used the group as a networking vehicle to remain in touch and or visit the homelands on a regular basis.

Third, another social consequence to come from this migration was a changing view of the people back home which has not been reported in previous literature as strongly as here. This was reported as both a negative consequence and as a positive consequence. Some were saddened that they were changing because of their move to Waikato and people back home were treating them differently as a result. Others reported that they now saw those back home as living in a restricted world, as it were, and that they themselves had a broader grasp of the world. In all likelihood, these two views had probably occurred to most of the participants, and this would be worth pursuing in further research.

Fourth, in answer to the question of relations with tangata whenua, little real contact was reported except when dictated by circumstances (at

the university). Living in the Waikato did lead to a better appreciation of both Tainui and the Kīngitanga, however, and at the same time, to a strengthening of their Tūhoe identity as a result. So while more was learned about other iwi, this led to a strengthening of Tūhoe identity on the whole.

Finally, when asked about returning to Tūhoe lands, most were hoping to move back for employment but could see little chance of that happening given the poor employment prospects in rural areas of New Zealand/Aotearoa. Most were also hoping to retire back home eventually as well, although there are issues mentioned in the Introduction about land use that could arise if many took up this option (Davey and Kearns 1994).

The results of this study, show, then, that despite some mobility of Māori towards going back to homelands, there are realities of employment and education that still mean a loss of a significant age group away. Many of the social consequences from this are similar to earlier reports (Butterworth, 1991; Kawharu 1968; Metge 1964; Scott and Kearns 2000; Waitangi Tribunal 1998). Of particular interest here, though, are the scattered references to changes in the people back home, as seen by those who move, which we do not think were as evident in earlier reports. This is being followed up by interviews with those back home about those who have moved.

For policy purposes, though, this does suggest that if the situation in rural regions could be reversed and local employment improved, perhaps by a radical decentralization of government services, then many of these educated Tūhoe would return for those jobs. Despite the low chance of this occurring, most of them anticipated moving back for retirement, and wished to die there, even if this meant leaving their Waikato-raised children in the Waikato. This raises a further policy issue of providing for a larger number of aged persons in such rural areas in the future. Notwithstanding good community cooperation, small areas and towns are not likely to have the specialised health resources, reliable public transport and appropriate housing and land to cope with a large re-migration for retirement. Ideally, Government provision for the aged could be funded by employing locals, or people from the region who are enticed back. In this way, perhaps, both implementations could work together, with the people returning to employment, and the aged being looked after by their own people.

Note

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Glossary

ahi kaa – a metaphoric fire; right to land by occupation

ahurei – a bi-annual Tūhoe festival of celebration

hapu – sub-tribe, sub-tribal

hau kainga – the collective of those people living in the various home regions in Te Urewera

iwi – tribal, tribe

kāinga – a home

kawa – rules of conduct

kīngitanga – a Maori political movement based in the Waikato

papakainga – an area set aside for housing/homes

ra whanau – birthday

reo – language

takahi – put down, to trample

tangata whenua – the original inhabitants of an area

tangihanga – Maori grieving and internment rituals

tauiwi – non-Maori

taurahere – a tribal group living away from their tribal homelands

tikanga – customs

tūrangawaewae – a place to stand

whanaungatanga – connectedness