



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Tē Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

## *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*

The School of Māori and Pacific Development

### He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



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The screenshot shows the website for the School of Māori and Pacific Development. On the left is a vertical navigation menu with the University of Waikato logo and links for 'Waikato Home', 'SMPD Home', 'Search', and 'Webmaster'. The main content area features the school's name and tagline, followed by the journal title 'He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development'. Below this is a list of navigation links: 'About this Journal', 'Email Production Editor', 'Editorial Board', 'Guidelines for Submission', 'Rights and Permissions', and 'Order Form'. A small image of the journal cover is visible on the right. The 'About this Journal' section is expanded, showing the title 'Te Puāwaitanga o te Puawānanga' and a paragraph in Māori: 'Ko te Puawānanga tēnei e whakaputa nei i te pia tangi wharaurora, 'ka ngahoro te tikotiko pierē... te putanga o te hinu!'. The flowering Clematis exudes its fragrance, announcing a time of plenty and the gathering in of abundance'. Below this is an English paragraph: 'I share with my colleagues and students the pleasure in introducing He Puna Kōrero: The Journal of Maori and Pacific Development. It indeed announces the maturing of the School of Maori and Pacific Development and its existence at Waikato University. As the opening pepeha states metaphorically, 'The Puawānanga is reaching its tendrils beyond the canopy of the Forest of Tāne to share its flowering with the wider world.' The aim of this journal is to provide a forum for writers expressing views on their perspectives on Māori and Pacific development (Pacific being the whole region including the land masses that form its basin). In representing matters of concern in the development of Māori and Indigenous development, the hope is that by the engagement of an extensive range of interests, both national and the international arena of indigenous people's developments, there will be a wide pool of informed scholarship to draw ideas from. We invite your participation.'

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## TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

### EDITORIAL

Tihe Mauri ora!

Ko tēnei te *He Puna Kōrero* tuarua e whakaputa nei i ngā whatanga kōrero huanga o te kōanga mō te tau 2002. I roto i ngā rerenga kōrero o mua i tukua ngā ‘ngahoro o te tikotiko pere . . . te putunga o te hinu’ kia puta ai ngā rongo o te mārāma ki te ao. Mō tēnei whakatānga i rapua ngā pū, i kimihia ngā pūkenga kia roa ai te paremata i ngā whāinga kōrero. “Ka riro te irikura, ka waiho te purapura a Whakaotirangi te take o te irikura” (Mead & Grove 2001, p. 183).<sup>1</sup>

It is my pleasure to launch this spring volume of *He Puna Kōrero* from *Te Puawānanga Ki Te Ao* to demonstrate that the School, metaphorically, continues to flower and shed ‘the beauty of its bountiful blooms’ to bring a unique indigenous view on sustaining Māori and Pacific community development within a global context. For this edition, leading commentators were invited to contribute some of their valuable insights from their current research to continue and advance the course of Māori and Pacific educational, environmental and cultural development. “The treasure that was thought lost could be retrieved and the resource regained because of Whakaotirangi’s saved kumara seed”.

The proceedings open with a study on sustainable community economic development by George Cheney drawing lessons from Mondragón experiences to assist a Tongan Vision Project in Aotearoa. Teena J. Brown Pulu shares her insights on how Māori and Pacific people are reclaiming urban neighbourhoods as a place to stand and belong. Other contributors continue the theme of Māori capacity building and sustainable development. Then there are accounts of research projects on the reporting of Māori governance resource management problems by the New Zealand media. The treatment of the digital divide demonstrates how Māori and Pacific people are disadvantaged by their inability to access information and communication technologies. To round off the contributions is an article on the Māori cultural dimension in education, and another unravelling Māori music motifs to offer insight into how traditional music helped our tūpuna to record and shape the ways they saw their world

Associate Professor Hirini Melbourne  
Te Amokapua

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<sup>1</sup> Mead, S. M. & Grove, N. (2001). *Ngā pepeha a ngā tūpuna*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

**Sustainable community economic development:  
What lessons can the Tongan Vision Project of Aotearoa/New Zealand learn  
from the Mondragón Experience?**

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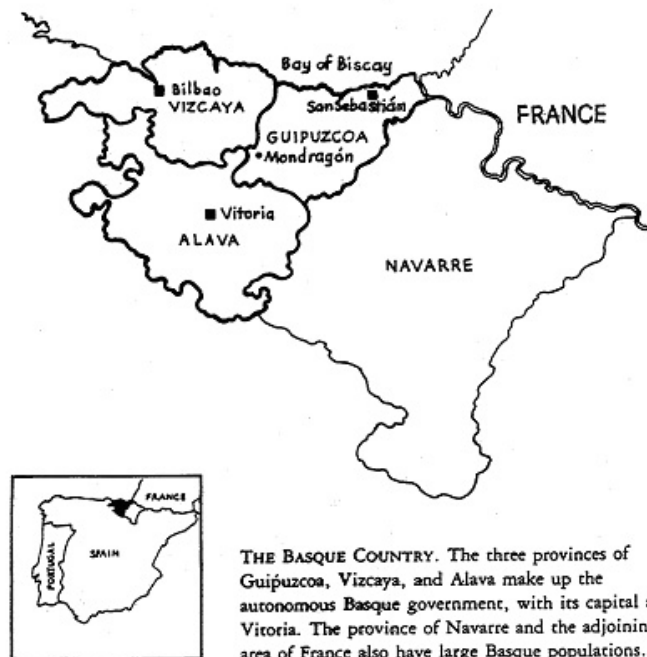
**Abstract**

This paper provides readers with information about the Mondragón cooperatives, two corporate groups of worker-owned-and-governed co-ops, located in the middle of the Basque Country, Spain. It draws a number of lessons from the experience of these co-operatives and discusses these lessons in the context of the Tongan Vision Project (TVP) of Aotearoa/New Zealand, a sustainable community economic development project established in January 2000.<sup>2</sup>

**Introduction**

The Mondragón cooperatives are two corporate groups of worker-owned-and-governed co-ops, located in the middle of the Basque Country, Spain. Founded officially in 1956 as small industrial enterprises, the co-ops were the tangible products of the visionary efforts of a Basque priest, Fr. José María Arizmendiarieta, and five young engineers. Initially, the co-ops included a small technical school (founded 1943), a manufacturer of small stoves (1956), and a bank that provided low-interest loans for the creation of new cooperative firms (1959). The co-ops, which now include almost 200 firms under the two corporate heads, MCC (headquartered in the town of Mondragón) and ULMA (in nearby Oñati), today are among the very largest private firms in Spain and the Basque Country respectively.

*Figure 1:* Locating Mondragón

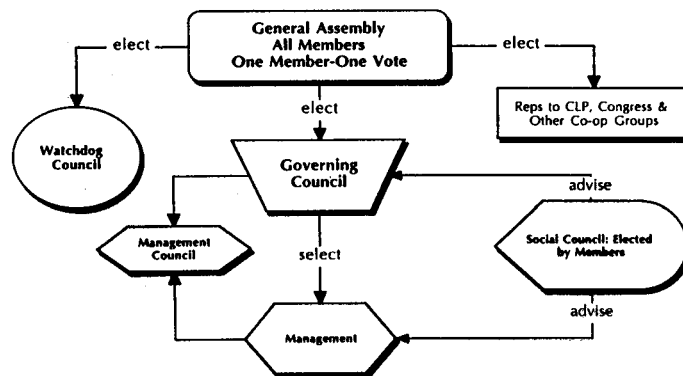


Designed to pursue a ‘third way’ between state-run socialism and unbridled corporate capitalism, the co-ops combine individual accounts (initial buy-ins plus dividends) with ‘social accounts’ (collective investments) and involve contributions to community projects (such as Basque language schools, unemployment training programmes, and AIDS initiatives) as well.

The Mondragón cooperatives are concentrated in the industrial sector (such as forging, tool and die making, auto parts manufacturing, and construction), but they have developed major financial institutions, a large consumer arm in the form of a supermarket chain, schools and a technical university, their own health care provisions, and a retirement or superannuation system.

The Mondragón co-ops have a dual structure, characterised by both direct democracy in accord with a one-person, one-vote principle and a cadre of selected managers. Thus, each co-op is governed by its members (as a body of the whole), several organs or committees, and professional managers who serve at the will of the governed (see *Figure 2*).

**Figure 2:** Model of Mondragón co-operative



Historically, the co-ops have experienced several crises and transformations: including a major strike in 1974, severe economic recessions in the early 1980s and early 1990s, the consolidation of power in the creation of the Mondragón ‘Group’ in 1985 and later the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation in 1992, the call for equal pay by women members in the 1990s, and the break-off of the ULMA Group of five co-ops in 1992 over issues of local control and a policy departure from the traditional regional clustering (for a new sectoral structure dictated by industrial specialization).

Building on the work of others who have studied the co-ops and adding my own observations, I would explain the success and longevity of the Mondragón project with three factors: a) the Basque cultural context which emphasizes both social solidarity and independence/initiative, b) the development of key support institutions such as a bank, and c) the dynamism of a direct-plus-representative system of internal governance.

As I had the opportunity to observe during several visits to the co-ops in the 1990s (1992, 1994, and 1997—for a total of seven months) and hundreds of interviews and

conversations, the cooperatives face several important challenges currently. Paramount among these challenges, not surprisingly, is how to maintain a strong competitive position in the industries where the co-ops are represented. The second challenge is how to implement new systems of management and employee participation (such as a brand of TQM or total quality management) in a way that serves to revitalise rather than to stifle the traditional forms of employee governance and participation. The third challenge relates to the rise of consumerism in the Basque Country and Spain in general, which is a double-edged trend. On the one hand, consumerism creates an appetite for more consumer goods and services, which in turn fuels the industrial and financial engine of the co-ops. On the other hand, the new consumerist mentality is underwritten by an individualistic ethic ('Give me the best buy') which in some ways is inimical to the social and collectivist traditions of the co-ops. More broadly, the spread of 'marketisation' has meant that 'customer service' becomes the mantra of all organisations. For better and for worse, 'the customer is king', and the employee (every employee) by implication is supposed to be constantly anticipating the desires of the customer.

Most studies of the now-famous Basque co-ops have focused on issues of economic efficiency, productivity, employment, social investment, and market viability. These are important matters, obviously, for any firm, whether structured cooperatively or otherwise. Above all, what interests me about the cooperatives of Mondragón is what I call 'the social question'—that is the complement to the economic question. Rather than asking: 'Can organisations cooperatively and democratically designed survive in today's market?' I offer the query, 'Can such organisations, given longevity and financial success, hold on to their soul?' And, in probing this question for my book (Cheney 1999), I found that rather than seeing the Mondragón cooperatives as unique, we can view their lessons as widely applicable to other socially-inspired ventures in the marketplace. Ultimately, I would say that the co-ops have neither been entirely true to their original vision nor have they completely sold out. Moreover, the struggle over economic and social values there is the subject of a vocal and ongoing debate—which in itself makes the case an important laboratory of investigation.

The case of Mondragón is important for our consideration as we seek to analyse and advance the cause of the Tongan Vision Project of New Zealand. While the two cultures differ in important ways and the goals of the two projects are far from identical, there are important implications for the TVP in the way the Mondragón cooperatives have contended with issues such as a) how to promote values that are both inspiring and usable in practice, b) how to develop a system that has both distinctive features and is open to outside influences and coalitions, c) how to provide the grounds for emergent leadership, d) how to adapt a mission for subsequent generations, e) how to keep the economic and the social in balance, and f) and how to maintain a healthy orientation toward process. I shall address each of these issues briefly, suggesting some lessons from the Mondragón experience that may be relevant to the pursuit of the TVP.

### **Lesson 1: Maintaining a Consensus and an Identity around Core Values**

This is one of the most talked about yet challenging activities for any grassroots organisation. Although we now live in a world where practically every organisation—in every sector—speaks freely about its values, their importance, and their usefulness—questions about authentic and meaningful commitments remain. To

declare values is one thing; to pursue them is quite another; to maintain them over time and even against adversity is still something else. Regardless of the specifics of a particular case, and irrespective of its geographic location or cultural heritage, there is a balance to be sought between vague but inspiring slogans on the one hand and overly specific and insufficiently inclusive banners on the other.

At Mondragón, the core value of ‘solidarity’ has many different meanings and manifestations (*Table 1*). These meanings and practical effects range from the one-one-one, interpersonal level of camaraderie at work to broad forms of identification with ‘cooperativism’ and Basque nationalism. It is clear not only that certain meanings are favoured today over others more salient in the past, but also that there have been some shifts in certain meanings over time. Especially interesting is how the value of solidarity has become institutionalised in the cooperatives: for example, through statutes that specify worker-owner contributions to the ‘social accounts’ of the firms and the sharing of resources among the cooperatives themselves.

**Table 1:** Meanings of Social Solidarity

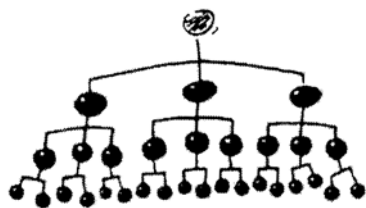
<b>Varieties of solidarity in the Mondragón experience</b>	
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Offering one-to-one employee assistance and support
<b>Remunerative</b>	Maintaining a narrow salary range, as required under by-laws
<b>Intra-firm</b>	Referring to the character of employee relations in the co-op as a whole
<b>Inter-firm</b>	Sharing resources and expertise, especially in the light of fluctuations in performance
<b>Local</b>	Emphasizing ties and investments in the community
<b>Ethnic/National</b>	Focused on language, culture and identity
<b>International</b>	With ‘cooperativism’ and the cooperative movement
<b>Inauthentic or Misguided</b>	As a ‘cover’ for incompetence or poor performance

Solidarity is one of the chief values espoused by the Tongan Vision Project, and that value has resonance with Tongan culture. At the same time, as several Interim Working Committee (IWC) members have observed, many Tongans have a skeptical, independent stance with respect to new initiatives, whether they originate within the Tongan community, come from the national (New Zealand) government, or are associated with big business. Thus, solidarity is a value that will need to be articulated and especially demonstrated in particular ways before it will have traction with the larger Tongan community of New Zealand. For the time being, with the TVP being a bit less than two years old (its inception was a meeting in January 2000), the IWC can count on some ‘borrowed credibility’ and the good will that is accorded a budding effort yet to bear fruit. But, this honeymoon has its limits. If the IWC wishes to promote a new form of social solidarity, which simultaneously relies on Tongan tradition and moves the people’s energies in the direction of economic and social justice, it will have to remould the value of solidarity in ways that lean on the familiar symbols of collective allegiance (family, the church, the monarchy/nobility) as a ‘fulcrum’ for lifting the new project. The old centrepieces of solidarity cannot be rejected but must be incorporated somehow into the new vision. The new vision must be seen as consistent in important ways with tradition while representing an appropriate, well-considered, and community-based response to the social, economic, and political demands of today.

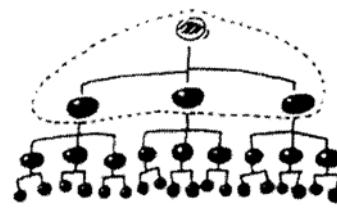
**Lesson 2: Creating a Simultaneously Open and Closed System**

Here, the central question is: How do we maintain our distinctiveness yet reach out beyond our own boundaries? *Figure 3* depicts a variety of organisational models, ranging from the rigid and largely closed bureaucracy to what some have called ‘a loosely-coupled organic network.’ Thus, as you move through the models, you are fairly sure to encounter greater fluidity, flexibility, and openness to the larger ‘environment’—that is, to the world beyond the organisation’s borders. This is not to say that the last of the models is necessarily feasible or superior in all cases; in fact, we may observe that each model ‘has its place’ depending upon the type of work being done, the kinds of people involved (their abilities, experiences, and preferences), the time constraints, and a range of other factors.

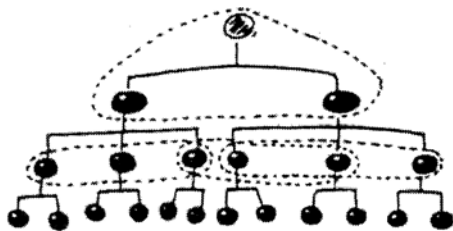
**Figure 3:** Organisational Models (from Morgan 1989, p. 66)



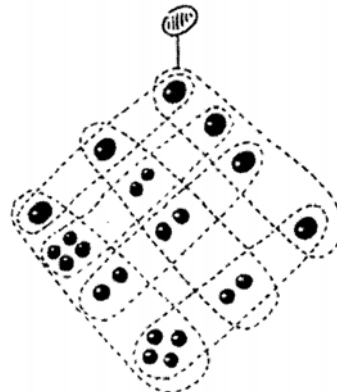
**Model 1:** The Rigid Bureaucracy



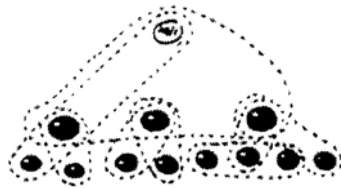
**Model 2:** The Bureaucracy with a senior ‘management’ team



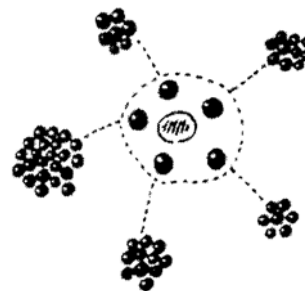
**Model 3:** The Bureaucracy with project Teams and Task Forces



**Model 4:** The Matrix Organization



**Model 5:** The Project Organization



**Model 6:** The Loosely-coupled Organic Network

These days it is commonplace to pick on bureaucracy as being outdated, excessively hierarchical, dehumanizing, mired in minutiae, and resistant to change. All of these charges have some validity, to be sure, but what is frequently overlooked today is that bureaucratic organisation has important advantages as well, advantages that include ‘systematicity,’ clarity of roles, focused authority and, when it works according to intent, fair treatment of all persons.

However, in all sectors today—from private high-tech firms to social-movement organisations to public-private partnerships, we witness experimentation with organisational structures that represent modifications of, or significant departures from the traditional bureaucratic order as documented by Max Weber at the turn of the twentieth century. Matrix-style organisations, depicted in the fourth model in *Figure 3*, retain old departmental specialisations while introducing crisscrossing lines of communication and collaboration.

The final model, the loosely-coupled organic network, is so named because it involves relatively fluid lines of authority and influence, is subject to change according to new circumstances, and sees the focal organisation as embedded in a larger ‘net’ of groups and organisations. In terms of the last feature especially, this model is appealing for many grassroots social movements, joint ventures, and strategic alliances. Advances in information technology, naturally, have made the loosely-coupled organic network more common: for example, a great deal of social-movement organizing today is now conducted principally through the Internet, with groups and individuals from all over the world engaging in coalition building electronically. The great advantage of the last model is that it allows the organisation to have permeable boundaries, giving it openness to outside information and influences. The risk, of course, is that the organisation can lose ‘its self’ in a sea of organisations, identities, values, and practices.

For the Mondragón cooperatives, which are probably best described in terms of the third model, a bureaucracy with project teams and task forces, the issue of ‘openness-versus-closedness’ manifests itself in several ways. First, how much should the organisation (actually a set of firms) rely on its own ‘local wisdom’ in contrast to following or even imitating the example of large non-cooperative corporations around the world? Today, the cooperatives are appearing more and more like the typical multinational corporation in structure, managerial policies, and everyday practices. Second, to what degree should the co-ops maintain a strong Basque identity as opposed to a broader regional, national, or even international one? This question is important not only for marketing and other external communications but also for the employee-owners’ sense that their organisation is ‘different,’ distinct, or perhaps even unique. Third, the co-ops unavoidably ‘import’ certain larger societal trends such as the transformation of the citizen to the consumer, and this has important implications for the ways members conceive of issues such as the degree of sacrifice they are willing to make for the co-ops’ success. With more and more younger worker-owners thinking of themselves as persons with portable careers and as savvy consumers, they may make demands of the organisation that are individually focused (‘What can I get out of this?’) without necessarily contributing to the common good in a way that goes beyond a strict notion of the employment contract. On the other hand, curiously, the new wave may demand even wider avenues of participation.

Every one of these points, of course, is relevant to the development of the Tongan Vision Project. The TVP must contend with a broader market and pressures to be beholden to funding agencies as well as to compete with mainstream organisations (in particular, other businesses). The IWC of the TVP is currently debating the second issue, the ‘Tonganness’ of the project, in that there are risks in either being too Tongan or not Tongan enough. Thus, the IWC must promote a distinctively Tongan identity while not alienating—in fact, inviting the participation of other Pacific

Islanders in New Zealand. This is a daunting but achievable goal; however, the effort to maintain that balance must be ongoing.

### **Lesson 3: Cultivating leadership; fostering inspiration**

Here the central question is: How do we balance an allowance for emergent leadership with an emphasis on training and mentorship? This question speaks both to the relationship between the IWC and the larger Tongan community and to the operation of the small-business incubator and other actualisations of the TVP vision. From the very beginning, the IWC has taken a tentative, humble approach to engaging the larger Tongan community. That is, the young professionals who comprise the IWC have been careful both to respect the traditions of the Tongan community in New Zealand and to demonstrate great openness to the ideas of those whose support they would solicit. The rich and varied forms of expertise held by the members of the IWC give the TVP a strong prospect for success. Even more important are the passionate value commitments of the IWC members, which I have witnessed first hand at several of their meetings.

As with any social-movement-type organisation, however, there is a risk of presumptuousness on the part of the core members of the effort. By their very initiative, the IWC assume a leadership role; yet, what they ultimately seek is the 'disappearance' of their own leadership. That is, a project like the TVP could really be said to be successful when leadership is informally emergent through the larger community and shared to such a degree that the IWC members (present or future) cease to 'stand out in the crowd'. This is an attainable but difficult goal. How does a leadership unit, with a history behind it, foster the conditions for more widely shared leadership? Very easily, the self-appointed leaders enter into the paradoxical situation of trying to structure and promote grassroots democracy. But, the fact of the paradox is no reason to shy away from the task. In fact, such a paradox must inevitably be faced with democratic 'emergence' or resurgence, lest inertia rule the day and no initiative be pursued at all.

In the Mondragón cooperatives, the issue of fostering emergent leadership is relevant especially in this way. As I discovered in my interviews, there are many 'old-timer' employees who are 'waiting for a new charismatic leader [Fr. 'Arizmendi' died in 1976] to lead us in a new phase of democratic organizing.' When I pointed out the paradox to some of my interviewees who expressed this hope, they acknowledged the problem yet still failed to see how they themselves could take responsibility for re-instilling democratic energy into the co-ops—either through participation in the existing organs or by offering creative ideas for new programmes (particularly at the work group and the council levels).

In a sense, this problem is complementary to the one which the IWC of the TVP is facing. They need to enlist not only the support of others, representing various segments of New Zealand's Tongan community, but also encourage them to be leaders themselves—if ultimately the investment scheme, health and educational projects, and small-business endeavours are to be self-sustaining. In other words, the torch must be carried by more people than the current members of the IWC; thus, the TVP must try to avoid any lasting form of dependency. Training and organisational development should be aimed at independence, while at the same time insisting on consistency with the democratic goals of the TVP. Thus, there is necessarily a fine

line to walk between excessive directiveness, on the one hand, and a *laissez-faire* approach on the other. The IWC must try to hold to the middle ground in order successfully to *encourage* new leadership. In fact, this is the ideal of what is called ‘transformational leadership’—to help others become leaders, seeing in them the potential to share leadership roles and ultimately to take your place. Such a vision of leadership-in-democracy is entirely fitting for the TVP, given the IWC’s conception of the larger effort as broadly decentralised.

#### **Lesson 4: Adapting yet preserving a common mission**

How much adaptation is necessary, desirable, healthy, ethical? I have already indicated to some extent the need to see statements of vision, mission, and values as modifiable over time and circumstances. But this idea bears a bit more attention here. The dynamics of language (any language) are such that we can unify large numbers of people with ambiguous but powerful references to values—like solidarity, or service, or freedom. The breadth of meaning of such terms allows many different groups to inhabit the same symbolic space. But that same ambiguity can be used, for good or for ill, to effect change. That is, in any organisation, we may find departure from traditional values represented by an explicit assertion of ‘new values’ (as in, ‘That was then, this is now’; or, ‘We used to focus on this, now we focus on that’). But, it is also true that abstract value terms in any language offer a great deal of opportunity for ‘movement’ within their symbolic arenas. In the US for example, the symbol of ‘revolution’ used to be associated with parties of the left; since the Reagan era, however, parties of the right have successfully appropriated revolutionary symbols while still maintaining their ‘conservative’ identities. Other examples abound in politics, culture, and everyday life.

Central values of the Mondragón cooperatives, like the larger Basque and Spanish societies in which they are embedded, include participation, solidarity, and equality. And, these values are formally represented in the ‘constitution’ of the co-ops, in the form of a statement of principles. Over time, however, the value of equality has been pushed into the background, as the wage index between the lowest and highest paid employee-owners has widened and ultimately been pegged to the market for top-level managers. The value of solidarity has lost some of its natural, spontaneous character as it has become more institutionalised in the form of specifications for minimum levels of ‘social investment’ and the sharing of resources among firms (what is known as ‘inter-cooperative solidarity’—see *Table 1*). Finally, the value of participation has been reshaped, recast in a form that conforms more to the exigencies of contemporary management programmes than it does to the traditional, political conception of participation as influence over corporate policy. The change is encapsulated by the quotation below, from one of the founders of the Mondragón co-ops:

Today we need a form of neo-cooperativism. Participation means something different and more than voting on policies: it must be real participation in daily work, and not something legal or political in nature. . . . We have to participate for reasons of competitiveness and the expansion of the market. And, the kind of participation we most need is not something up in the clouds, dealing with abstract issues, but something continuous and concentrated in one’s job.

Author’s interview (1994) with Jesús Larrañaga, a co-founder of the Mondragón co-operatives

These words are telling because they represent a shift in meaning that is justified by appeals to external market pressures ('realities') and focused on the level of the job and the work team as the arena of participation. In this case, we can genuinely ask whether the change is so great as to represent a denial of traditional forms of 'participation.' That is, while the co-founder employs the same familiar term, he uses it in an entirely new context. For this reason, some groups of employee-owners in the co-ops have challenged the shift as an unwelcome departure from tradition, claiming that they, the protesting employees (calling themselves simply 'cooperative groups'), carry the torch of the 'real values' of the cooperatives. My point here is not so much to resolve this question with respect to Mondragón but rather to highlight the fact that these kinds of tensions will inevitably be faced by the TVP should it prosper and endure as its designers and I hope that it will. Values, meanings, and associated practices must be renegotiated from time to time, yet the risk of undermining the original purposes of the project need to be kept in view. Over time, 'authenticity' will be at issue and the subject of heated debate.

### **Lesson 5: Recognizing the interdependence of the social and the economic**

Here I might summarise my point with these words: How do we 'keep our eyes on the prize'—in both senses of the word? Earlier, I explained how the economic and the social are intertwined in a project such as the Mondragón cooperatives and other similar ventures. They are interdependent realms with mutually influencing goals. With Mondragón, for example, the social goals cannot be pursued at all if the cooperatives fail financially. Conversely, to pursue economic success to the exclusion of the social goals may not only mean that the co-ops 'lose their soul' but also that they ultimately lose their economic edge—which has been demonstrated to be a function in large part of the social vision.

For the TVP, the chiefly economic goal of having Tongans own '10 percent of the wealth in New Zealand' is a rousing call for individual and family investment, new business creation at the neighborhood level, and the mobilization of an entire community. Taken out of context, though, the goal can be tainted with individualism and a narrow notion of well-being that equates sheer economic success with living 'the Good Life.' Being a highly privileged professional in the richest and most wasteful nation on earth, I broach this point with great hesitation and sensitivity: the demonstrable fact of New Zealand's Tongans being largely in a state of poverty is a material condition we cannot ignore. Thus, the economic goal of the TVP *is worthy in itself*. However, as already discussed in some meetings of the IWC, there is the risk of unintentionally promoting a narrowly conceived consumerism, given that New Zealand's Tongan community—like nearly every community in the world today—is bombarded with questionable but nevertheless compelling images of 'success' and 'happiness' through the institutions of marketing and advertising. Thus, it is important that the IWC, like a number of organisations around the world today, adopt a multi-faceted model of economic, social, and spiritual well-being.

In fact, members of the IWC are already trying to do just that, by carefully planting certain social values in the small-business incubator plan. However, they need to be aware of the role of socially inspired values at every stage and in every part of their programme, lest the TVP take on a purely economic life of its own that looks rather different from what was originally envisioned.

The interrelationships of economic and social factors in any organization invite certain ironies. For example, when a business is doing well, its managers or leaders may think that there is no need to attend to social well-being because ‘we are doing very well, thank you.’ Likewise, in hard economic times, the very social values that would give the members of the organisation some hope and support may be overlooked as ‘things we cannot afford right now.’ As I observe a variety of types of organisations, across all sectors, I am reminded of the need to measure ‘success’ in more than one way. But that imperative is often ignored as we all focus on the bottom line—whether that measure be the individual’s or family’s accumulation of consumer goods or a firm’s expansion into new products and services or a university’s serving more students and bringing in more grant dollars than last year.

Part of the beauty of the Mondragón cooperative structure (as depicted earlier in *Figure 2*) is that it deliberately accounts for both the economic and the social side of enterprise. The Governing Council is designed to be concerned primarily with the needs of production, efficiency, and growth, whereas the Social Council’s main concerns are for the well-being of employees, individually and collectively. When it works well—and especially when the Social Council is vibrant—the dual structure promotes a healthy tension between economic and social goals, recognizing that each must be understood with reference to the other.

### **Lesson 6: Enacting Democracy as a Process and Not Only as a Structure**

The final lesson of Mondragón for Tongan Vision Project can be crystallised with the word ‘process’. Truly democratic institutions are hard to maintain and sustain. This is partly because the very structures established for their preservation can also lead to their stagnation or even to their own undoing. This we see at international, national, and community levels. This lesson applies, therefore, equally well to organisations and to social movements. The trick is to set up structures that encourage participation while also seeing those structures, however inspired, as contingent and subject to modification—both over time and in relation to different groups.

The IWC is already pursuing multiple avenues of communication: relying on face-to-face meetings with groups from the larger Tongan community, presentations to church congregations, interviews on radio talk shows, announcements and articles in newspapers and newsletters, and electronic communication with a growing network of supporters (both in New Zealand and beyond). Also, joint meetings with other organisations within the Tongan and the broader Pacific Island communities are in the planning—all in the interest of coalition building. The use of varied media and settings gives the IWC important opportunities for feedback and dialogue as well as the dissemination of its ideas and initiatives. The growing use of e-mail and web-based communications within and beyond the IWC will be especially interesting to observe with respect to the exchange of ideas and information, the sense of interconnectedness of project participants (especially Tongans not presently part of the main TVP support network of some 100 persons), and the mobilisation of the larger Tongan community. The employment of diverse channels of communication in a project such as the TVP affords the core group (or leadership unit) flexibility in adapting its strategies and specific programmes according to community responses. At the same time, such a mix of informal and formal communications allows the IWC and the TVP to avoid premature closure on any phase of the project—a crucial point for a democratically organised effort.

Any democratic organisation worth its salt must productively confront certain paradoxes, such as the leadership paradox discussed earlier with respect to both Mondragón and the TVP (see list of paradoxes in *Appendix*). Another common paradox, also already suggested, is the tendency to impose ‘grassroots’ democracy from the top—as so many corporates and governmental agencies have done in recent years in the name of ‘employee participation’. In another realm, social-movement organizers and agents of social change are often caught by surprise when the second wave of membership or leadership wishes to take the organisation in a new direction. No matter how noble, no matter how well intended, no matter how cleverly designed, a democratic organisation must be open to its own transformation. And, in closing, I am happy to say that the Interim Working Council of the Tongan Vision Project began and continues its work with just that sort of enlightened awareness. I look forward to seeing what shapes the TVP will take—and some of those will be beyond our present imaginings.

### **Endnotes**

1. This paper was written while I was Adjunct Professor in the Department of Management Communication at The University of Waikato and was prepared in follow up to a series of talks about Pacific Island peoples in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand. The series was organised and facilitated by Teena J. Brown-Pulu and held on campus of the University of Waikato in Hamilton in August of 2001. I wish to express my gratitude to Teena for this invitation, to the members of the Interim Working Council of the Tongan Vision Project (especially Manase Lua) for bringing me into their community, to the Department of Management Communication at the University of Waikato for enriching my intellectual life, and to FRST of NEW ZEALAND for financial support for part of his work with the TVP.
2. I am honoured to have taken part in discussions relating to the Tongan Vision Project and to have contributed to that project in some small way. Malo aupito. Thank you very much.

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## Appendix

### Participatory Processes/Paradoxical Practices

Cynthia Stohl, Purdue University, and George Cheney, The University of Montana  
*Management Communication Quarterly*, 2001

1. **Paradoxes of Structure:** Concerning the “architecture “ of participation — e.g., “Be spontaneous, creative, vocal and assertive in the way we have planned!”
  - **Paradox of Design:** Imposing or mandating *grassroots* participation from the top, e.g., with Total Quality/Participative Management
  - **Paradox of Adaptation:** While trying to preserve the organization’s essential qualities, adapting so much to outside forces or expectations that the organization’s “soul” is lost
  - **Paradox of Punctuation:** Short-cutting the democratic process in practice because the process costs time, in such a way that, over time the vitality of the system is lost
  - **Paradox of Formalization:** Institutionalizing democracy such that spontaneity is gone: routinization of that which ought to be inspired
  
2. **Paradoxes of Agency:** Concerning the individual’s (sense of) efficacy within the system — e.g., “Do things our way but in a way that’s still distinctively your own!”
  - **Paradox of Responsibility:** Relinquishing directly to a group one’s rights to make decisions, particularly while insisting that the *right* to participate be maintained
  - **Paradox of Cooperation:** Following formal or informal procedures in such a way that hinders rather than promotes cooperation, including the pattern of *non-participation* in the interest of furthering cooperation
  - **Paradox of Sociality:** Intense involvement at work as an ironic limit on other forms of participation (e.g., in family and community) such that all types of participation become undermined; prevalent in highly mission-based organizations
  - **Paradox of Autonomy:** Giving up more individual rights than one intended to do through a “contract” with a highly democratic organization; surrendering individual agency for that of the collective; the gains to the individual through adhesion to the community become outweighed by the sacrifices
  
3. **Paradoxes of Identity:** Concerning issues of membership, inclusion, and boundaries — e.g., “Be *self*-managing to meet organizational goals!”
  - **Paradox of Commitment:** Making commitment to and enactment of the group’s espoused values and beliefs about voice and participation a test that ironically leads to exclusion rather than inclusion
  - **Paradox of Representation:** Becoming co-opted by dominant interests; losing one’s “voice” unexpectedly — e.g., when labor thinks like management and forgets about workers yet still insists its role is distinct
  - **Paradox of Compatibility:** The potential problems with exporting a particular model of democracy or participation to another society or culture
  
4. **Paradoxes of Power:** Concerning the locus, nature and precise exercise of power in the organization — e.g., “Be independent, just as I have commanded you!”
  - **Paradox of Control:** Encountering less and not more freedom within team-based structures — at the group level or at the system-wide (organizational) level
  - **Paradox of Leadership:** Waiting for a charismatic leader to inspire, create and maintain democracy
  - **Paradox of Homogeneity:** Failing to see the value of resistance or oppositional voices; excessive valuing of agreement, cooperation and consensus — especially in social movement organizations — while preaching diversity of opinion

**TURANGAWAEWAE / TU'UNGAVA'E: Echoes of a place to stand and belong**

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**Abstract**

This paper examines the ways in which Pacific communities in Auckland are located and conceptualised by others in contrast to the ways in which they locate and conceptualise themselves. In particular, it looks at the ways in which, in the face of homeland fracture and socio-economic marginality, neighbourhoods are being reclaimed as places of belonging-ness, places in which informal alliances among Maori and Pacific groups are being forged. It also explores the problematic, often ambiguous, nature of these alliances.

**Introduction: Setting the South Auckland scene**

I'm sick of shittin' myself that poverty is just a phase  
You didn't think that you could keep us down forever did you?  
The Polynesian man is getting bigger, fatter, better!  
They're after somethin' they could never get from you - and that's an IQ  
Teacher's in the house - it's time to pay the dues  
Enough here for you to dream - put you in the pink and have your own degree.

*Otara Millionaires Club* (1996). We are the OMC, On the compilation album *In the Neighbourhood: 18 Hits*: track 5.

I have used the Maori and Tongan terms 'turangawaewae' and 'tu'ungava'e' here in the literal sense to mean 'a place to stand' because the theme of this paper is the search for a place of belonging-ness that underlies the ways in which political tensions and cultural alliances are played out in South Auckland between Maori and Pacific Island groups when they experience living 'out of origin place.'

South Auckland is the *imagined* terrain of brown-skinned urban-ness and migrant Maori and Pacific Island communities in crisis. It is visualised as the Nation's poor house: cheap homes, State housing on market rents, flea markets and backyard sales, island produce and cheap meat off-cuts, white tank-loaves, *pani popo* and *pani maa* from largely Asian owned bakeries, and brown-skinned bodies.

South Auckland is the national icon of Aotearoa/Pasifika culture – a brown-skinned ghetto. This national icon is conceptualised from the outside in terms of 'behavioural deviancy' and 'behavioural modification.' On the one hand, there is a perception of rising crime, graffiti, volunteer services and food banks, decile/docile one schools, unemployment, benefit fraud, overcrowded households, unlicensed drivers and tin-door city (garage doors over shop windows). On the other hand, there is the task blue project (recruitment of Maori/Pacific police trainees to dispatch in South Auckland),

Maori/Pacific language maintenance programmes, bilingual units, multicultural curricula, alternative learning programmes, performing arts festivals, hip-hop, churches, cultural centres and Marae.

South Auckland as a metaphor for the official urban-Maori/Pasifika territory exists in group allegiances, media images, local government marketing, and national construction. On paper, it is neatly mapped out as Manukau City and Auckland City. However, that neatness collapses in the face of the reality: Howick-Eastern Suburbs resist association with Manukau City/South Auckland and parts of Auckland City (Otahuhu, Glenn Innes, Panmure/Mount Wellington, Ellerslie, and Onehunga) are not demarcated within city wards as Manukau City/South Auckland. Just as the apparent neatness of geographical location collapses in the face of the reality of geographical spread, so the commonly held assumptions about how the 'urban-brown' live, assumptions that underlie paper policies and community consultation, collapse in the face of the realities, realities that include the complex relationships that exist within these communities. The central theme of this paper is an interrogation of one important aspect of these relationships, that is, the ways in which certain Maori and Pacific groups 'read' each other and the relevance of these readings to the reclaiming of neighbourhoods as places of belonging-ness in the face of homeland fracture and socio-economic marginality.

In the context of this paper, the term 'South Auckland Maori/urban-Maori' refers to groups who identify as indigenous to Aotearoa, but who do not see themselves as local tribes-people because they are migrants from outside the Auckland region. The term 'South Auckland Pacific Islanders' is a Polynesian construct which privileges Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan groups - and de-privileges others. The term 'Pacific Islanders' implies that due to their demographic number as the largest Pacific group living in New Zealand. Samoans lie at the centre of how 'outsiders' interpret what 'Pacific Islanders' are, and what this identity category means. A recent demographic breakdown from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs argued there are around two-hundred and twenty-three thousand Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand where fifty per cent of this total are Samoan. Consequently, by the year 2050, it is projected that the Pacific Island population will increase to around six hundred thousand where one in five New Zealand school children will be of Pacific Island descent (Lua, 2001).

### **We're all migrants, except some of us belong here before others**

The identity of post-colonial New Zealand as it enters the 21<sup>st</sup> century is an uncertain one. On the one hand, there is the rhetoric of a plural, multicultural nation state. On the other, there is the enduring perception of the nation as a Pacific Island seeking to forge a bicultural identity that is inclusive of the indigenous Maori population and European settlers, one that cannot readily locate or accommodate third parties.

Deloria (1998, p. 5) has noted that "[race] has . . . been a characteristic American obsession, . . . the racial imagination [having] been at work on many different groups of people, Indians included." In New Zealand, an obsession with race, initially conceptualised in terms of a 'Maori problem,' has been transformed into an obsession with 'Otherness' that often locates Maori and Pacific migrants in the same 'problem space.' Thus, the reconfiguring of New Zealand's national identity involves a reconstruction in which all New Zealanders (including Maori and Pakeha) can be

assimilated, as migrants, into *our* New Zealand heritage: “our history is the history of migrants” (Belich 2001; King 1999). This type of conceptualisation can operate in a variety of different ways. It may, for example, be intended to defocus the issue of ‘first occupancy,’ thus creating an imagined space in which Maori and Pakeha can be encouraged to forge a new bicultural national identity out of common migrant origins. If, however, that identity is to be seen as bicultural, then it leaves open the question of how more recent migrant groups are to be accommodated. The type of thinking that attempts to forge a closer identity between Maori and Pakeha and, in the process, ignores the existence of other dimensions of background, can be detected in the following two extracts from articles that appeared in the *New Zealand Listener*. In both, the central concern is how others think of their origins. In the first (Philp, 2001), Charles Royal is cited; in the second (Macdonald, 2001), the writer makes reference to someone to whom he refers as ‘this White person’:

Just this week I've been going through my own Pakeha whakapapa . . . I guess the key difference is that Maori ritualise whakapapa. . . . There's so much Pakeha blood in this land, so many Pakeha bodies buried in the landscape, but what Maori do is continue to ritualise it: on that mountain my uncle was buried; over there my ancestor did this, did that.

Maori history was more relevant than European history . . . and it was more important according to this White person that her mixed-race children be aware of their Maori heritage, because that was the side that was most in danger of losing its voice and its memory. . . . [In] a bizarre inversion of conventional ethnocentrism, this person had concluded that the genealogy of others was more worthy of preservation than her own. . . . So it's encouraging to see that New Zealanders are taking a greater interest in their pasts, and not just those already blessed with well-documented family histories or oft-recited whakapapa. One would like to think that an inter-generation memory doesn't also mean that ancient grudges are kept alive . . . history ain't bunk, and the present makes no sense untethered from the past. We should all take more care of our dead.

Post-war arrivals from the Pacific are named migrants too - but migrants of a new kind, migrants who wear identifiable ethnic and cultural *difference*. The underlying production of race in imagining the migrant, its origins, its hierarchy of designating belonging-ness, reconfigures the Nation. Race is now considered an impolite reference. Thus, the elision of race and nationhood that distinguishes between first migrants and recent ones evokes a softer euphemism for new questions of identity, power, and belonging. As Cook, Didham and Khawaja (2001, p. 44) note:

In 1996, two thirds of all people who registered a Pacific ethnicity in their responses to the census question . . . only recorded ethnicities identified with indigenous people of the Pacific. The majority indicated a single ethnicity - the ethnic group that corresponds with their island 'home' or the place in the Pacific that their parents or grandparents came from. Only four per cent indicated that they were of mixed Pacific Island ethnicity - a surprisingly small proportion given the long history of immigration of Pacific peoples to New Zealand, and the tendency for the larger Pacific ethnic groups to concentrate in particular suburbs in the main cities.

What this indicates is that, in general, migrants of Pacific ethnicity identified with place of origin. There was little sign of that shift towards multiple affiliation and severing of homeland ties that is often associated with miscegenation and inter-generational residency. Nor, it appears, was there much sign of a desire to identify as New Zealanders.

**The Northern Hemisphere question: Why is the Southern Antipodes obsessed with race?**

Mohanram (1999, p. xii) questioned her identity subjectivity while living in New Zealand as an Indian academic who had gained postgraduate qualifications in North American universities:

In a further twist, after I arrived in New Zealand I was referred to as 'black' – which threw me into utter confusion as I had shaped my adult identity as a minority in the US labelled 'brown.' This continual recategorization – from 'unmarked' to 'brown' to 'black' – goes beyond the classification of race; these terms contain within them the social, economic and cultural history, as well as the markers of the places of domicile, of the subject.

Mohanram analysed how the demarcation of 'brown' in contrast to 'black' has been inscribed onto the ethnic landscape of contemporary New Zealand by applying this rationale to the bicultural versus multicultural debate. She felt that in terms of building alliances between women of race, colour and culture, New Zealand's case was vastly different from that of North America. Mohanram argued that Maori feminists prefer to form alliances with Pakeha women, rather than align with their Asian or Pacific Island counterparts. Their logic for doing so lies in the assumption that if Maori feminists include Asian women in their struggle for equality, their indigenous rights as *Tangata Whenua* would be at risk of collapsing and giving way to multiculturalism. Thus, Maori feminists are suspicious of forming alliances with Asian and Pacific Island women, and believe that it makes straightforward and practical sense to align with Pakeha women because their historical relationship is couched in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. Thus, the Treaty as a 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial agreement signed between the Crown and local *Iwi*, ensures that alliances between Maori and Pakeha feminists sustain New Zealand as a bicultural nation for indigenous and White groups first, before allowing immigrants to contest and change the space for 'minority rights.' Mohanram (1999, p. 92) observes that:

Such clear demarcations in the racial groups make it easier to think of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural rather than a multicultural nation. Mohanty's argument about a common context of struggle ought to build alliances between the various 'black'/women – Maori, Asian and Pacific Islander – but, in reality, no such alliance appears. Instead, Asians in particular are perceived as usurpers of that which rightfully belongs to Maori, rather than being perceived as similar victims of the global economy. The prevailing feeling among Maori has been that the inclusion of Asian women in the equation will render New Zealand a multicultural nation, completely bypassing indigenous rights and biculturalism. Multiculturalism would be regarded by Maori as likely to prise them from their *tangata whenua* or 'first-people' status in Aotearoa/New Zealand that leads Maori feminists to build

alliances with Pakeha feminists rather than with their Asian or Pacific Islander counterparts.

In spite of Mohanram's position, I believe there is evidence that there *are* such alliances between urban-Maori and Pacific Islanders. They are, however, problematic and it is the complex and problematic nature of these alliances among peoples who have been remade as 'outcasts' that is my primary concern here.

In common with Ausubel (1960) and Hanson (1989), Mohanram (1999) is interested in the nature of the ambiguities and political tensions that arise out of concepts of 'race' and 'nation.' Although all three are differently positioned in a number of ways, a common theme is the national anxieties that underlie the social and political landscape, the myth of New Zealand as God's own paradise, a racial and social utopia. Ausubel's thesis, that Pakeha New Zealanders were obsessed with a perceived race problem, met with a mixed reception. He argued that New Zealand was not a racially harmonious modern Nation and that the notion of racial compatibility was a national myth constructed and maintained by the dominant White body. During conversations with Pakeha, Ausubel observed that there was a dominant national construction of Maori as 'lazy' and 'welfare-dependent.' Whereas Pakeha might be seen as 'spendthrift,' Maori would be more likely to be characterised as 'senseless with money.' Above all, he noted that Maori underdevelopment was seen as hampering national progress, a theme that is evident in the following quotation from an article in the *New Zealand Listener* in which Pamela Stirling (2000) comments on members of the extended family of a Maori child who was the subject of serious abuse:

Fraud is not unknown in this family. . . . Hemopo no longer works: "The children and I asked my darling to give up his trucking job", says Namana. We missed him. He would see the children off at 7.30 but sometimes not get home till 3.00 the next morning". But there is money for cigarettes - Namana chainsmokes - and there is money for alcohol. Namana claims to only go to the pub at lunchtime to put a \$2 bet on the TAB, but at the Royal Oak her unborn child was known as "Jack:" short for Jack Daniels.

Ausubel, an American academic, was rebuked by both the liberal and the conservative Pakeha establishment for claiming that the 1960s New Zealand national equation produced racism. How, after all, could an American visitor reach valid conclusions about race relations in New Zealand on the basis of a short visit? How could a White American academic criticise race relations in New Zealand when racial segregation laws – an expression of *true* racism - were institutionalised in America? According to 1960s liberal Pakeha, what had appeared to Ausubel to be a race issue was, in fact, a socio-economic one, which could be solved by full employment and the redistribution of wealth. No mention was made of land repatriation, of Maori grievances in relation to the denial of indigenous rights invested in the Treaty of Waitangi. There was no mention of the fact that Maori players were not permitted in the 1960 All-Black tour of South Africa. A reworked model, one which replaced the concept of 'race' by that of 'nationhood,' would allow for the proper assimilation of Maori into New Zealand citizenship.

Thirty years after Ausubel's observations, the observations of another American academic, Allan Hanson, met with a similarly heated response. Hanson (1989) argued

that contemporary Maori nationalism used *Maoritanga* as a political device to address land confiscation and deferred citizenship. Liberal Pakeha and Maori critics objected, claiming that Hanson's views represented an over-simplification of the dynamics of Maori activism in the context of shifts in contemporary views of nationhood. Visible here was an alliance between Maori and Liberal Pakeha, an alliance that centred on the perceived need to 'speak back' to the centre of global economic thinking. The staunchest criticism of Hanson came, however, from within his own discipline. A number of anthropologists argued that, in overlooking the significance of the emergence of de-colonised, self-determined Maori research, Hanson failed to appreciate the cultural politics involved in redefining the boundaries of knowledge ownership, representation, and resource allocation.

Mohanram (1999) brings yet another North American perspective to bear on the New Zealand social and political scene. In *Black Body: Women, Colonialism and Space* she probes the origin myths of a nation entering the 21<sup>st</sup> century, arguing that the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) represents the originating moment for the imagining of a New Zealand Nation. She observes that (1999, p. 100):

The continuing tradition of burying the placenta represents Maori nationalism as timeless and unchanging, whereas signing the Treaty of Waitangi suggests just the opposite – their adaptability to new ways of constructing identity. Both ploys are necessary in the growing bid for Maori nationalism. In oppositional nationalism, a braiding of the unchanging and the changing, the predictable and the political, the Maori plays the role that is expected of her by being timeless and unchanging in her ways while simultaneously going beyond the role assigned to her, being overtly political. By deliberately 'incarcerating' themselves in their relationship to the land, Maori form the contours of the pan-Maori nationalistic movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

What she fails, however, to acknowledge is the fact that whereas the Treaty acknowledges the indigeneity of urban-Maori, it does not accommodate their repositioning as migrants removed from their tribal territories. Nor does she acknowledge the fact that, in foregrounding colonizer and indigenous-Aotearoa relations, interpretations of the Treaty effectively create a context in which the potential for alliances between urban Maori and urban Pacific Island peoples is fraught with complexity. Even so, ethnographic overlap between groups who reconstruct their neighbourhoods as places of belonging-ness can, I shall argue, produce *informal* alliances. It is with the problematic nature of these informal alliances that I shall be concerned here.

### **Theorising back from the South Auckland scene/South Pacific Seas**

South Auckland Maori and Pacific groups cohabit urban neighbourhoods. They are situationally coupled, occupying a designated urban-Maori/Pacific Island place on the Nation's fringe in a way that is reminiscent of the 1960s conflation of race and socio-economic status. Thus, these groups are coupled in a process of renaming. Urban Maori and Pacific Islanders are the *new* disenfranchised migrants. Thus, theorising the closure of gaps between dominant groups and urban-Maori/Pacific Islanders produces a reworked assimilation. Reinventing the socio-economic answer to the 'new race problem' involves downplaying racial *difference*, grouping urban-Maori and Pacific Islanders together in relation to policies which aim at "closing the gaps,"

salvaging, conferring citizenship through employment and the redistribution of wealth.

Who constructs race and who wears the construction? Who produces markers of racial equality? Who writes the cultural scripts for urban-Maori/Pacific Islanders in an ethnically challenged socio-economic text? Who decides who deserves citizenship? How does the State know that socio-economic redress will diffuse uneasiness between urban-Maori and Pacific groups? Who manages disenfranchisement when it provokes groups to compete for crumbs from the State's table? The following extracts indicate where the answer to such questions is to be found. The first extract is from an article by Fuimaono Les McCarthy (2001, p. 276) in which it is argued that ethnicity indicates socio-economic status in a national framework; the second, from an article in which Pa'u Mulitalo-Lauta (2002, p. 247), argues that cultural identity can be wielded by social services as a correctional device:

Identity by ethnicity underpins the analyses of demographic and socio-economic characteristics that were presented at the Pacific Vision Conference [convened in Auckland 1999 by the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs].

Cultural identity is an important issue for the recognition and survival of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Within the context of social services, cultural identity is fundamental to the wellbeing and personal growth of clients. Cultural identity can be used to influence a Pacific person to change for the better.

It is in this context that the Maori writer, Tracey McIntosh (2001, p.151), discusses the Pacific misunderstanding of the institutionalisation of the identity-marker *tangata whenua*:

The concept of tangata whenua was also problematic. . . . For the Pacific Island community, as for much of the rest of the non-Maori population, the concept was poorly understood.

Biculturalism was similarly poorly represented and misunderstood. The early call by successive governments for a multicultural society was . . . well received. Multiculturalism seemed to offer a definite space of incorporation into New Zealand life for Pacific peoples. Donna Awatere spoke for many Maori when she castigated multiculturalism, claiming that the Pakeha state offered it to Pacific peoples as a means to entice them away from possible alliances with Maori.

At the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Governor Hobson said "he iwi tahi taatou" (Maori and Pakeha are one). The reality has failed to match the rhetoric. For myself, a Tongan/Maori/Samoan woman, the bearer of a New Zealand passport, the ambivalent inheritor of Western European ancestry, these words represent little more than Hobson's choice. The notion of *our* New Zealand, a New Zealand whose heritage belongs equally to Maori and Pakeha is White mythology, marketed through media, literature, and popular culture by orthodox propagators of heritage affairs. Nevertheless, Hobson's words are rooted in historical memory. They resurface for new migrants in a way that suggests that they are not considered *natural* in terms of

national origin. At the same time, they can provide others with the type of certainty that is indicated in the following excerpt from Michael King cited in a *Listener* article (cited in Revington 2001, p.23):

For me, to be a Pakeha on the cusp of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not to be European; it is not to be an alien or a stranger in my own country. It is to be a non-Maori New Zealander who is aware of and proud of my antecedents, but who identifies as intimately with this land . . . as anybody Maori.

Shaped by Michael King's 'man on the land' story (cited in Revington 2001, p.23), Pacific groups attempt to make sense of their shifting situation in a problematic context, a context in which Pakeha see themselves as 'second wave migrants' who, by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi, have an incontestable status in relation to national identity, a status that is indigenous-like in character. This way of thinking has the potential to alienate more recent migrants, particularly migrants from Pacific Islands, conferring on them a lesser status as citizens and, in the process, obscuring the many ways in which their struggle is similar to that of urban Maori. Thus, alliances between Pacific Islanders and *Tangata Whenua* are problematized. Political marketing and historical reification of *imagined* bi-nationalism de-privileges Pacific-ness. This national disjuncture complicates Pacific interpretations of what indigeneity and sovereignty means for Maori groups in relation to themselves. The potential for alliances between islanders and Maori is concealed. Opportunities for collectively challenging Nationhood narratives and the socio-economic paradox of racial hierarchy are lost at the same time as New Zealand-born Samoan-ness measures its stakes through citizenship rights as New Zealanders. Thus, in the words of Anae (1997, p. 128):

[For] New Zealand-born Samoans . . . secured identities can be reached by viewing the identity journey as a series of rites of passage - enforced rituals which challenge one's right to be 'a New Zealander,' and on the other hand, one's right to be a Samoan. . . . [Some] New Zealand-born Samoans can attain secured identities . . . thus becoming much 'healthier' members of wider New Zealand society, and their own 'aiga, church and community groups - as Samoans who are not born in Samoa but in New Zealand.

Challenging rights to citizenship is problematic. The Treaty of Waitangi means that *kawanatanga*, or governance, is the vehicle by which Pacific Islanders claim citizenship rights. State practice defines ethnicity as the demographic marker of socio-economic place within Nation. Racial contradiction is exposed. When rights of citizenship disclose that New Zealanders do not cohabit on a level playing field, *kawanatanga*, is exposed as a system of power that privileges White groups and de-privileges others. In this context, some Pacific groups invent their indigeneity and sovereignty in relation to Aotearoa. Thus, for example, Tongan writer Sitaleki Finau (1999, p.49) collapses the difference between Maori and Pacific Islanders by appropriating *rangatiratanga*, rights of indigenous sovereignty in the Treaty of Waitangi:

Maoris are Polynesians and are Pacificans who have become tangata whenua of Aotearoa before the arrival of the second wave of Pacificans who are now

called migrants. One day these migrants, if they stay and work long enough, will be of the whenua.

Maori women Donna Awatere (1984) and Tracey McIntosh (2001) have both suggested that alliances between Maori and Pacific groups will undergo renegotiation, arguing that alliances will be generated through reclamation of post-colonial sovereignty which is the consequence of Colonisation. The first extract below is from McIntosh (2001, p.152); the second is from Awatere (1984, cited in McIntosh 2001, p.149):

Where for many [Pacific] migrants, the situation of Maori was a consequence of Maori failings, it is seen by many of their children as a consequence of colonialism. While marginalisation was an unthinkable fate for many migrants, their own children are often able to see parallels between their situation and that of Maori. Migrants too may be revisiting their views. Those who earlier criticised the Maori for the loss of their language and cultural knowledge now see the same losses occurring among their children and grandchildren. This new awareness may lead to a rethinking and reconstruction of the relationship between them.

The difficulty with Polynesians is not that they are white, but that white culture in the form of Christianity, and its sidekick aggressive materialism has so impacted on their culture. They are ravaged by a desperate need to 'get' white education, material goodies and white status. . . . [which] means that the Pacific Island people are not at this moment prepared to ally themselves with us. But this could change in the long term. All this white education, goodies and status have a high cultural cost, which future generations will have to pay. Perhaps then we can look again.

*Differences* in imagining alliances emerge. McIntosh (2001, p.152), in the first extract below, argues that New Zealand-born generations will form alliances with Maori because they understand systematic disenfranchisement; Awatere (1984, pp.35 – 37), in the second extract below, argues that New Zealand-born islanders are the natural allies of Maori precisely because their sense of identity has survived physical separation from their place:

One, and in some cases two generations of New Zealand-born Pacific people have now been exposed in schools to accounts of early colonial history and of the extent of systematic abrogation by Pakeha of rights conferred on Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi. They appreciate, more completely in most cases than their immigrant parents, the extent of the historical injustices perpetrated against Maori, and have a more complete understanding of the causes of the marginalisation of Maori.

Pacific Island immigrants are the natural allies of the Maori, in particular the Polynesians: Samoans, Cook Islanders, Tongans. . . . Pacific Island immigrants and their descendants form an uneasy alliance with the White Nation against Maori sovereignty. In the early 1970s Polynesian Panthers . . . challenged Nga Tamatoa for what it called "Maori cultural nationalism". . . . This call for the Maori to abandon our claims to sovereignty arose from the

emergence of New Zealand-born Pacific Islanders. . . . Maori sovereignty was seen as a diversion from the "real" issue, which was . . . achieving civil rights and coequal rights with whites. . . . This call really represented the identity crisis of the New Zealand-born but Pacific Island-*identified* people. . . . Pacific Island leaders, Rev Sio and Sefulu Ioani supported Maori calls to be awarded tangata whenua status. . . . [They] recognised that multiculturalism was an illusion designed to draw attention away from the real problem of whites, which is to accept biculturalism. Strong support for Maori sovereignty thus came from some Samoan-born leaders. . . . [Their] ability to recognise Maori sovereignty lies in their own strong sense of identity as Samoans. In *Samoa* and *not* in NZ.

Tongan journalist Sefita Hao'uli, and Samoan writer Tapu Misa both demonstrate how the limits of defining ethnic place through a socio-economic formula stigmatises its margins. Pacific groups are coerced through citizenship versus sovereignty dilemmas to remain confined by dominant design. Dominant design prohibits movement outside the bounds of colonial persistence. It forces the margins to fight each other for State favour, White paternalism, and financial gain. The extracts below are from Sefita Hao'uli (1996, cited in McIntosh, 2001, p.149) and Tapu Misa 1995, cited in McIntosh, 2001, p.150):

Pacific Island people did not come here to hongiri with the Maori. We came here because the opportunities were here and, we thought, these came from Palangi, not Maori.

Many Pacific Islanders looked down on Maori for having lost their language and culture without understanding their history. And many Maori regarded Pacific Islanders as uneducated, unsophisticated Coconuts taking away resources that should have gone to Maori.

Tensions between urban-Maori and Pacific groups are read in respect of disenfranchisement via an ethnically determined socio-economic framework. This coerces groups to compete on Nation's margins for contended resources and contested sovereignty/citizenship rights. It can create groups as violent enemies, before permitting them to see each other as allies with a common cause.

### **Turangawaewae/Tu'ungava'e: Echoes of new places to stand through old pasts**

Multiple dialogue informs the making of South Auckland Maori and Pacific Island places of belonging. Cultural sovereignties and reinvented nationalisms are played out in South Auckland territories of cohabitation and marginalisation. Traces of migrant-Pacific identity can mirror indigenous-Maori, and 'Islanders going Native in Aotearoa,' can be self-realised. The first extract below is from an interview with one of my research informants (recorded 16 April 2000); the second is taken from correspondence with another research informant (dated June 2001):

I asked him, why don't you . . . help Pacific Island people in New Zealand? You are always looking to Europe or Asia, but you are in the Pacific! Pacific Island people have been slaves to New Zealand for a century. We have provided a place to dump your poor quality meat that you can't sell on the European market, and we have provided cheap labour as factory workers for

New Zealand's industrial development. . . . Why is it when Pacific Island people attempt to come to New Zealand, the Department of Immigration kicks us out of New Zealand? And what about our brothers the Maori people of New Zealand? The New Zealand government has attempted to help them recently, so why won't you help the Pacific Island people in New Zealand? After all, Maori and Pacific Island people are Polynesians and this is the Pacific!

Polynesian mind is short-term, surviving this week to next on the benefit. I blame the churches. Look at our Tongan people in South Auckland. Beneficiaries build the churches, look after the ministers, send money to Tonga. Where the money goes, only God knows. It don't [sic] go back to the people. It goes to the rich, the corrupt. The best thing Tongans can do is get behind tangata whenua. But tangata whenua don't want to waste time with islanders who can't see past their noses, can't think past tomorrow, the next puaka they give for the church. Tongans are getting sicker and sicker. If we don't get behind tangata whenua and work in with Maori, then forget it. We'll be another ethnic minority, same as Asians or Indians. That's sick. Oceania belongs to us, we are tangata moana.

These Tongan men mimic the suspicions of Ranginui Walker (1996, pp.185-203) and Sid Mead (1997, pp.89-93) that multiculturalism undermines biculturalism thus having the potential to reduce Maori to the status of any other ethnic minority. Political distance between Maori and 'islanders' collapses in-between: "Maori and Pacific Island people are Polynesians, this is the Pacific"/ "Oceania belongs to us, we are tangata moana." Pacific Islanders risk disenfranchisement by "Asians and Indians." Thus, in the last extract above, Tongans are urged to "work in with Maori" and reclaim territories and resources which are seen as belonging to "tangata moana."

Tongan historian 'Okusitino Mahina has argued that 'tangata i fonua' and 'fefine i fonua' are Tongan terms that speak 'tangata whenua' in Maori.<sup>1</sup> Mahina resists 'tangata Pasifika' as an identity marker for Pacific Islanders in Aotearoa. He sees it as an alien-migrant inference, as essentially Western. 'Tangata moana', on the other hand, is a Tongan reference to Oceanic groups which alludes to the inter-relatedness of pre-colonial histories, languages, and cultures. It includes Maori in its Oceanic-sovereignty. It acknowledges Maori indigeneity in Aotearoa. Politically, it maps moana-Oceania, as belonging to first tangata-groups, who navigated its oceans, and settled its islands ('Okusitino Mahina 1999, pp.276 – 87). In connection with this, Tongan ethnographer 'Opeti Tali'ai has argued that the Tongan terms 'kauhala'uta' and 'kauhalalalo' assign social groups into navigators and rowers on canoes. Tali'ai sees social order as being historically constructed through references to the moana and its tangata.<sup>2</sup>

In *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* (Borofsky (Ed.), 2000), political disenfranchisement is countered by a process of by re-validating sovereign belonging-ness and inter-connected-ness to an Oceania/moana place, space, and identity. This perspective is similar to that of Sefa Dei (2000, pp.70 – 86) who discusses African development in terms of experiences and interpretations that are continuous and consistent with indigenous worldviews.

South Auckland Tongan groups read Maori sovereignty through public media and via cohabitation of urban neighbourhoods alongside migrant Maori who externally appear de-tribalised from iwi origins. The importance of devolving Maori as a homogeneous identity-marker, and mobilising iwi as an indicator of tribal-ness and locality, can be misapprehended as the following extract from the correspondence of one of my research informants (March 2001) indicates:

I told him, you should have got me to look at the fisheries quota before. Why do Maori split the fisheries up among tribes? To compete on the global market, you're better to join together. Don't divide it up into small pieces. To move a fisheries company on the international market, you have to put all your pieces into one big pie. That's the trouble with Maori. They want to be tribal. They don't want to work as one.

The informant quoted above reads Maori tribal-ness through his own social-organisation background. During conversations with South Auckland Tongans, it emerged that a general non-experiential understanding of tribal-ness in relation to colonisation meant uniformity was for them the base-line ideal for group organisation and survival. Uniformity was what Maori were perceived to lack.

Homogeneous Tongan-ness is, however, socially engineered. Social differences that are regionally based, or based, more specifically, on village identities are, in fact, relocated from the Tonga Islands to South Auckland where Tongan difference is reproduced through chiefly groups, village/region associations, kava clubs, churches, ministers, non-church goers, extended-kin groups, informal work groups - stone masons, backyard salesmen, women's koloa/craft groups, working class, the unemployed, middle-class professionals, teachers, bureaucrats. Even so, the ideological production of Tongan sameness resurfaces when deciphering Maori tribal-ness. It informs the perceptions of those who seek to mobilise South Auckland Tongan groups to participate in organisations, to raise funds for homeland remittances, to build places to stand in urban-neighbourhoods.

For urban-Maori and Pacific Island groups, Mohanram's assumption that Maori and Pacific Islanders are politically non-aligned and that that alignment should be forged formally through official organisations and networks is problematic. Views such as this echo the post-modern rhetoric of trans-national freedom of movement. They prioritise ethnic minority rights of citizenship and group global consciousness. They emphasise socio-economic mobility via political activism, which is officially placed *inside* the formal system of power. However, political alignment between urban-Maori and Pacific groups takes place within grass-roots community contexts. It resurfaces through sites of popular culture. It is played out through linguistic and conceptual interchanges. It echoes Turangawaewae in its claim that this place is part of the wider Pacific region, which belongs to us, not Pakeha/Palangi. It is relived through reclamations of language, territory, and history. It shifts through cultural sovereignties and postcolonial nationalisms within, and between, groups whose membership is made up of poor, urban-migrants who cohabit communities in crisis. It transitions informally in-between the movement and messiness of cohabitation and marginalisation as is indicated in the two extracts that follow. The first is from an interview with Daryl Thomson aired on Radio New Zealand (August 1999); the second is from Galumalemana Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001, p. 198):

I am a Tongan, I am a Fijian, I am a Hawaiian, I am a Tahitian, I am from the Marquesas. I'm all of that. I'm a Coconut, I'm Islander, I'm a Maori. It's only the media and the *Pakehas* who separate us. There are no such things as Maoris and Polynesians. Where are we? We're in Polynesia. We're on the triangle. I hate that shit, and I hate it when my people say it. I read the paper every day. "The perpetrator was a six foot bald headed guy with a beanie believed to be Maori or Polynesian." But you know we deal with that, we deal with it. We deal with that by not looking at it. And it's not turning away, we just don't say, "We're Polynesians too." Just don't say it, don't worry about what people's thinking right, get on with the bigger picture.

There's a growing awareness that Pacific Islanders can provide a way for Maori to rediscover their Pacific roots. As Witi Ihimaera wrote . . . Maori are the youngest of Pacific peoples: 'Maui Potiki, Maui was the last born. . . . We who live in Aotearoa are the potiki of the Pacific. It is time we took our rightful place on the marae of the Pacific, which is the court of us all.

Foucault (1990, p.99) reminds us that resistance to power is not produced outside the system of governance, that resistance does not stand in binary opposition to power. Nevertheless, in line with Baudrillard, I argue that the reinvention of place and belonging to which reference has been made here signifies "mental resistance to colonisation" (Baudrillard: Public Lecture, Auckland Town Hall, 2000). To paraphrase Said (1977, p.17; 1999, p.5), mental resistance to colonisation expresses itself consciously because one has been bodily and territorially displaced. One becomes intimately aware that one's identity group is living 'out of place,' while concurrently embodying and staking out claims to a new place. The rhetoric of renegotiating a place, a new place of belonging, selectively emphasises a consistency with a pre-colonial past. Thus, communal ties among Maori and Pacific ethnicities are prioritised while marked differences are accepted.

Colonialism is a metaphor for cultural and historical discontinuity. Colonialism is the point of entry, the point at which certainty of place and belonging is ruptured. Colonialism provides the common ground from which new proclamations of place and belonging are spoken for.

The following lyrics (in which I have highlighted critical sections) by Auckland-based Aotearoa/Pasifika hip-hop crews sum up much of what has been said here. The first crew - *Lost Tribe* - is made up of six Samoan, Tongan, and Niuean men all of whose parents are homeland-born islanders. They reclaim South Auckland as their urban-place of identity. The second performer - Che Fu - is Maori-Nga Puhi/Niuean. He claims Ponsonby, Auckland-central as his urban-place of belonging. Daryl Thomson of Ngati Kahungunu, who grew up in Porirua, Wellington and who now lives in Grey Lynn, Auckland-central, performs the mixing.

Some in search of different shores, cruise jump off in a wharf, fresh off boats  
[FOB] to a new port  
I stow away with **my cousins up north**; we came all the way  
But hey, many brothers taking trips that we're gonna freakin' overstay

**Migrate in the South AK** [South Auckland] **as our place, brown colour**  
joining in the bloody rat race  
At the starting line they work in factories from five to five, they can't debate  
They gotta put the food on the plate  
We're moving slow, but pickin' up pace  
Aotearoa, quantum leap anti-clockwise, can see through my forefather's eyes  
To explore shores for more joy, no warning attack  
Just a ukulele in my cheap back-pack filled with no formal plan of attack  
Aotearoa, the last destination from **streams of Hawaiiiki**  
Can somebody tell me how migrations of Pacific cousins became unhappy  
upon arrival to New Zealand in the seventies  
Facing a **place that's been man made**, it might be enterprising  
Dawn raids, planting seeds that demons spawned against us  
Separates us through the **baby boom brown race**  
**Still here today inheriting the bunga ways**, that calls upon the voice of today  
Don't let the sun go down, Polynesians all around the world [my emphasis].<sup>3</sup>

Well I grew up in Ponsonby  
They take the Gluepot now they're coming for me  
But hell no --- I won't go away  
Ponsonby, where I live, Ponsonby, where I stay  
I never asked you to put a café in **my street**  
Looking at me like another **refugee**  
No I will not go; I won't be living with my hurt in a hole  
Drag me, shoot me, stab me --- I know that you would do it most gladly  
Picking like a vulture, rape my people, rape my culture  
Come make my chains, come help me out --- living in the city ain't so bad  
I ain't forgotten where I did come from  
I be down with the **brown-skinned** Polynesian [my emphasis].<sup>4</sup>

*Lost Tribe* perform the movement of ideas from one culture to another by caulking a Nga Puhi/South Auckland reference to “my cousins up north” and by merging it in-between island experience of “stowing away” on a boat to an Aotearoa wharf. Urban-Maori/Pasifika hybridity – “I stow away with my cousins up north” - sets the scene for reconstructing Aotearoa as “the last destination from streams of Hawaiiiki.” This South Auckland Samoan, Tongan, Niuean group appropriates Hawaiiiki as an ancestral place of origin. Hawaiiiki is the homeland of Maori and Pacific ethnicities, the place from which we all originated before travelling to, and arriving at, the southernmost Pacific borders.

Tracing multiple roots back to a Hawaiiiki homeland legitimises South Auckland as *our place*. The emphasis on “exploring new shores” implies that the journey of migrant Pacific Islanders echoes a similar past in the pre-contact voyages from Eastern Polynesia. There is no mention of rivalry for economic resources between South Auckland Maori and Pacific groups. There is no mention of iwi groups who reside in South Auckland. There is no mention of the fact that working-class Maori were the first brown-skinned migrants who embodied South Auckland neighbourhoods.

Che Fu defers from an iwi-based/Maori-based claim to a claim for Ponsonby as his Turangawaewae. He utters the visual-marker of *Lost Tribe* - that brown-skinned Polynesian-ness stakes out one's place of belonging in an urban neighbourhood. His Ponsonby *streets* of belonging are threatened by cafés, an allusion to the fact that up-market Whites are taking-over inner-city Auckland and disenfranchising urban-Maori and Islanders, re-mobilising them southward and westward. Che Fu sees new White-arrivals as discriminating against his brown-skin in his own neighbourhood. He is becoming a *refugee* who is bodily out of place in up-market Ponsonby.

Brown-skin visually maps out an Auckland territory to which one belongs. Brown-skin is the identity-marker of strategic essentialism. Brown-ness represents the origins of Hawaiiki and Polynesian-ness, in contrast to Whiteness, which represents colonialism and European-ness. Brown-skin represents the site of bodily resistance to territorial displacement by Whiteness and aggressive Capitalism. Brown-skin means one *naturally* inherits the bunga ways, or the Polynesian-ness of an origin homeland, despite migratory movement. Brown-skin means bodily confinement within the physicality of race. It means that skin and body are bound to an Aotearoa/Pasifika place of local and regional belonging.

### **Final word from the South**

Finally, South Auckland urban-Maori and Pacific groups who reconstruct their neighbourhoods as places to stand, perform an informal economy of exchange. They selectively align histories, and renegotiate their identities in respect of each other and the newness of urban-migrant relocation. The political tensions they navigate through are consistent with being disenfranchised groups who are bodily, territorially, and economically displaced. Their performances reveal the discontinuity of making new places to stand, while realising the uncertainty of belonging-ness in living outside of origin place.

In-between the too-ing and fro-ing of cultural ideas, and merged within the politics of marginalisation, urban cohabitation, and fathoming relationships between people and place, Maori and Pacific groups perform a shared practice. They practice remaking turangawaewae by imagining and locating the Native. Ironically, they locate the Native by interrogating their own subjectivity through origin homeland fracture and group disjuncture on Nation's margins.

Those who inhabit South Auckland Maori and Pacific margins creatively imagine and reconstruct relationships to places they cohabit *because* they are marginalised. Like Said (1978; 1999), I argue that the capacity to resist mental colonisation, and to transgress boundaries by reinventing new Native belonging-ness emerges because they understand, because they re-adapt to the subjectivity of displacement. Belich (2001) and King (1999) claim that Pakeha are the next Natives in line to Maori. In contrast, Pacific groups reclaim shared Oceania-moana sovereignty.

Echoes of turangawaewae reverberate through historical memory and language. Turangawaewae as a metaphor for belonging informs the origins of urban Native-ness that are inscribed in the national ethnoscape. The postcolonial paradox is that a new Native practice is to represent the land through parallels with the landlessness of the ocean.

The final voice here is a Maori voice, the voice of one of my informants as recorded in personal correspondence (July 2001). It illustrates how the narrowness of socio-economic marginalisation influences perceptions and shapes the ways in which groups read each other:

Migration for islanders means they can go anywhere in the world, plant roots, get citizenship. They want to be equal to Pakehas, they want what Pakehas have, but they don't ask who was here first 'cos it's not in their interests. They'd rather be friends with Pakehas than us, until they figure out Pakehas don't want to help them; they're only islanders. When they work it out, then they want to know the Maoris. Not 'cos they see Aotearoa is Maori land, not 'cos they respect our people, language, tikanga, but so they can see what we're doing and copy. Alliances between Maoris and islanders in South Auckland won't cement 'cos islanders don't have a kaupapa. They're too busy scrapping; Samoans versus the rest of the moana. I don't know why they say Pacific Islanders, 'cos really, it's Saa-tanga in Aotearoa. I've been to official fono in Auckland, always ruled by Saas, sat there and watched them scrap about money, how to get freebees off the government. That's their kaupapa - money, not fighting for our knowledge, tikanga, our freedom to take back control of what's ours. That's why they came here in the first place; to get rich, show their whanau in the islands they're big-time villagers in New Zealand.

### **Faka'apa'apa**

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### **Endnotes**

1. 'Okusi Mahina, Personal Correspondence, June 2001.
2. 'Opeti Taliai, Personal Correspondence, June 2001.
3. Lost Tribe, 'Summer in the Winter', Cassingle, Track Four, 1999.
4. Che Fu and DLT, 'Chains', Cassingle, Track Two, 1998.

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**Building capacity for sustainable Iwi development**

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**Abstract**

Since 1998, four iwi groups have participated in a Maori Sustainable Development project with researchers from the University of Waikato.<sup>1</sup> This project has sought to develop a better understanding of iwi aspirations for economic, social and cultural development. Based on this research, the project seeks to identify, in conjunction with iwi, capacity building models and options in order to provide sustainable economic, social and cultural development. One finding of the research, based on the responses from iwi who have participated in this project, identifies iwi values and identity as the basis for a capacity building model for Maori sustainable development. It is this that is the focus of this paper.

**Introduction**

Since 1998, four iwi organizations (Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board, Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, Te Runanga o Ngati Porou, Raukawa Maori Trust Board) have participated in a Maori Sustainable Development project with researchers from the University of Waikato. This project has sought to develop a framework to better understand iwi aspirations for economic, social and cultural development. Based on this research, this project has tried to identify, in conjunction with iwi, capacity building models and options in order to promote sustainable economic, social and cultural development. One finding of the research, based on the responses from iwi who have participated in this project, is that cultural identity has and should form the basis of capacity building models for Maori sustainable development.

This paper contextualises the Maori Sustainable Development project, and suggests that capacity building for iwi is shaped and guided by this notion of cultural identity, underlined by the assertion that Maori want to “live as Maori” (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 30), and “advance as Maori” (Durie, 1998, p.5). Informed by Maori development theory, which is located within a kaupapa Maori paradigm, this paper argues that capacity building from this theoretical position builds upon Maori notions for self-determination, or tino rangatiratanga, as conceived by the Hui Taumata in 1984 and carried forward by the Hui Whakapumau in 1994.

This paper will define capacity building and sustainable development, drawing on the examples and discussions provided by Maori through what has been acknowledged as the decade of Maori development (Durie, 1998). From this position, a clearer notion of Maori development theory emerges.

Western-based capacity building and sustainable development theory has to a large extent ignored indigenous attempts to articulate their own theories (Loomis, 1999). Based on notions of economic advancement, much of this theory exhorts and promotes philosophies that are more akin to New Right thinking than incorporating intrinsic Maori values. Maori development theory is located within a kaupapa Maori

paradigm, which in essence seeks greater autonomy for Maori in determining their future development, and from which an “influential and coherent philosophy and practice for Maori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis to advance Maori cultural capital” has emerged (Smith, 1999, p.61). To this extent, the Hui Taumata (1984) and the Hui Whakapumau (1994) reflect this coherent philosophy. Furthermore, these hui have grounded and shaped Maori development theory, providing a benchmark from which Maori have been able to determine their own directions for the future. This paper will briefly outline the Hui Taumata and Hui Whakapumau, particularly in relation to how these hui have informed Maori development theory.

This paper outlines how the four iwi groups involved in the project have sought to develop their own models for development, based on the notions of Maori development theory, which reinforces the “advancement of Maori peoples as Maori” (Durie, 1998, p.53).

### **The Maori sustainable development project**

The “Maori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika” four-year research project, initiated in 1998, is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST). The project consists of four objectives which seek to address:

- the development of a framework for understanding iwi aspirations of researched social, cultural and economic development;
- identification of impediments to development;
- models and options for development; and
- identification of a means of building human capacity to sustain Maori social, cultural, and economic development.

Led by a team of researchers across a number of Faculties at the University of Waikato, the project aimed to work with the iwi groups involved, to assist them in identifying their aspirations, the impediments to the achievement or realization of these, and then to assist them in identifying models and options in order to provide sustainable economic, cultural and social development.

The project developed reports for each iwi group based on these objectives. A number of common themes were identified from these reports. These themes included a desire by iwi to explore options available to them in order to provide more effective services to their tribal members, a desire by iwi to maximize their resources (current and potential) for greater profit and return back to their tribal members, and the ability to undertake commercial and economic activities without compromising their values and identity as iwi. This paper focuses on this last point, which was identified as an inherent underlying principle that encompassed iwi approaches to capacity building for sustainable development.

The results of each iwi group have not been isolated within this paper, as it is the belief of the research team that the knowledge that the iwi groups have so willingly shared during the course of this project should be protected. Indeed, a major part of

the project has been the construction of specific, iwi reports. These have been reported back to the iwi groups who participated in the research project. This paper draws together the common themes in order to provide some comment as to the issues facing iwi organizations in their efforts to build capacity for sustainable development.

### **Hui Taumata 1984**

Durie (1998, p.7) identified that the Hui Taumata (or Maori Economic Summit), which was held shortly after the Labour government took office in 1984, looked to positive Maori development as a new policy initiative. There were four main objectives of the Hui Taumata:

- to reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Maori people;
- to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the Maori people in the current position;
- to discuss policies for Maori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand;
- to obtain commitment to advancing Maori interests (Durie, 1998, p.7).

Loomis, Morrison and Nicholas (1998, p.1) agree, noting that the Hui Taumata “underscored for Maori the need for greater commercial acumen, better resource utilization and improved levels of education”, as well as linking “the principles of tino rangatiratanga, iwi development and economic self-reliance”. Essentially, the Hui Taumata became the springboard from which theories of Maori development emerged. In particular, the Hui Taumata became the catalyst for tribal development.

While the Hui Taumata was touted as a vehicle from which Maori development could occur, and be determined and shaped by Maori and for Maori, concern was expressed at how the Hui appeared to be captured by interests from proponents of the New Right. The Labour government instigated an aggressive policy approach that advocated a free market economy, greater individual freedom, deregulation and increased competition – all reflective of New Right monetary theory (Kelsey, 1990). Durie (1998, p.11) states that some of the objectives advocated at the Hui Taumata “were all too often indistinguishable from agencies of state, and sceptics argued that the whole exercise was a carefully orchestrated manoeuvre to rid the state of its ongoing financial obligations to Maori”.

However, in spite of these concerns, participants at the Hui Taumata recognized the need for Maori to become more self-reliant and emphasized greater focus on Maori development through economic self-sufficiency. The end product of the Hui Taumata - iwi development - was incorporated into the Labour government’s Maori policy and, together with devolution, became the instigator for the establishment of Maori Trust Boards and iwi organizations in the 1980s (including Te Runanga o Ngāti Porou, Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board and the Raukawa Maori Trust Board).

### **Hui Whakapumau 1994**

A decade after the Hui Taumata, the Hui Whakapumau was held to “look back on a decade of Maori development” and to try to “anticipate developmental strategies and priorities for the next ten years” (Durie, 1998, p.52). The New Zealand economic and political landscape had changed considerably since the Hui Taumata, with the

National government moving further towards New Right economic policies and a greater trend towards user pays. For Maori, issues of access to tertiary education, employment opportunities and maintaining a basic standard of living were pervading themes of the Hui Whakapumau. These themes were expressed at a number of levels. The role of Maori women as leaders, the need to provide direction for rangatahi and the need to be able to cater for Maori elders were also all discussed and debated. More importantly, however, presentations at the Hui Whakapumau stressed the need to retain a Maori identity.

Since the Hui Taumata in 1984, Maori had managed an increased profile, which was in part due to the Sealord settlement (resulting in the establishment of the Maori Fisheries Commission, Te Ohu Kaimoana) and some tribes were negotiating settlements on their land confiscation claims. These movements had resulted in Maori becoming more involved not only in their own economic and political activities, but also in those of the nation.

Perhaps because of these rapid advances towards greater economic and political self-determination, it was noted throughout the Hui Whakapumau that these advances must not be at the exclusion of a Maori identity. Indeed, as identified by Chief Judge Eddie Durie (cited in Durie, 1998, p.52):

It would therefore appear important . . . that the leadership and direction should remain with those who have developed from out of the people, and who share a commitment to the cultural values that have sustained past generations. There is not much point in an efficient Maori organization if it lacks a Maori heart.

These sentiments were shared by a number of the speakers, and became the main theme to emerge from the Hui Whakapumau.

### **A decade of Maori development**

Between the Hui Taumata (1984) and Hui Whakapumau (1994), Maori had indeed made considerable advances in what has commonly been described as the decade of Maori development (Durie, 1998). The introduction of the Maori Language Act 1987 and the formal establishment of kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and whare wananga formalized the desire by Maori to educate Maori children according to Maori philosophies and values, taught in te reo Maori. In 1990, the country celebrated and protested the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

A number of tribes were heavily involved in negotiations and research over land confiscation and Treaty of Waitangi claims, and a number of iwi organizations had been established in response to the Labour government's policies of devolution, and initiatives such as Mana Enterprises (a scheme to facilitate Maori entry into business) and MACCESS (training programs). An attempt had also been made to assist Maori into the commercial arena through the establishment of the Maori Development Corporation (MDC). However, this attempt was plagued by profit decreases and ownership issues that resulted in the Crown selling its shareholding. It became, as a result, subject to a Waitangi Tribunal claim (Durie, 1998).

Durie (1998, p.94) states that the decade of Maori development highlighted the emphasis “placed on iwi policies and iwi delivery mechanisms”. However, this period also saw the rise of urban Maori authorities, such as the Waipareira Trust in West Auckland and the Manukau Urban Maori Authority (or MUMA). These urban authorities challenged the perception that iwi authorities were solely responsible for their tribal members. They also provided a forum for displaced urbanized Maori, many of whom had moved to the cities during the 1950s and 60s and had subsequently had little or no contact with their tribal roots.

Another significant development during this period also challenged the role of traditional iwi organizations, particularly in terms of the distribution of economic benefits back to Maori people. The establishment of Te Ohu Kaimoana (the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission), the end product of contentious negotiations between the Crown and Maori regarding the advancement of Maori fishing, resulted in highlighting issues regarding appropriate organizational models that adequately, appropriately and effectively represent all Maori in a contemporary context. Exacerbated by Treaty claims, this issue has at the time of writing yet to be finally resolved, despite representations to the Privy Council in London, New Zealand’s highest judicial authority.

Despite these unresolved issues, the impact of the Hui Taumata and the Hui Whakapumau in advancing issues of Maori development was nevertheless significant. Primarily, the decade of Maori development gave Maori a greater profile and increased opportunities for participating in commercial and social development initiatives. More importantly, the decade of Maori development enabled Maori to begin determining their own development based on their needs and aspirations.

### **Capacity building: An overview**

According to Loomis, Morrison and Nicholas (1998, p.4), capacity building is “the process by which individuals, community groups, organizations and nations develop their abilities to perform functions, solve problems and achieve desired outcomes”. Eade (1997, pp. 32 – 3) states that capacity building “should not create dependency” (including dependency on donor funding sources such as government agencies); “does not mean weakening the state” (particularly in relation to government’s responsibilities or good governance of its citizens); “is not a separate activity” (that is, capacity building initiatives are not seen as replacements, or “instead of” other programs occurring); and “is not solely concerned with financial sustainability” (rather, it works to enhance it).

Eade’s statements regarding what capacity building is *not* help to clarify development and capacity building discourse. Furthermore, Eade (p.23, citing Eade and Williams, 1995) provides a definition of capacity building, and its relationship to development:

Strengthening people’s capacity to determine their own values and priorities, and to organize themselves to act on these, is the basis of development.

Cornell and Kalt (1998, p.2) have examined the notion of capacity building and its relationship to the development of Native American tribes, finding a “positive correlation between self-determination and successful development as defined by the tribe”. The decade of Maori development, as described earlier, identified the role of

iwi in such development initiatives, and provided concrete Maori examples of development theorizing in line with Eade (1997) and the assertions of Cornell and Kalt (1998). The findings and objectives of the Hui Taumata (1984) and the Hui Whakapumau (1994) reinforced the ability for iwi to be conduits for positive and self-determined development and advancement. From this position, a clearer picture of how iwi organizations can be involved in development-based and capacity building activities emerges. As a result, more iwi organizations (such as those who participated in the Maori Sustainable Development project) have moved towards determining and redefining their role in achieving positive tribal development.

### **The role of Iwi authorities in capacity building for sustainable tribal development**

Increasing numbers of iwi authorities and tribal groups are looking towards the settlement of Treaty claims. These claims are seen as a means by which iwi are able to instigate capacity building processes in order to assist in the self-determination of the people they represent. However, other iwi (including the four iwi groups involved in this research project) have not waited for such settlements to occur in order to move towards achieving more positive development. Furthermore, those iwi that have settled (for example, Tainui) have emphasized that such a settlement has not meant that the state can be absolved from its responsibilities (as described above by Eade), to provide for its tribal, Maori, New Zealand citizens. The dilemma for iwi organizations lies in balancing the practical, immediate needs of iwi (many of which are state responsibilities, such as education, health and welfare) and the need for iwi organizations to provide for the future financial and economic sustainability of their tribe.

Iwi organizations have a dual and often conflicting role. Many are expected by their tribal members to grow the tribal estate, through prudent, judicious and profitable commercial investment and activity. Iwi organizations are also increasingly being looked to for sources of funding, particularly for education, business development and growth, health and welfare, and the maintenance of marae and cultural and tribal identity. In essence, iwi organizations and non-Maori business entities differ, in terms of their financial and commercial activities, in the way in which profit is seen and redistributed back to 'shareholders'. For iwi organizations, involvement in commercial activities assists directly in the social and cultural development of tribal members. Conflict arises when commercial profits are not large enough to ensure sufficient investment back into tribal initiatives and activities, and in balancing these needs with the need to provide for sustainable future development.

The role of iwi organizations in this process of capacity building and sustainable development, therefore, is complex. This is due to the need to prioritise strategic approaches towards development that often require consultation, negotiation and, at times, compromise or litigation regarding the dual role of providing for the social and economic needs of the tribe. Eade (1997) notes that these complex issues are important components of the capacity building process.

### **Identifying capacity: Iwi values and identity**

The iwi authorities involved in the Maori Sustainable Development project identified that their development is based upon, and influenced by, their specific tribal values. Specifically, this has included the incorporation of core tribal philosophies and values

in their strategic planning processes, philosophies and values which underline their approach to economic investment and involvement in commercial activities. The iwi organizations see their tribal philosophies and values as underpinning their activities by distinguishing themselves from other iwi groups, and from other business and commercial entities in their regions, in New Zealand and internationally.

The iwi authorities involved are in different stages of their development. One iwi organization has redeveloped its governance structure, streamlined its management approach and undertaken extensive consultation with tribal members regarding its cultural and economic focus. This resulted in the development of a tribal-specific strategic plan for the future. Another iwi has only recently embarked on this course, commissioning economic and education reports as part of its strategic planning process. The other two iwi authorities are similar. Both are still moving through various strategic planning phases. All these iwi have Treaty claims lodged against the government and are at different stages in their research, negotiations and settlement approaches. The varying levels of progress are not a reflection of the relative speed with which iwi organizations have embraced the notion of capacity building for sustainable development. Rather, they reflect a range of historical and contemporary issues (including some that are unique to a particular iwi organization) that have impacted upon their ability and capacity to move forward in recent years.

However, the common link between the iwi involved in the Maori Sustainable Development project has been their desire to ensure that their unique tribal and cultural perspective is not only maintained, but is also incorporated into their daily activities and into the way they approach their options for sustainable development. In short, the iwi organizations have used their tribal identity and values as their capacity building model for achieving sustainable development. As a result, the iwi organizations feel that they have been able to ensure distinction between themselves (as iwi organizations) and 'other' commercial and non-commercial entities. Each tribe has identified its distinguishing features in terms of identity and values and has sought to determine what this means in commercial and non-commercial contexts. This has then been reflected and implemented, in varying degrees, in their approach to sustainable development. In effect, these iwi organizations have redefined the role envisaged for Maori advancement as outlined by the Hui Taumata (1984) and the Hui Whakapumau (1994) in the decade of Maori development.

### **Conclusion**

The aim of the Maori Sustainable Development project has been to develop a better understanding of iwi aspirations for economic, social and cultural development. It has sought to identify, in conjunction with iwi, capacity building models and options in order to provide sustainable economic, social and cultural development. It has, furthermore, been based upon the Maori development theories initiated by the Hui Taumata (1984) and Hui Whakapumau (1994) during the decade of Maori development, theories which endorsed those aspects of the literature on capacity building which emphasise the need for communities to determine their own paths and ensure that economic sustainability is not the key mechanism by which development could or should be achieved.

The Maori Sustainable Development project has identified a common theme for the four iwi organizations who participated in this research project. This common theme

is the need for iwi organizations to maintain their identity and values as they seek to determine more sustainable futures for their tribal peoples. In essence, the iwi organizations stressed that iwi identity and iwi-specific values (and the ability to reflect this identity and these values in their commercial, economic, social and cultural activities) were of fundamental importance to an effective capacity building model for their future sustainable development activities.

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### **Endnote**

1. Both this paper and the one that follows relate to the same research project. Here, the focus is largely on the capacity building aspect of the project and on its overall location historically and politically. In the following article, the emphasis is on values, aspirations and social, natural and cultural resources.

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**Maori sustainable development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The importance of Maori values, strategic planning and information systems.**

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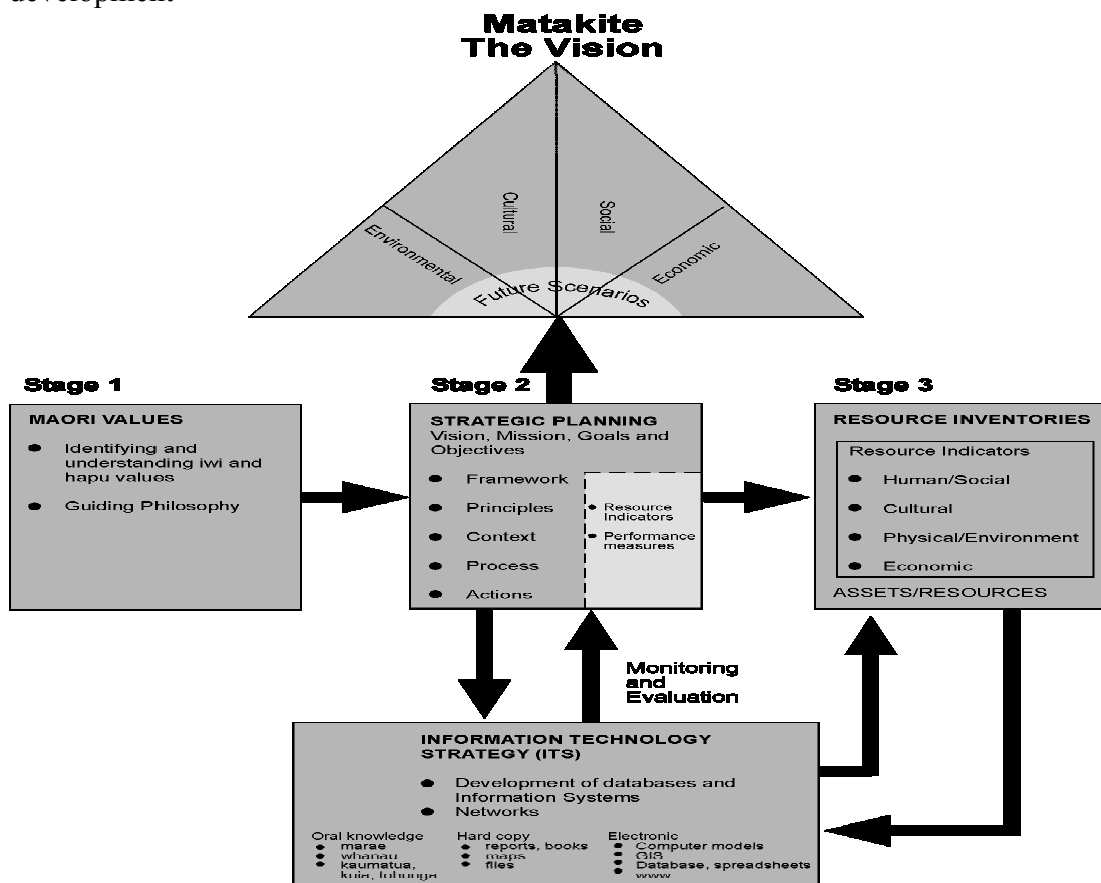
**Abstract**

The term ‘sustainable development’ has been widely used since the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The concept implies economic and social development, economic growth, and environmental responsibility in order to sustain improved standards of living based on economic growth, to achieve some form of social equity, and to manage the environment in a sustainable way. Sustainable development should generally be at a rate that allows future generations to meet their needs without causing degradation of the natural environment, and should avoid economic or social decay. The concept has been debated and criticised by many as being ambiguous, untenable, and difficult to achieve, and frequently labelled part of global capitalism. But the concept provides a challenge to all of us, on how to balance economic, social, and cultural goals, while at the same time safeguarding and responsibly managing the environment for future generations. Attempts by indigenous peoples internationally to achieve sustainable development have been based on holistic approaches and frameworks that seek to balance economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives, and these provide effective models for viable sustainable development approaches. Maori Sustainable Development in Aotearoa-New Zealand is a term often used to describe a pathway to Maori autonomy, self-determination, the building of human and social capacity, as part of a strategic direction to capitalise on opportunities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This paper outlines research undertaken between 1998 and 2002 and funded by the Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology (FRST) in the programme “Maori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika”, contract UOWX0005, simply referred to as the MSD programme. It focuses on the importance of determining Maori values, a vision, strategic planning and development of information systems as a holistic framework and process method to achieve Maori sustainable development.

**Introduction**

Maori Sustainable Development is a term often used to describe a pathway to Maori advancement, autonomy, and self-determination (Durie, 1998; Loomis, 2000). It reflects aspirations of contemporary Maori to achieve holistic development to improve well-being and standards of health, increase human and social capacity, strengthen cultural identity, manage the natural environment responsibly, provide strategies for economic growth, and capitalise on opportunities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This paper summarises research carried out from 1998 to 2002 to establish a framework for conceptualising Maori Sustainable Development. The resulting framework (*Figure 1*), based on many case studies, embodies iwi and hapu aspirations for social, cultural, and environmental well-being, economic activity, cultural revitalisation, and their inter-dependent relationships. Information at the core of the framework is an understanding of iwi and hapu values, aspirations and identification of social, cultural, natural environmental, and economic resources at the iwi and hapu tribal level. The framework can be used to provide a conceptual generic model to identify the steps and procedures any Maori organisation can use to identify, articulate, and implement a vision based on aspirations, and to develop strategies for achieving sustainable development. It is within this context that the development of resource inventories and information systems becomes essential to identify and manage resources, identify and build capacity, and monitor and evaluate achievement goals. The framework and model also has application to any organisation or company that intends to build a “company culture” and to set goals much wider than those that focus solely on economics.

*Figure 1:* A framework and model for achieving tikanga-based Maori sustainable development



### **Maori holistic development**

Most Maori organisations to date, as required under New Zealand legislation, have focused mainly on financial or economic reporting (Loomis, 2000). In the last decade, however, there has been an increasing trend internationally and nationally for many organisations and companies to expand their reporting to encompass social, environmental and financial performance, usually termed ‘triple bottom line’ reporting (Elkington, 1998). Historically, most decision making by Maori organisations has always been holistic, largely because of the need to consider a wide range of political, cultural, social and environmental objectives. Such decision making would be limited if based solely on economic factors. Because of the historical, cultural and political contexts within which Maori organisations are often set, many are increasingly interested in assessing their performance from such a perspective, as well as an economic one (Durie, 2000; White, 2000; Potiki, 2000; Loomis, 2000). This could be regarded as developing ‘quadruple bottom line’ reporting, when distinct cultural objectives are also considered. A cultural and social assessment is essential to identify the cultural health and condition of Maori wellbeing in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and to build a strong cultural, economic, and social base to capitalise on future development opportunities whilst maintaining cultural integrity and resilience (Durie, 1998 and 2000; Winiata, 2000). This research has focused on strategic planning and assessment carried out to date by iwi and hapu, but has relevance as well to urban Maori who still identify with iwi and hapu.

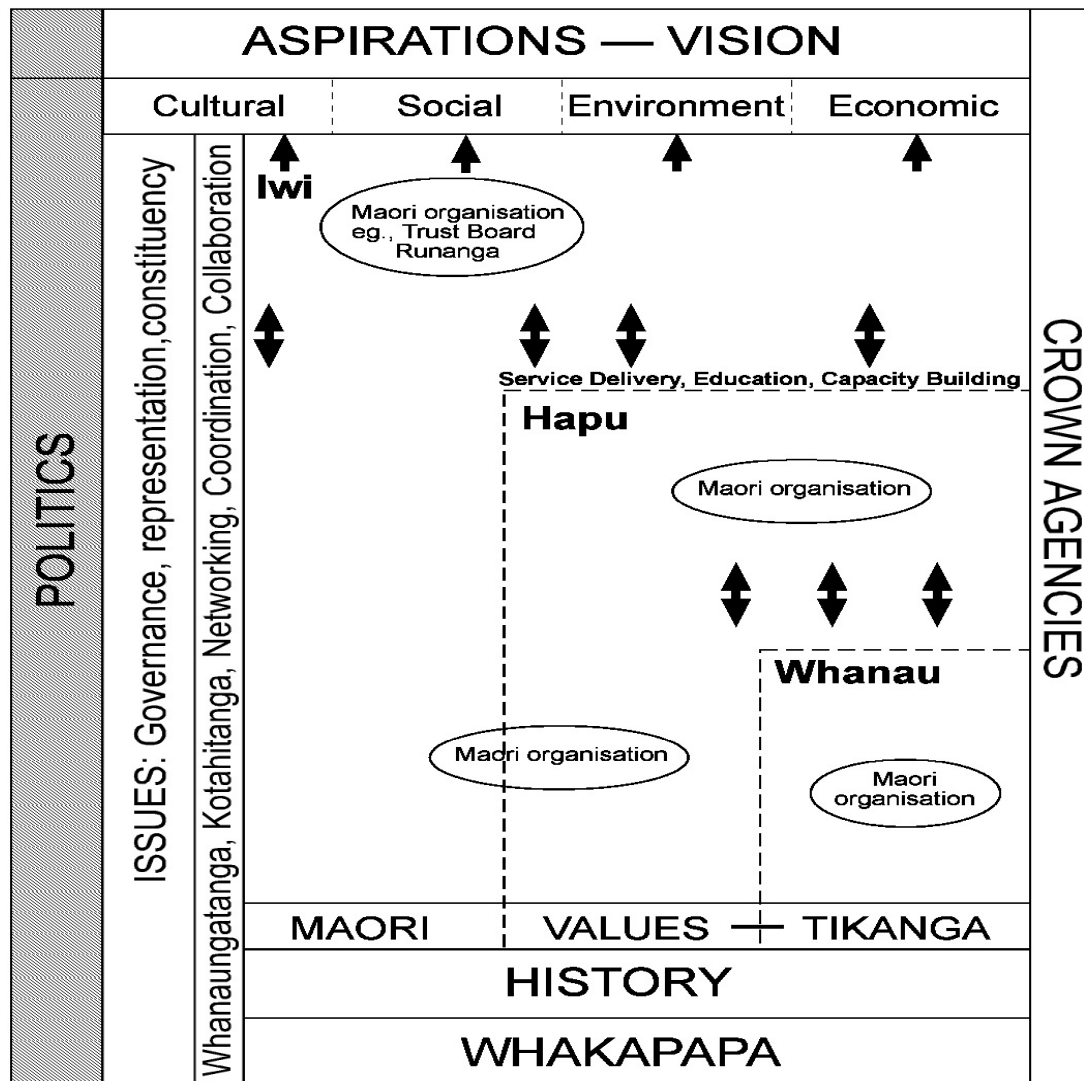
Strategic planning approaches have been developed by a large number of iwi and hapu throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand, and a large number of strategic planning documents have been produced. One of the first groups to use a holistic strategic planning approach, which identified a collective vision to achieve social, cultural, physical and economic goals, was Ngati Raukawa centred in the Manawatu–Fielding–Horowhenua–Kapiti districts. Their early planning initiatives in the 1970s were led by Dr Whatarangi Winiata along with several other tribal leaders responding to concerns about the increasing urbanisation of Maori that was weakening the institutional and cultural fabric of the tribe. The 1975 approach “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano” (Generation 2000; Winiata, 1975, 1988 and 2000; TROR Inc. 1990), set out to create a vision and strategy to map how Ngati Raukawa should move into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and the tribal goals it sought to achieve.

Many Maori organisations today have to administer large amounts of assets on behalf of, and for the general benefit of their constituents; to provide services, and to represent their constituency in a range of political, social and economic forums (*Figure 2*). This responsibility means the organisation must have a clear purpose and direction and explain its present activities and future plans to its constituency and beneficiaries. More recently, many organisations have had to revisit and clarify their functions, role, and direction.

Organisations, such as iwi and hapu authorities, currently see their strategic direction in five key areas: economic, cultural, social, political, and overarching, where the overarching area might embrace all objectives to achieve self-determination, mana motuhake, autonomy or self-governance. Many iwi authorities, such as iwi trust boards or runanga, see an increasing role in coordination and facilitation with those organisations and individuals affiliated to it, sharing the same whakapapa, or where coordination or partnership with other organisations is essential to achieve common

goals (e.g., Crown negotiations, resource and economic development, treaty claims process, fisheries). Strategic goals and objectives are seen as an interlinked interdependent system providing a comprehensive and multi-tiered iwi and hapu planning framework (*Figure 2*). To achieve this strategic direction, Maori organisations, especially at the iwi level, are often structured and organised into programme areas such as: corporate, commercial or economic, service delivery, and iwi, hapu, and whanau development. The present strategic planning carried out by many iwi authorities is therefore intended to be culturally, economically, and politically focussed, progressive, participatory, and ongoing.

**Figure 2:** In contemporary society, Maori organisations need to define their role carefully alongside others to achieve greater iwi, hapu, and whanau aspirations



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**Research methodology**

To develop and refine a framework for conceptualising Maori sustainable development the research team worked with four core iwi authorities in the central North Island between 1998 and 2002. These were Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board (TMMTB), Tauranga; Te Arawa Maori Trust Board (TAMTB), Rotorua;

Raukawa Trust Board (RTB), Tokoroa; and Te Runanga o Ngati Porou (TRONP), Gisborne. All the participating iwi authorities were at different stages in their strategic planning, with TRONP and RTB having produced a large number of planning documents during the past 12 years following a number of hui with their constituents (TRONP 1993; 1998a, b, c; 2000a,b; RTB 1998 and 2000). TAMTB and TMMTB had just started strategic planning but both had participated in several earlier hui and forums to discuss future direction and economic opportunities (Te Arawa Economic Summit 1998<sup>3</sup>). Along with planning documents and file notes from the core iwi authorities, the project reviewed and analysed a large number of additional iwi planning documents for content, structure and conceptual approach. These included examples from Te Runanga O Raukawa Inc. (TROR Inc., Otaki, Palmerston North) and Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu (TRONT, Christchurch) who were approached for information on strategic planning and engaged in discussion on Maori sustainable development (Whakakohuri Whenua, 1999; TROR Inc., 1990; Winiata, 2000; Emery, 2000<sup>2</sup>; Marama Te Ao, *pers comm.*; TRONT 1995 – 2002; White, 2000; Potiki, 2000). Most of the strategic plans analysed had generally started with identification of values and principles, aspirations and a vision, and then moved to a discussion of strategic direction to identify and achieve a range of social, cultural, environmental, and economic outcomes and goals. Several commonalities in approach and process were evident from previous iwi and hapu documents, providing a basis, in the MSD research, for the development of a framework for Maori Sustainable Development (Loomis, 2000). These also helped develop and define questions for structured personal interviews, focus group, and hui/workshops.

Participatory research was carried out with the four core Maori organisations from 1998 to 2002. Personal interviews, focus group hui, and general hui/workshops were used to obtain background information on each Maori organisation and its constituency, identify Maori values and aspirations (for the organisation, constituency and greater iwi or nga hapu), and help determine its future role and strategic direction in this context. All interviews followed a kaupapa Maori research methodology (Pene, *pers. comm.*). During the MSD programme, previously documented information was made available to the research team and accordingly summarised and referenced. Follow-up discussions were held with tribal representatives, and an extensive review and analysis was carried out of reports, file notes, iwi strategic plans, and papers for the core iwi authorities. The following six generic questions were used in interviews and as a guide for discussion:

- *The Current situation?* (e.g., organisational history, current situation, organisational structure, how does your organisation currently operate, what is its constituency, the people it serves or represents, what resources or assets does it have available to it, or have access to, in terms of current human–social, intellectual, physical, cultural, and economic resources?).
- *Challenges facing your organisation in the next 25 years?* (e.g., what strategic direction is planned for the next 5, 10, 25 years, future developments, are there issues, problems associated with this new direction, what are some of the main challenges your organisation foresees in the next 25 years?).
- *Values?* (e.g., what are your key iwi and hapu values, cultural values used in developing principles and a guiding philosophy, cultural and ethical values, which become part of a guiding philosophy or set of principles for future strategic plans and business/commercial strategies, how do these iwi and hapu

values manifest themselves, or translate into objectives for sustainable economic development, how do these values change the philosophy and behaviour of your organisation, are there competing conflicts or constraints when planning economic development based on values and guiding principles?).

- *Vision statement?* (e.g., in what direction does your organisation see itself heading in the next 25 years, is its present organisational structure or governance appropriate and consistent with this direction, what will your organisation and governance look like in the future, what will be its role, who will be its constituents, beneficiaries, what will the constituency look like, what will be its economic base or core business, what activities or services will it be involved in, what areas of sustainable economic development will it be involved in?).
- *A mission statement?* (e.g., what is the mission your organisation wants to drive or facilitate, fulfil in the future, a mission for the whole iwi or hapu constituency (tribal rohe), or certain beneficiaries, how will the organisation implement this mission, what key objectives will achieve the mission, is the mission consistent with the vision?).
- *Strategic objectives?* (e.g., what are the strategic objectives, or specific courses of action required to enable your organisation to achieve its vision and mission, strategic goals, how will the success of these objectives be measured, how will these strategic objectives be made operative, how do the strategic objectives contribute to sustainable economic development?).

## Results

Information summarised from hui and workshops, personal interviews, focus group hui, along with analyses of planning documents, indicated the significance of and requirement to take iwi and hapu values into account when planning Maori sustainable development and economic development strategies (Loomis *et al.* 2000a, b; Loomis *et al.* 2002a, b). In most situations, the word ‘development’ was interpreted in many different ways but usually was used to support ideas of: “advancement”; “progress”; “moving forward”; “to build a sustainable, viable, economic base for iwi, hapu, and whanau”; “sustainable management of the natural environment”; “realising a vision”; “turning aspirations into reality”; “bringing about cultural enrichment”; “cultural revitalisation”; “cultural integrity”; “development to make a profit”; “establish businesses, cooperatives, joint ventures”; “to share wealth”; “building economic prosperity to be shared”.

Three main stages were recognised as providing the basis for a Maori sustainable development framework (Harmsworth *et al. in prep*), (*Figure 1*):

- Identifying and understanding Maori values;
- Determining the iwi or hapu vision, the mission, and establishing strategic goals and objectives, the strategic planning process;
- Development of resource inventories and planning information systems to support strategic planning and to assess performance.

### Stage 1: Identifying and understanding Maori values

Maori value themes and concepts, based mainly on traditional values, were described as highly relevant in modern day Maori society and fundamental for forming

principles and a guiding philosophy for culturally based sustainable development. Iwi and hapu values form the basis for developing principles, protocols, rules, ethical, moral, and cultural standards, standards of behaviour, and guiding philosophies for planning Maori sustainable development. Working in combination to form a solid foundation and framework for tribal development and sustainable economic planning, these values embrace a wide range of factors – social, cultural, physical, economic – that should be taken into account in strategic planning and that provide the basis for developing the appropriate goals and actions within a strategic plan (*Figure 1*).

Many traditional iwi and hapu values were documented during interviews and hui, and from reviewing and summarising previous iwi and hapu reports and file notes. The most commonly occurring or generic values were:

***Iwitanga***: (e.g., Ngati ...tanga, Ngai...tanga, Te...tanga): expression and celebration of those qualities and characteristics that make an iwi or hapu unique and underpin a shared whakapapa, history and identity;

***Whakapapa***: genealogical descent, heredity, lineage. Whakapapa is the ordered relationship, structured lineage, and descent from the universe, through atua, to land, air, water, and people;

***Tino Rangatiratanga, Rangatiratanga, Mana Motuhake***: acts of authority and power;

***Mana Whenua, Mana Moana***: legitimacy to control, manage, and administer land, water and marine resources;

***Manaakitanga***: reciprocal and unqualified acts of giving, caring, hospitality;

***Arohatanga, Aroha***: care, love and respect;

***Awhinatanga***: assist, help, care for, give assistance and help to others;

***Whanaungatanga***: the bonds of kinship that exist within and between whanau, hapu, and iwi, belonging, togetherness, relatedness;

***Whakakotahitanga, kotahitanga***: respect for individual differences and the desire to reach consensus, unity, solidarity;

***Koha, Whakakoha***: acts of giving;

***Tau utuutu***: acts of always giving back or replacing what you take or receive, reciprocity;

***Whakapono***: act of believing or having faith and trust in others, or in a system or organisation;

***Wehi***: reverence; act of being in awe;

***Turangawaewae***: having a place of standing, belonging, and security;

***Kaitiakitanga***: stewardship or guardianship of the environment;

***Kokiri***: an act of going forward, being competitive;

***Te Aoturoa***: emphasises the interdependence with the natural environment, the cosmological relationship and responsibilities of Maori in relation to the whole and parts of the environment;

***Taonga tuku iho***: (e.g. *te reo Maori, wahi taonga, taonga whakairo*): the notion of recognising and holding on to the treasures and knowledge passed on from ancestors. Includes preservation of taonga to look after, house, protect, and manage taonga, such as natural resources, te reo Maori, and whakairo on behalf of iwi, hapu, and whanau;

***Wairuatanga***: the spiritual dimension.

Together, these components emphasize the inter-dependence of the spiritual, cultural, and physical environments, the individual, and the social group. Tikanga involving these values gives rise to the Rangatiratanga for the whanau, hapu and iwi. As concepts, principles, and guiding philosophies they can belong to the past and to the future. These values shape the culture and behaviour of an organisation, its responsibilities and obligations, the way it acts on behalf of its constituency, and the way it interacts with its constituency for some common purpose. It can be argued that some organisations, such as companies, do not have a culture, but an increasing number of organisations have in the late 20<sup>th</sup>, and now 21<sup>st</sup> century shown commitment to developing an “organisational culture” and defining the basis for this, through mechanisms such as company statements of intent, mission statements, principles and “triple bottom line reporting”.

### **Stage 2: Maori strategic planning processes**

The MSD research summarised and compared a large number of iwi strategic plans to:

- identify the purpose for strategic planning;
- identify the process, in terms of steps or procedures;
- identify the structure, content or framework (e.g., parameters, terms of reference, kaupapa, components);
- produce a generic Maori Sustainable Development model, showing the steps, structure, and interlinked components, that could be used by any Maori organisation at the iwi, hapu, or whanau level.

Many Maori organisations have discussed or used strategic planning approaches. These approaches usually include a collective vision – based on constituent aspirations, a mission, a set of goals, a set of strategic objectives, and performance measures. Results from the MSD research indicated that to date: iwi and hapu strategic planning frameworks and processes show a high degree of consistency; usually articulate a holistic framework to achieve multiple outcomes; and can also provide a generic framework, process, and model that other Maori organisations can use for their strategic planning. Iwi and hapu values are usually central to planning Maori sustainable development and all other components are interlinked. An iwi or hapu strategic plan sets a direction for Maori sustainable development and provides an agenda for achieving aspirations, through a set of practical steps (i.e. goals and objectives). Most iwi planning documents stressed the need to evaluate and review performance through the use of measurements and indicators. From review of a large number of iwi planning documents, the key reasons given for strategic planning were to:

- provide a vision, a sense of purpose, and a direction for a Maori organisation;
- determine the role and function of a Maori organisation in relation to the aspirations of its constituency and develop a collective vision on their behalf;
- ensure alignment between a Maori organisation’s role, function, and structure, its longer term strategic objectives, and the expectations of its constituency;
- provide models so that issues concerning governance, organisational structure, and representation can be addressed;

- identify a process for achieving tino rangatiratanga/mana motuhake (self determination) for a Maori organisation and its constituency;
- identify priorities for service delivery strategies;
- think ahead strategically in a rapidly changing environment/world so that an iwi or hapu authority is able to seize opportunities and minimise risks;
- establish priorities for utilising and sustaining resources;
- establish systems for measuring and evaluating performance;
- provide a leadership role in Maori sustainable development.

Once strategic planning had begun, it was usually focussed on defining key priority areas in which further subdivision into goals and objectives was subsequently carried out. Key priority areas for a Maori organisation could include: communication, involvement of beneficiaries, service delivery, policy development, research, funding, economic development, cultural development, Treaty of Waitangi claims, and relationships or partnerships with local or central government. From a review of 11 iwi organisations, their principal function was found to be a combination of:

- provision of strategies for economic and people development, obtain and manage an economic base, and promote economic development within a region or district;
- promotion of the retention, sustainable use and development of tribal land and other natural resources;
- promotion and support of the interests and representation of iwi, hapu, and whanau to central and local government and other public authorities;
- promotion and coordination of education and training for iwi, hapu and whanau;
- promotion and development of cultural activities for iwi, hapu, whanau;
- promotion of employment for iwi, hapu and whanau;
- promotion of ideals of good health and caring to iwi, hapu and whanau;
- promotion of improvements in housing conditions and housing situations appropriate to nga uri;
- promotion and fostering of cultural identity and pride amongst all tribal members.

The stated purpose, intent, and function of a Maori organisation will determine the way the strategic planning proceeds and influences the development of goals and objectives. It provides the basis for measuring the performance of that organisation by examining and evaluating results and actions over a period of time, and by examining response from constituents or beneficiaries. Often underpinning these principal functions is a statutory requirement for a Maori organisation, such as a trust board or runanga, to “administer its assets for the general benefit of its constituents or beneficiaries”.

A set of specific objectives is often developed within key areas or priority areas, depending on the agreed role of the organisation. Each objective needs to be specific, achievable, measurable, researched and time-framed. This is an integral part of the planning process to identify respective roles, strengths and weaknesses, determine key goals, consolidate knowledge and experience, clarify the mission, assess the opportunities, and develop strategies to achieve the vision.

In line with any organisation's movement into a new phase, a review of the organisational structure and processes is essential during strategic planning. Issues of representation, accountability and communication (e.g. collectively addressed through governance issues) are often highly significant for iwi and hapu in terms of having appropriate organisational structures and representation in place to implement and carry out goals and objectives successfully. It is important that strategic planning is as participatory as possible and conducted through hui and workshops at several venues, such as marae, throughout both the rohe and in other parts of the country where constituents are represented. The credibility and mana of an organisation such as a runanga or trust board is often measured by its relationship with its constituents and support given by groups such as Kaunihera, marae, whanau, and hapu within the tribal rohe (*Figure 2*).

### **Planning for holistic self-determined development**

In this section we examine and summarise the most common strategic planning approaches and steps used by a number of Maori organisations, including the core group of four iwi included in the MSD research of 1998 to 2002.

Since 1975, many iwi and hapu have developed a tribal vision and a set of strategic planning objectives, often adapted from western approaches to planning. These approaches, however, have been commonly based first on defining traditional values (summarised in *Stage 1* and *Figure 1*) as a basis for developing organisational principles. The planning is multi-tiered and holistic in that key priority areas and goals are designed to achieve multiple outcomes including cultural, political, social, economic and natural environment. Most iwi and hapu have used a common process for their planning, which has followed six key practical steps:

- Identifying and understanding traditional iwi and hapu values to establish guiding principles;
- Developing a collective vision based on constituent aspirations;
- Agreeing on a mission (to determine the role and governance structure of the organisation for achieving a greater "iwi" vision);
- Identifying broad key priority areas and strategic goals (to achieve the vision);
- Developing detailed objectives, actions, results and outputs (a number of objectives or actions for each goal);
- Developing performance measures for review, monitoring, and evaluation of what is being implemented – includes measures such as performance targets and indicators (are the objectives being met? accountability? responsibility for the actions and objectives? quality of outcome?).

Two main levels of consultation and participation were identified in the planning approach: The establishment of a broad iwi or hapu planning framework (i.e. defining values, principles, vision, mission, broad priority areas, broad goals); the establishment of more detailed strategic planning initiatives (i.e. strategic objectives, actions, outputs, performance measures):

The following stages and terms are defined:

*Vision:* encapsulates future aspirations, a dream, a whakatauki or pepeha for an iwi, hapu, or whanau, and gives a sense of hope, focus, direction and purpose for achieving self-determination, tino rangatiratanga or mana motuhake. A vision can be described wholly or complemented by certain whakatauki or pepeha.

*Mission:* states a course of action and purpose for the organisation to achieve the vision, and provides some organisational direction and a role for the iwi or hapu authority to achieve what is usually a more collective vision.

*Goals:* used to provide focus and establish priorities, procedures, and protocol for an iwi, hapu or whanau, on what is most important, and what needs to be accomplished to reach the vision. They are usually broad overarching statements to identify key areas in line with either iwi, hapu, or whanau aspirations.

*Strategic planning objectives:* state a specific action, direction, and time-frame to achieve a goal and contribute to a vision. Objectives become part of a series of progressive or temporal steps towards completion of goals.

*Actions or outputs:* may accompany each planning objective above and should be a measurable achievement. A person or organisation needs to be clearly identified as having responsibility for delivering a stated action or output. Such an action could be to: hold four hui; establish a database; send out two newsletters or panui; organise and hold a workshop; complete a report; carry out a review; research whakapapa and document as a diagram; prepare a planning report on ...; hold a wananga; hold a festival; and outputs can be reports, files, hui, databases. All these would need to be completed in some form, by some date, and to a required standard.

*Performance measures:* indicators or targets that can be used to ascertain if an action or responsibility has been completed on time and to a satisfactory standard. They form measurable milestones necessary for a tribal authority to identify whether the planning objectives are being achieved within a defined or measurable time-frame, whether they are taking the iwi, hapu, or whanau towards the desired vision, to check completion of prescribed actions, to show whether the planning objectives are being met in accordance with the original broad set of objectives, and to measure the success, standard, or effectiveness of each objective. Such measures ascertain whether the action or output was actually carried out; whether letters were sent, hui held, reports presented, databases developed, discussion papers circulated; whether matters were carried out to a satisfactory standard, on time, whether they were successful and to what degree.

Strategic plans should be clearly organised and understood by constituents. They should be structured into sections on: underlying Maori values and guiding principles, a vision statement, a mission statement; goals or priority areas; planning objectives and actions; evaluation and performance review. When completed, a draft plan should be widely circulated for comment and modified as required. The strategic plan for an iwi or hapu should be a living or dynamic document that responds to change

and opportunity. It is not, therefore, fixed in time. It is important, once the draft plan is agreed, that governance and structural issues be debated and addressed, and that new organisational structures for delivering the objectives and achieving the vision be incorporated in the final plan, and then actioned for implementation. Most strategic plans are reviewed every 5 to 10 years depending on political, environmental and developmental circumstances, and may require structural change, especially when new opportunities and challenges arise.

### **What makes a Maori organisation's strategic plan different?**

The very nature of a Maori organisation, its responsibilities, function and purpose, make it comparatively different from most non-Maori organisations (*Figure 2*). One of the main differences is the need to achieve multiple outcomes and the responsibilities to constituents based on ancestry, iwi and hapu values, politics, and history. This is typically reflected in the organisation's planning, which often comprises much broader goals and objectives covering social, cultural, natural environment, political, and economic areas. These holistic characteristics embrace the need to:

- consider social, cultural, economic, physical, political, and historic factors (e.g. an ordinary business is usually concerned mainly with economic and limited physical and human factors; a Maori organisation needs fully to appreciate and understand tikanga, and political and historic factors);
- deal with a larger constituency beyond its organisational structure and constituency, and work with all people and agencies (*Figure 2*);
- take into account land and water resources and other taonga in and outside the rohe, in addition to the immediate organisational assets;
- provide leadership to iwi, hapu, and whanau;
- provide a high level of service while maintaining financial viability;
- be active in the management and development of resources and assets for the greater iwi rohe;
- maintain cultural integrity and follow tikanga in all its actions and behaviours;
- be accountable to the greater iwi constituency in and outside the rohe; needs to have a clear vision for the iwi as a whole, not only the constituency represented by the organisation;
- work through different political levels from national to local.

### **Stage 3: Developing resource inventories and information systems**

The strategic plan provides the basis and context for the development of tribal resource inventories and information systems (*Figure 1*). Because of the nature and purpose of Maori organisations, and the multiple outcomes they must achieve, their resource inventories and information systems need to include, or have access to, information much wider than financial (Winiata, 1998; Loomis 2000; Emery, 2000<sup>2</sup>; Potiki, 2000). A number of Maori organisations since the late 1980s have developed systems that store information on taonga and cultural resources (Harmsworth, 1995, 1997a,b, 1998; Winiata, 1988), as well as on social, health and environmental factors. Loomis (2000) referred to the development of resource inventories as a way for tribal organisations to take stock or develop tribal accounts of their available resources for sustainable development. This would also become the basis for future monitoring towards tribal goals and outcomes. Strategic planning (*Figure 1*) is therefore essential

for identifying the information needs of iwi and hapu, and for coordinating information use and requirements between Maori organisations and non-Maori organisations. Strategic planning is also the prerequisite for developing a tribal information technology (IT) strategy (*Figure 1*), that may include internet use, communication, Geographic Information Systems, computer models, use of statistical data and oral transfer of knowledge, use of matauranga, and intellectual property rights.

Resource inventories may take several forms, and may be simple or very complex. Usually they contain organised and often categorised lists of information, such as cultural resources, natural or environmental resources such as land and water, taonga, human resource capacity such as skills and expertise, statistical social-demographic information, health statistics, social statistics, economic and financial information and assets. The 'information system' is the "store-house" for all this resource information, and while it need not be centralised, it does need to be networked. The resource inventories and information systems are used in conjunction with strategic planning to identify resources, stocks, assets, and the capacity available to an organisation or constituency for carrying out and achieving Maori sustainable development. Resource information is also used to monitor and evaluate the outcomes stated in the strategic plan. It may be used either by an organisation to monitor itself or outside agencies, or by outside agencies (e.g. the Crown) to achieve, better, more targeted service delivery, better education systems, sustainable land and water management, capacity building, or economic development.

An example of an early simple resource inventory is given in the following paragraph which is included in Asher and Naulls (1987):

In 1857 in the Bay of Plenty, Taupo, and Rotorua, Maori (about 8000 Maori inhabitants) had upwards of 3000 acres of land in wheat, 3000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2000 acres in maize, and upwards of 1000 acres in kumara. They owned nearly 1000 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5000 pigs, 4 water power mills, and 96 ploughs, as well as 43 coastal vessels averaging more than 20 tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes", and in 1860 ..."; "Maori of eastern Canterbury (i.e. a population of 480 at the time) owned 205 horses, 214 head of cattle, 197 pigs and had 51 acres of wheat and 56 acres of potatoes under cultivation.

A modern resource inventory will look very different from this early historic example. It will usually consist of a large number of useful *resource indicators* that should reflect the information required (e.g. based on the strategic plan), not just the information presently available to a iwi or hapu. Indicators are usually organised or categorised into appropriate groups or classes. In the MSD research, a large number of key *resource indicators* (*Table 1*) were identified by reviewing current resource inventories already developed by iwi and hapu in Aotearoa-New Zealand, by adapting the inventory developed by Winiata in 1998 (Loomis, 2000), by reviewing international literature on resource and environmental indicators, from discussion with many individuals, and from summary information with the four participating iwi authorities. The current list of *resource indicators* (*Table 1*) were grouped into four main classes – human/social, cultural, physical, and economic – to provide a comprehensive basis for any Maori organisation wanting to develop their own

resource inventories and build tribal information systems. The following inventories are designed to promote discussion, further development, adaptation, modification, and to meet the needs of particular groups. They are by no means a full and exhaustive list. The MSD research programme *resource indicators* are grouped accordingly (*Table 1*) into:

- *Human/Social*: understanding human resources, people resources, human capital, human capacity, human capability, he tangata he tangata;
- *Cultural*: understanding cultural resources, cultural vibrancy, cultural integrity, Maori values, tikanga Maori;
- *Physical*: understanding physical resources, natural resources, access to natural resources, physical state and condition, land and coastal characteristics, condition and use, mana whenua, awa, moana, etc;
- *Economic*: understanding available economic resources, economic capital, investments, economic potential.

Indicators may be categorised and classified into more complex resource inventories with several structural parts, for example, numerous categories or sub-groups if required. Most importantly, the indicators give a measure of resource capacity – human-social, physical, cultural, economic – to undertake certain activities or certain lines of sustainable development or economic development. They can also be used to measure iwi and hapu health and wellbeing (Winiata 1998, 2000), and cultural identity and integrity (Durie 1998; White 2000; Potiki 2000). Cultural health indicators from *Table 1*, can include, for example, number and condition of marae, number of fluent te reo speakers, number of people in wananga training, some assessment of matauranga, access to, and condition of mahinga kai sites, etc.

**Table 1:** Key resource indicators broadly organised into the four main groups. **Part 1:** Human

<b>1. Human/Social</b>
Population figures for iwi and hapu; Numbers represented, the constituency of an iwi authority or Maori organisation; Numbers living in tribal rohe; Numbers living away from area, rohe, urban/rural; Age statistics, age profile; No. of unemployed; No. of employed; Average family size, whanau size; Average and median family income; Socio-economic profile; Demographic profile; Religious affiliation; dominant religious affiliation for marae and hapu; Health statistics; Number of Maori health professionals/types for iwi/hapu; Range of people skills, range and type of academic qualifications, range of trade qualifications, no. of people with tertiary qualifications, no. of people with business expertise, no. of people with managerial and/or administration skills, no. of people with tourism skills, no. of people with environmental skills, no. of people with land-based skills, no. of people with science and/or technology skills, no. of people with expertise in horticulture, forestry, and agriculture, no. of people with expertise in the fishing industry or aquaculture; No. of affiliated organisations and komiti's, and type (e.g. marae, Maori industry groups, Maori networks).

**Table 1:** Key resource indicators broadly organised into the four main groups. *Parts 2 & 3:* Cultural and Physical

<b>2. Cultural</b>
<p>No. of and condition of marae;                      No. of kaumatua/kuia;                      No. of Tohunga (experts) and people authoritative on tikanga and kawa;                      No. of authoritative practitioners willing to share knowledge (e.g., te reo, waiata, karakia, whakairo, rongoa, raranga, whatu, whakapapa);                      No. of people who still practice oral transfer of tribal knowledge;                      No. of people conversant or with skills in matauranga Maori;                      No./ proportion of spiritual leaders;                      No. of cultural training courses offered;                      No. of cultural training centres;                      No. of cultural training centres run solely by Maori organisations/individuals;                      No./ proportion of fluent speakers of te reo Maori;                      No. of people learning te reo Maori;                      No. of tamariki in kohanga reo;                      No. of tamariki in kura kaupapa and bilingual units;                      No./ proportion of people who have established principles of tikanga and kawa in business;                      No./ proportion who see importance of Maori values in Maori development and business;                      Inventories of wahi tapu;                      Inventories of Maori cultural sites; whakairo;                      Inventories of taonga;                      Inventories of cultural and natural resources;                      Cultural inventories of vegetation (e.g., native bush taonga, indigenous forest, indigenous scrub, wetlands, sand country, etc.);                      Cultural inventories of medicinal plants (e.g., rongoa);                      Cultural inventories of plants for weaving (e.g., raranga, whatu);                      Cultural inventories of freshwater (lake and rivers), geothermal, and marine environments;                      Information on tribal history; Waitangi tribal reports; records of whakapapa; no. of books on tribal history and whakapapa; no. of manuscripts on tribal history and whakapapa.</p>
<b>3. Physical</b>
<p>Total area of land holdings, coastal areas for iwi, trusts, etc.;                      Location of land holdings, coastal areas, moana;                      Location of land blocks, freshwater and coastal areas, under Treaty claim;                      Present land-use for iwi rohe and for land blocks, trusts etc.;                      X Location and area of land-use types (e.g., agriculture, farming, horticulture forestry, other);                      Physical land type/characteristics of land resources (e.g. landforms, soil class, soil type; soil properties, slope, land-use capability (LUC), etc.);                      High class land;                      Climate;                      Area of urban versus rural land, land zoning;                      Land value, \$/ha;                      Inventories of land-use (e.g., dairying, beef and sheep, horticulture, forestry etc.);                      Production forestry;                      Inventories of freshwater (lakes and rivers), geothermal, and marine environments (e.g., total species, type, habitat, ecology);                      Access to, and/or management/policy of land (e.g. all land, forestry, urban, DOC estate, Maori land blocks);                      Access to, and/or management/policy of freshwater (lake and rivers), geothermal, and marine environments;                      Inventories of natural resource taonga; inventories of native bush (indigenous forest); inventories of wetlands, no. of wetlands; culturally significant plants; inventories of rock types/stone, geothermal;                      Access to, and/or management/policy of natural resource taonga: (e.g. ngahere, indigenous forest, land, geothermal areas, lakes, coastal, intellectual property rights, wahi tapu).</p>

**Table 1:** Key resource indicators broadly organised into the four main groups. **Part 4:** Economic

<b>4. Economic</b>
No. of Maori businesses/services with links to iwi authority, Maori organisation; No. of iwi businesses/services owned, managed, administered; Maori land trusts or other trusts and type of organisation (e.g. Ahu Whenua Trusts, Whanau Trusts, Putea Trusts, Incorporations, Land Komiti's); Total area of Maori freehold land; total area of Maori land; no. of owners/shareholders/ beneficiaries for each land block; Industry type, range of industry; Farming (e.g. no. of stock, type of stock, su/ha); Total properties; land holdings; buildings; rental properties; Investments; Statement of financial performance; total or net assets; fixed assets; non-current assets total debts or total liabilities; expenses; equity; shares; income generation; sources of income; Cash reserves/surpluses; Access to capital (i.e. examples/barriers); Expenditure on training and development; Other natural resource assets/natural resource inventories and/or accounts; No., condition, and use of marae; Areas under Treaty Claim; Fishing interests (Kai moana).
Note: Full references and a location address should be provided for each resource indicator to identify where resource indicators came from, to acknowledge source and intellectual property, and to provide information on any access or confidentiality requirements.

For each key resource indicator it is important to write down information on:

- the information required, the key resource indicators;
- the geographic area they cover;
- where the information is presently located, its source;
- access, availability, confidentiality and property rights;
- the form the information is in and its application or end-use.

*Table 2* shows the additional information that should be collected for each *key resource indicator* (*Table 1*) and how it should be organised (Loomis *et al.*, 2000 a, b; Loomis *et al.*, 2002 a, b). A resource inventory can then be used to identify and locate the resource information required to check the feasibility and viability of goals and objectives stated in the strategic plan, and to monitor tribal or organisational programmes effectively, e.g. health statistics, area of land resources, number of people with certain skills. It would be difficult for a Maori organisation to go into a certain line of sustainable development without the underpinning resources or skills to do so.

From the indicator lists, information such as quantities, proportions, and measures from resource indicators can be used to: identify where capacity is at present; where capacity is limited (e.g. human skills); what needs to be increased; what needs to be strengthened; what are major assets and what are potential assets. The inventories therefore can identify “resource gaps” or areas where there is a need to “better manage” resources, “develop” resources, or “buy in” resources to support a particular sustainable development or economic opportunity.

**Table 2:** Recording and collection of information on resource indicators

Information required for each resource indicator	Example
1. Information required (resource indicators)	Resource indicators; information required; what types of information should be listed and categorised in the resource inventory; the recommended information for use in a Maori resource inventory.
2. The area covered	The spatial extent, the area the information presently covers, or the statistical coverage. Is it rohe, district, regional, national, or just local information? This provides information on the resolution, detail, and/or scale of information.
3. Where information is presently located	Where does the information presently reside, where is it housed, stored, who owns it?
4. Access (property rights)	Who is allowed access to it? Confidentiality: what intellectual property rights are placed on the information, and what level of confidentiality or sensitivity is placed on the information; licence agreements: what is the cost, what information is already in the public domain, and what is not?
5. Form/Applications	What form is the information presently in? Oral knowledge – e.g. kaumatua, kuia, iwi and hapu representatives; Hardcopy – e.g. books, publications, papers, theses, reports, files, records, maps; Electronic, computer database – e.g. database files, records, spreadsheets, GIS, internet data, www Application: Use and application - How could information be stored in a database and how can GIS be used to plan Maori economic development?

### Tribal information systems

The recording, collation, archiving, presentation, and analysis of relevant information provides the core of any tribal, iwi or hapu information system. This may include historical information, photo archives, taonga collections, and Treaty claim reports. Organised resource inventories, classifications, frameworks, and oral knowledge are important components of these information systems, especially for strategic planning (Table 3). It has to be remembered that an information system can also take the form of people, such as kaumatua (Table 3). The key is coordinating information and knowledge for the iwi or hapu, constituency or a defined group, tribal, or geographic area. Examples of information systems may include development of spatial information systems such as geographic information systems (GIS), (Figure 3; Harmsworth 1995, 1997a, b, 1998), wananga, cultural inventories (Winiata 1988), statistical databases such as census data for a tribal rohe or region, and population models (Iremonger & Scrimgeour 2002).

Once stored in an information system, the information can be disseminated to or accessed by constituents through oral transfer of knowledge (e.g., wananga), reports, papers, tables, maps, graphics, spreadsheets, and web sites, giving greater tribal access to information and knowledge (Table 3). Information listed in resource inventories is essential for planning Maori sustainable development, cultural and social policy, environmental management and policy, business development, and for identifying economic opportunities.

**Table 3:** Form and application of resource information

Type or form of knowledge	Examples
Oral knowledge	kaumatua, kuia, iwi and hapu representatives
Hard copy	books, publications, theses, papers, reports, files, records, maps
Electronic/computerised	database files, records, spreadsheets, GIS, internet data, www

### Summary

Resource inventories and information systems are vital to the success of holistic development (Loomis 2000). They provide information on:

- Resource availability: What resources exist, where, in what form, are they accessible are they usable resources or assets, what protocols or conditions may affect their use?
- Holistic development: Can the resources be used to achieve long term goals and objectives, and move an iwi, hapu, whanau or Maori organisation towards its desired vision or aspirations?
- Resource gaps: Are there other resources the organisation or constituency needs to achieve goals and objectives, and fulfil the stated vision? Resource inventories often identify gaps or weaknesses in an iwi or hapu's ability to fulfil its vision and objectives.
- Monitoring outcomes, performance review: Can the resource information be used as indicators to measure an organisations progress towards achieving goals and objectives, and is it moving towards the stated vision or away from it? Is it on target or does the strategic plan need to be reviewed?

For each key resource indicator it is important to write down information on:

- the information required, the key resource indicators
- the geographic area they cover
- where the information is presently located, its source
- access, availability, confidentiality and property rights
- the form the information is in and its application or end-use.

### Translating Maori values into actions

With a holistic framework established (Figure 1), made up of values or principles (i.e. a guiding philosophy), a strategic plan, and a resource inventory or information system, the building blocks are in place to determine whether a Maori organisation can deliver stated goals and outcomes. This is also the time to question the role of an organisation, and its wider constituency, for achieving holistic (i.e. multiple) sustainable development outcomes and a vision. Several questions can be asked at this point:

- How do the previous documented iwi and hapu values translate into a form that can be used to plan for and achieve Maori sustainable development?

- How do the previous documented iwi and hapu values translate into a form that can be used to achieve economic development?
- Do iwi and hapu values form the basis for formulating and developing principles?
- Do they promote ethical and cultural standards or guidelines?
- Do they encourage and discourage certain behaviours?
- Do they determine a guiding philosophy for conducting business and planning Maori sustainable development?

Examples given at hui/workshops, focus group hui, interviews, and from numerous planning reports and notes, show that Maori values can influence and direct sustainable development. They are also fundamental in providing the vision. If values are used as principles, a statement of intent, or a guiding philosophy they can preside over issues such as: what can or cannot be developed in the tribal rohe; identify taonga; determine the constituency being represented; decide what resources are off limits; who to talk to; acceptable behaviour; standards, protocols; the use and management of natural resources; what can be sustainably used and managed; impacts on significant cultural or heritage sites; how people interact with each other, network, reach consensus; the form, nature, governance of an organisation, its strategic plan; standards and business guidelines, ethics, responsibilities, how does a Maori organisation, business, or service operate, what should its structure be, what should be its governance structure, who does it represent. Most Maori organisations have enormous difficulty balancing traditional values with pressures to follow mainstream economic models, as these mainstream models have a central focus on profit and financial prudence and accountability. Case study examples for a number of iwi and hapu strategic plans are given in *Appendix 1*.

### **Information Technology for Maori organisations**

Many iwi strategic planning documents have indicated a strong desire to establish tribal knowledge or information systems, including archives and databases, as a central repository and resource for iwi, hapu, and whanau. The importance of some kind of information technology (IT) strategy for Maori organisations is further elaborated by the statements below, all from Trust Boards, Runanga, and iwi authorities. The statements have subsequently been organised into three main groups: Information systems and databases; communication strategies and networks; and effective planning and policy. The purpose of any information system is to underpin effective planning and policy and to plan into the future while building on the past. Any IT strategy should be developed within a context of a Maori sustainable development framework (Figure 1). Information systems and knowledge bases will become central to Maori organisations planning sustainable development, and for entering and fully exploiting the world knowledge economy. The statements below, from a review of iwi planning documents, stress the importance of developing Maori information systems to meet the needs of iwi, hapu and whanau.

#### ***Information systems and databases:***

“establish a systematic and secure tribal archives system within the tribal rohe”;

“develop a taonga database”;

“establish a database of people with cultural knowledge”;

“document and archive historical records”;

- “establish a historical and cultural database”
- “establish and maintain an database for hapu and marae”
- “establish and maintain a database of land trusts”
- “develop resource inventories and statistical information”
- “analyse cultural and social data to identify performance achievement”
- “develop an economic and resource database”.

***Communication strategies and networks:***

- “develop a communication and coordination strategy between iwi, hapu and whanau”;
- “establish effective networks and relationships with key organisations”;
- “develop an iwi information sharing strategy”;
- “improve communication networks”.

***Effective planning and policy:***

- “ensure effective management of tribal resources”
- “develop iwi and hapu environmental management plans, te taiao, kaitiakitanga”;
- “ensure the efficient and sustainable use of tribal resources for the benefit of iwi, hapu, and whanau”;
- “establish hapu resource management plans covering human and physical resources”;
- “complete a hapu management plan”;
- “develop iwi and hapu environmental monitoring approaches”;
- “complete a hapu development plan”;
- “develop a strategic plan for each hapu”;
- “develop performance review measures and indicators”.

It will be important to coordinate carefully the future development of information systems so that partnerships and alliances are formed to access required information more effectively, and to avoid costly duplication. Information sharing and improved access to information in public domain information systems, such as central and local government databases, should be encouraged through partnerships or agreements. At the same time, any Maori organisation obviously needs to consider carefully the protocols on the use of its own knowledge and information, or that belonging to its constituents. This will require proper acknowledgement of the source of all information (*Table 2*) and careful consideration of intellectual property rights. This may mean limited or protected access to all confidential or sensitive information (*Figure 3*). The way knowledge and information is derived and used should always be based on consultation with constituents, such as iwi and hapu representatives.

**Discussion**

The argument over defining sustainable development has generated calls not just for novel approaches to development but also for a fundamental rethinking of western economics (Loomis, 2000). Much can be learnt from approaches being used by indigenous peoples worldwide to achieve sustainable development, which is often driven by fundamental goals and aims for self-determination (Durie, 1998; Potiki, 2000; White, 2000). Durie described Maori self-determination as “practically and intimately bound to the aspirations and hopes within which contemporary Maori live”. He went on to define self-determination as being made of two main parts:

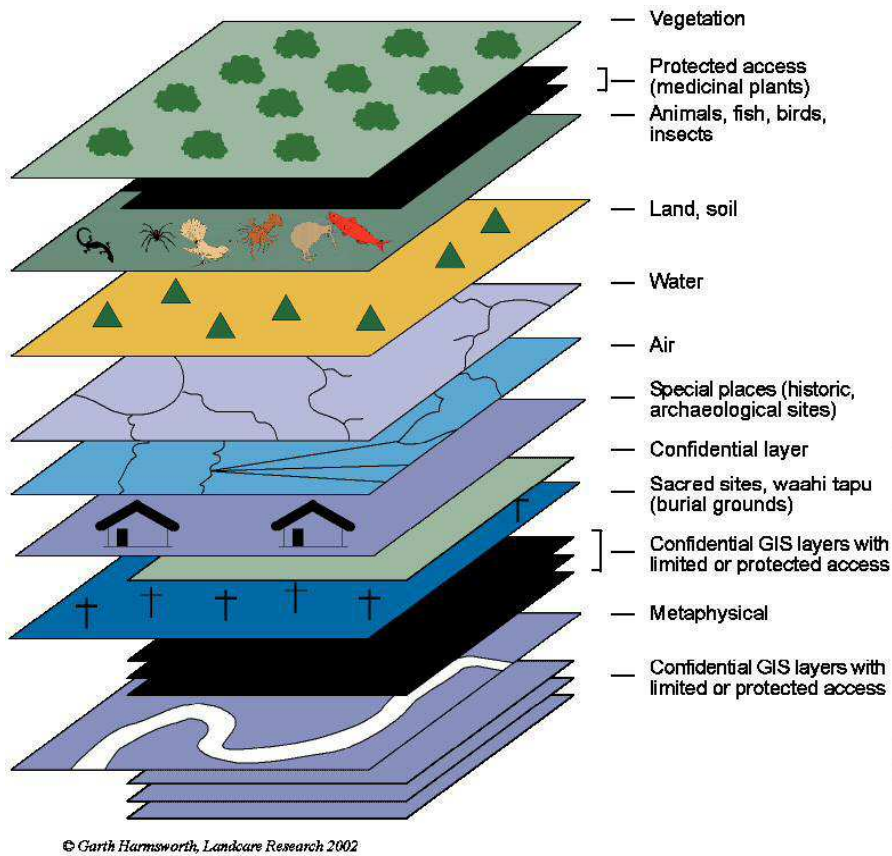
advancement of Maori people as Maori; and the protection of the environment for future generations. Advancement was further qualified as being made up of three dimensions, involving both the individual and the collective:

- a commitment to strengthening economic standing, social well-being, and cultural identity;
- power and control, political representation and active management at all levels, including better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Maori land, active promotion of Maori health, sound education, enhanced use of the Maori language, and decision making that reflects Maori realities and aspirations;
- change: cultural fossilisation is not consistent with the spirit of development, even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today.

However, there is an increasing realisation that many traditional values, such as tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, mana motuhake, kaitiakitanga and whakakotahitanga, handed down by tipuna are as relevant today, if not more relevant, as we move into a world of complex challenging issues, where more holistic approaches to finding solutions for intimately linked social, economic, environmental problems are required. In the last 20 years we have increasingly seen a re-alignment between indigenous and western thinking through international forums to tackle these issues. Traditional knowledge forms are increasingly being recognised worldwide as a means to help find solutions for complex problems, to enhance understanding of our environment, to provide a basis for strengthening cultural identity, and to develop economic opportunities.

This paper provides a synopsis of the current state of thinking of many Maori organisations and their constituent representatives, through the 1998 to 2002 FRST-funded MSD research with four participating iwi authorities, supplemented by an analysis of selected strategic plans. Results indicate a consistency in Maori approaches to achieving sustainable development, characterised by a desire to achieve multiple political, cultural, social, environmental and economic goals. The paper also provides a conceptual framework (*Figure 1*) for achieving Maori sustainable development, identifies common iwi and hapu approaches and methods as integral parts of this framework, and articulates a number of key stages required to achieve self-determined holistic development (Loomis, 2000). This represents a huge challenge for Maori organisations in relation to how they should balance economic activity in a way that equitably distributes wealth into these other significant outcome areas. The other major challenge for Maori organisations is how, within the much larger iwi or hapu, to identify their role in terms of achieving what are usually the aspirations of the greater iwi or hapu within and outside the tribal rohe. Maori organisations will have to define their place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century carefully to achieve multiple outcomes on behalf of their constituents and beneficiaries, most of whom now live outside the tribal geographic area in urban environments. Only when this definition is clearly determined, can they truly advance, capture opportunities for sustainable development, strengthen economic standing and build capacity, and retain a strong cultural identity and sense of purpose.

**Figure 3:** Maori values as GIS layers in a computer. Confidential or sensitive information can have different degrees of protected access.



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### Endnotes

1. Both this paper and the preceding one relate to the same research project. Here, the emphasis is on values, aspirations and social, natural and cultural resources. In the preceding paper, the focus was largely on the capacity building aspect of the project and on its overall location historically and politically.

2. In the case of this paper, the list of references includes a number of unpublished works and personal communications. Although such works would normally be referred to in footnotes, they are included here in the list of references because of their particular significance in the case of this research project.

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## Appendix: Case study examples

### The vision, mission and guiding principles

Examples of the *vision statements* of most Maori organisations include reference to Maori values within a tikanga framework. *Vision statements* (usually for a 10–25-year timeframe) from 8 iwi planning documents included statements such as: “restore and develop mana and identity”; “improving the lives of nga uri”; “Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Whenua”; “key player in the economic, social, and cultural development of the constituency area”; “key Maori organisation in the cultural, social and economic development of the iwi and through a strong economic base will deliver a wide range of educational, social, and health services”; “active role in the unification of the iwi”; “assisting hapu and other Maori organisations within the rohe to achieve their economic development aspirations”; “coordinate amongst hapu environmental management and policy”; “advocate protection of iwi and hapu taonga”; “follow principles based on tikanga”.

*Examples from various organisations’ mission statements include:*

“Working on behalf of whanau, hapu, and iwi to establish an iwi or hapu identity”; “collate and determine te reo, tikanga, korero o mua, mana wairua and nga taonga tuku iho”; “involve constituents or beneficiaries in iwi affairs; resolve all land, forestry and fisheries claims; unify, coordinate, and sustainably manage the use of iwi resources”; “enter partnerships with central government, local government, the private sector and the wider community based on iwitanga”; “become the funder, purchaser and provider of all services to iwi, hapu and whanau within the tribal rohe”; “the vision will be achieved through cultural, economic, social and political developments that contribute to the prosperity and survival of the iwi, hapu and whanau while actively enhancing tino rangatiratanga or mana motuhake”; “to facilitate the unified development of people within the tribal rohe, and assist iwi, hapu and whanau achieve their aspirations”; “to develop strategies and actions which facilitate the increase and expansion of the tribal economy, by utilising collective tribal resources, by sharing skills and knowledge to improve capacity, by increasing cooperation, efficiencies, and competitiveness to sustain and advance the governance and profitability needed to service the iwi as a whole”.

Guiding principles are typically based on iwi, hapu, and whanau values. Values form the platform for establishing and forming a cultural framework for holistic tribal development and strategic planning. Iwitanga may embrace many of the values important to iwi and hapu and draws on the collective strength of the iwi while celebrating unique hapu and whanau identities. It contributes to the enhancement and strengthening of whanau and hapu links, achieves hapu independence whilst recognising the value of inter-dependence of the iwi as a whole; and also recognises that people are the greatest asset and that there is a need to maximise the transferable knowledge and skills within the iwi and constituency as a whole.

*Guiding principles from six iwi planning documents included statements such as:*

“Provide every person within the iwi the opportunity to actively participate in the development of his/her own whanau, hapu”; “draw on the collective strength of the iwi to achieve tino rangatiratanga or mana motuhake”; “celebrate the unique identify of the iwi, hapu, or whanau”; “contribute to the enhancement and strengthening of whanau and hapu links”; “achieve hapu independence whilst recognising the value of our inter-dependence as an iwi”; “recognise that people are our greatest asset and we need to maximise the transferable knowledge and skills that we all possess”; “the maintenance and development of iwi tikanga and reo”; “all development will be consistent with iwi or hapu tikanga”; “to provide iwi leadership which empowers nga uri, whanau and hapu”; “recognise iwi and hapu independence and self-reliance”; “recognise the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding constitutional document governing the relationship between the iwi, the Crown, and peoples of Aotearoa”; “the right of the iwi to manage iwi affairs”; “the right of the iwi to fund, purchase and provide all central government, local government and private sector services to its constituency”; “the obligation of the iwi to ensure the total spiritual and physical wellbeing of the other iwi, hapu, whanau living within the iwi tribal rohe”; “the iwi will be successful in both Pakeha and Maori worlds”; “the obligation of the iwi to the maintenance and conservation of te taiao – the natural environment”.

### Goals and objectives

Goals and objectives are commonly developed from the vision, the mission and the guiding principles. Examples of goals or priority areas are:

“Work on behalf of the iwi, hapu and whanau”; “establish an iwi or hapu identity”; “preserve and maintain te reo, tikanga, korero o mua, and taonga tuku iho for the iwi and hapu”; “provide services within the iwi rohe”; “resolve all iwi and hapu claims”; “establish partnerships with key agencies”; “ensure the conservation and maintenance of natural resources”; “unify the use of iwi, hapu and whanau resources”; “advocate and facilitate processes to enhance independence for whanau, hapu and iwi”.

Goals are then often subdivided into objectives. These are usually more specific actions, and are measurable. Examples include:

“Communicate and consult with whanau, hapu, and marae”; “consult and communicate with iwi and hapu”; “develop a strategic plan”; “progress the Treaty claim”; “increase the use of te reo by iwi, hapu and whanau”; “establish and maintain high quality education, training, health, social services within the tribal rohe”; “develop an economic development plan”.

### Setting a direction for Maori sustainable development

The strategic plan sets both a direction for Maori sustainable development by an iwi, hapu or whanau, and an agenda to achieve a vision, a mission, goals, and objectives. The values and principles discussed earlier guide the development of the strategic plan and the specific goals and actions endorsed (*Figure 1*).

As part of the MSD research, a large number of goals listed in eleven iwi planning documents going back to 1975 were collated and analysed. These indicated that eight main theme areas were regarded as crucial for holistic tribal development. These are shown below with examples of the actual iwi goal statements:

- **Cultural identity, integrity, and growth:**  
“Retain, enhance, and practice the ancestral heritage of the iwi, hapu, and whanau”; “preserving and maintaining te reo, tikanga, korero o mua, and taonga tuku iho”; “consolidate and celebrate the unique identity of iwi, hapu, whanau”.
- **Whakakotahitanga, partnerships, and political representation:**  
“Advocate and facilitate processes to enhance independence for whanau, hapu and iwi”; “work effectively on behalf of constituents”; “work with nga uri through hapu, marae and taura to achieve the strategic goals”; “achieve more effective iwi and hapu political representation at all levels”; “increase participation and partnerships to achieve more collective decision making both internally and with outside organisations”.
- **Service provision and delivery:**  
“Provide a range of social, educational and economic services”; “enhance service delivery within the rohe”.
- **Capacity building:**  
“Provide opportunities for the iwi, hapu, and whanau to develop their skills, knowledge and expertise”; “promote and coordinate education and training”; “promote employment within the rohe”.
- **Whaiora, Maori wellbeing:**  
“Attain a quality of life that ensures the total wellbeing of people, whanau and hapu”.
- **Kaitiakitanga:**  
“To establish a goal to ensure conservation and sustainable management of natural resources”.
- **Treaty recognition and resolution:**  
“Resolve all treaty claims”; “ensure the return or retention of tribal resources”.
- **Maori sustainable development and economic growth:**  
“Facilitate and coordinate the sustainable development of assets belonging to whanau, hapu and iwi”; “develop the organisation’s economic assets to assist with the development of iwi, hapu and whanau aspirations”; “ensure the development of economic assets in a sustainable way”; “develop a tribal economic base”.

The *goals* for each theme area, shown above, are usually further sub-divided into a large number of *objectives*, *actions* and *performance targets*. *Objectives* and *actions* are usually listed and prioritised, and all objectives can be regarded as progressive steps achieved through a set of measurable actions to

achieve the goal. Examples of *objectives*, and *specific actions* for each of the eight theme areas are given below:

**Cultural identity, integrity, and growth:**

*Objectives included:*

“Increase the use of te reo by nga uri”; “incorporate tikanga into all organisation activities”; “develop and implement an oral research programme”; “identify iwi and hapu taonga”; “maintain a recognition of the cultural and spiritual element in the organisation’s operations”; “support for development of marae facilities”; “hold festivals and wananga to celebrate the iwi, hapu, whanau”; “establish a systematic and secure tribal archives system within the tribal rohe”.

*Specific actions included:*

“Apply for funding for marae”; “establish a wananga”; “develop a taonga database”; “facilitate teaching of te reo and tikanga on all marae and in the workplace”; “research whakapapa and history”; “maintain cultural protocols such as karakia and tikanga in all workplace activities”; “approve a code of conduct”; “establish protocols”; “improve communication of tangi, marae, hui and important events”; “establish a database of people with cultural knowledge”; “document and archive historical records”; “establish a historical and cultural database”; “hold cultural festivals, wananga and hui”.

**Whakakotahitanga, partnerships, and political representation:**

*Objectives included:*

“To achieve local, regional, and national representatives mandated by and accountable to the iwi”; “to facilitate the election of mandated political representatives”; “ensure that iwi, hapu and whanau have access to all available iwi information”; “ensure that iwi, hapu and whanau have the opportunity to participate in effective decision making”; “develop a communication and coordination strategy between iwi, hapu and whanau”; “establish the best tribal model for representing nga uri”; “encourage and assist uri, whanau, hapu, and iwi to achieve tino rangatiratanga/self determination”; “advocate and provide leadership over issues that impact on the tino rangatiratanga of uri, whanau, hapu and iwi”; “ensure political representation at the iwi, hapu land whanau level”; “advocate on government and other issues that impact on nga uri”; “establish effective networks and relationships with key organisations”; “coordinate and network with relevant agencies”.

*Specific actions included:*

“Communicate and consult with whanau, hapu, and marae”; “identify needs of whanau and hapu”; “consult and communicate with nga uri”; “consult and communicate with land trusts”; “ensure accountability to whanau and hapu”; “develop strategies to address needs of whanau and hapu”; “establish and maintain a database for hapu and marae”; “establish and maintain a database of land trusts”; “develop resource inventories and statistical information”; “review the organisational structure of the runanga or the board”; “development of an iwi information sharing strategy”; “production of newsletters, use of radio, complete reports”; “minimum number of hui”; “legal investigations and reporting”; “complete discussion papers”; “facilitate and assist uri, whanau, hapu to develop strategies towards greater self reliance and tino rangatiratanga; “organise and run de-colonisation wananga”; “identify leadership issues”; “organise and run wananga to promote and facilitate a leadership base”; “identify key legislative, policy and service delivery issues that impact on whanau, hapu and iwi”; “develop positions on each key issue and identify priorities for action”; “establish protocols, MOU’s, partnerships with other agencies”.

**Service provision and delivery:**

*Objectives included:*

“To establish the runanga/trust board as the purchaser of all central and local government services provided to the iwi within the defined tribal rohe”; “to achieve an integrated approach and accountability of all tribal service providers to iwi, hapu and whanau”; “establish a tribal strategy and purchasing plan for housing, health (including sport and recreation), social services, education, training and employment”; “provide a range of social, educational and economic services”; “maintain high quality services in the areas of education and training, health and social services”; “expand services where necessary”; “to devolve the service arms of the runanga/trust board to nga hapu and ensure accountability to whanau/hapu”; “ensure strict compliance with the requirements of funding agencies”.

### *Specific actions:*

“Deliver services to high standards”; “provide services to nga uri”; “research the needs of nga uri and other recipients of services”; “develop and implement strategies to deal with needs identified”; “develop separate strategic plans for education and training, economic development, health, and social services”; “implement recommendations from strategic plans”; “develop performance review measures and indicators”; “implement standard operating procedures”; “implement quality management systems for services and service delivery”; “carry out research and develop policy”; “analyse cultural and social data to identify performance achievement”; “develop research plans to further identify service needs”; “identify and analyse all services currently provided”; “identify gaps and overlaps of service provision and needs”; “develop and implement new services”.

### **Capacity building:**

#### *Objectives included:*

“Promote and coordinate education and training”; “promote employment within the rohe”; “establish hapu management plans covering human resources”; “identify capacity needs of iwi”.

#### *Specific actions included:*

“Develop a skills database, of profiles, through survey and hui”; “develop a database of job seekers”; “develop a database for identifying skills”; develop a database for identifying qualifications within iwi, hapu, whanau”; “develop strategic plans for education and training”; “training programmes implemented”; “establish an education unit”; “apply for funding for research projects”.

### **Whaiora, Maori wellbeing:**

#### *Objectives included:*

“Promote wellbeing through the delivery of key services”; “deliver health services to nga uri”; ensure whanau, hapu, iwi have access to good health services”; ensure the welfare and wellbeing of our youth is paramount”; “target delivery of health services”; “identify and network with community groups with specific health needs”; “provide primary health care in all areas in our rohe”; “liaise and network with existing health providers”.

#### *Specific actions included:*

“Deliver efficient health services to nga uri, iwi, hapu, marae”; “promote health and education programmes”; “establish a Maori health centre”; access funds from funding agencies and arrange contracts”; “establish a database network of essential health providers”; “employ appropriately qualified staff”; “develop separate strategic plans for health”; set up programmes to address mental health”; increase whanau awareness of appropriate health services available to them”; “identify gaps and overlaps of service provision and needs”; “develop and implement new services”.

### **Kaitiakitanga:**

#### *Objectives included:*

“That the iwi and hapu are involved in all processes regarding the maintenance of the environment”; “develop iwi and hapu environmental management plans, te taiao and kaitiakitanga”; “ensure the efficient and sustainable use of tribal resources for the benefit of the iwi, hapu and whanau”; “develop iwi and hapu environmental monitoring approaches”; “run environmental education courses, wananga, etc”; “establish effective networks and relationships with key organisations”.

#### *Specific actions:*

“Identify ways to coordinate and sustainably manage natural resources”; “encourage the involvement of whanau, hapu and other groups in the conservation and maintenance of natural resources”; “hold environmental wananga and hui”; “develop resource inventories and statistical information”; “establish an environmental research and management unit”; “assist hapu to develop local environmental management plans”; “25% of hapu have resource management plans in place by 2005”; “develop and maintain a GIS”; “establish Maori environmental monitoring approaches”; “establish protocols for regional councils to monitor the environment”; “identify and implement Maori environmental projects”; “complete environmental reports”; “produce an iwi or hapu SOE report”; “establish a formal protocol or memorandum of understanding with appropriate organisations for resource management”.

**Treaty recognition and resolution:**

*Objectives included:*

“Progress Treaty claims”; “identify and clarify tribal boundaries”; “full ownership of culturally significant maunga, moana, awa”; “resolution of all Treaty of Waitangi Claims covering claims on land, forestry, and fisheries”; “conduct and complete research”; “apply for funding to progress the claims”; “consolidate all claims”; “negotiate settlement”; “negotiate with other neighbouring iwi and hapu to progress claims”; “negotiate repatriation of key taonga”; “negotiate tribal claim and boundary issues with neighbouring iwi”.

*Specific actions:*

“Improve communication with all claimants”; “establish lines of communication with neighbouring iwi in order to progress claims”; “negotiate agreements on border differences”; “apply for funding”; “establish research capacity”; “develop a research plan”; “implement and carry out research”; “enter negotiations with the Crown”; “complete covenants for maunga, moana awa, ngahere ownership”; “complete casebook for Treaty Claims”; “negotiate and resolve all treaty claims by 2001”; “establish an appropriate organisational structure to represent constituents for settlement of land and fisheries claims”; “return assets and payment of compensation, resolution of all treaty claims by 2002. Measurable performance targets include...”.

**Maori sustainable development and economic growth:**

*Objectives included:*

“Manage the commercial interests of the organisation in an effective manner”; “ensure effective management of tribal resources”; “establish an iwi or hapu economic development strategy”; “develop an economic development plan”; “facilitate and coordinate economic development at the iwi, hapu and whanau level”; “ensure the efficient and sustainable use of tribal resources for the benefit of the iwi, hapu and whanau”; “establish an iwi or hapu tourism strategy”; “develop joint ventures with other groups and organisations”; “identify opportunities for joint ventures with land trusts within the rohe”; “investigate business opportunities”.

*Specific actions included:*

“Discuss and action a range of economic development initiatives with stakeholders”; “develop a strategic plan for each hapu”; “complete a hapu development plan”; “develop an economic development plan”; “complete a tribal economic development strategic plan”; “develop an economic and resource database”; “complete a tribal tourism plan”; “complete an asset realisation plan”; “complete a commercial fisheries plan”; “manage the fisheries interests to maximise long-term returns”; “determine risks, returns and profits from economic development opportunities”; “implement the economic development plan”; “improve communication networks”; “identify potential joint venture projects”.

**Maori sustainable resource development:  
The challenge posed by the New Zealand media**  
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**Abstract**

We report here on a small-scale research project in which a number of articles and editorials dealing with governance and resource management problems were analysed.<sup>1</sup> All of these articles and editorials appeared in the same national New Zealand newspaper. Half of them were concerned with a Maori organisation, the other half were not. Our conclusion is that there are fundamental differences between the two groups of articles/editorials, differences that are attributable to attempts to reinforce a normative/paternalistic agenda that stigmatises cultural difference.

**Introduction: background to the research**

The news media can be regarded as effecting the ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form.

Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, p. 110.

A media image of Māori bent only on separate development and anti-Pākehā sentiment is as misleading as the picture of a racially harmonious nation.

Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga*, p. 238.

In this project, ten pieces of writing (seven articles and three editorials) which appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* were analysed. Five of these pieces related to issues of governance and resource management affecting Waikato-Tainui; the other five related to issues of governance and resource management affecting Air New Zealand. These ten texts were selected, on the basis of typicality ratings,<sup>2</sup> from all of the articles and editorials concerning Waikato-Tainui and Air New Zealand published in the *New Zealand Herald* between February 2000 and April 2002. They were then analysed in order to determine whether there were detectable differences between the ways in which the issues were reported in the two cases.<sup>3</sup>

### **Project aims**

The *primary aims* of this project were *to determine whether*:

- there are grounds for believing that the *New Zealand Herald* typically represents issues and problems relating to governance and resource management in different ways depending on whether the groups involved are perceived to be Māori or non-Māori;
- any differences in representation that are detected can be associated with what is referred to here as a 'normative/ paternalistic agenda';
- media representation of resource management issues and problems can and/or does impact negatively on the capacity of Māori communities to manage resources effectively, particularly in the early stages of development projects.<sup>4</sup>

### **Approach**

Our overall approach can be described in general terms as deriving from critical theory in that it takes account of political and ideological contexts, is designed in such a way as to uncover vested interests, and has an emancipatory agenda (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000, pp. 27 - 31). Thus, we believe that to understand more about how discourse represents and constructs the social world is also to be emancipated to the extent that it increases the possibility of active involvement in resisting and seeking to redirect discourse processes. In line with our overall critical theoretical approach, we located our research within the context of what is known as 'critical discourse analysis', that is, an approach to the analysis of discourse that focuses on how vested interests are maintained and social inequalities sanctioned (see, for example, van Dijk, 1993).

### **Introducing the findings**

A recent *New Zealand Herald* editorial (22 May, 2002) headed *Māori TV heads should roll*, makes the following comment about an interview involving the chairperson of the Māori Television Service, an interview that had taken place just over two weeks earlier:

He . . . regarded the *Herald's* investigation as racially motivated and claimed the same attention was not applied to the mistakes of the board of Air New Zealand (now replaced) that led to last year's bailout.

Presumably he was not reading newspapers during the latter half of last year.

The exercise of unequal power in relation to the positioning of different voices is immediately evident here in terms of media reinforcement of its preferred readings.<sup>5</sup> In the articles and editorials discussed below, the writers use this unequal power to establish and reinforce the message that Māori resource management should be subject to external controls and external scrutiny. Because, however, the resources in question are tribally owned, this represents a clear attempt to undermine the concept of Māori self-determination, an attempt which is justified on the grounds that it is in the interests of Māori.

The discussion that follows includes extracts from some of the texts that were analysed. Sections to which we wish to draw particular attention are highlighted. Those texts from which extracts are discussed below are included in an *Appendix*.

### The findings

In an editorial published on 11 January 2001 and headed *Openness vital to Tainui's recovery*, the writer represents two ideologies in a way that sets up a false dichotomy (implying that the two are different in all respects) and appears to be calculated to give credibility to one and to discredit the other. The values of *Kingitanga*<sup>6</sup> are described in negative terms, associated with 'pride' and 'aggrandisement' and aligned with 'tradition' (which is presented as having no contemporary relevance):

Essentially, Sir Robert draws his power from his adopted sister, the Māori Queen, in a **feudalistic arrangement** . . .

. . . the Māori Queen's **unwise appeal to tribal members' traditional loyalties**.

Investments . . . suggested that **personal pride** was a . . . powerful motivator . . . [and] . . . spoke volumes of **a culture of aggrandisement**.

Set against this is an image of 'openness, effective governance, and accountability' that is associated by implication with those 'democratic impulses' which are presented as being the contemporary norm:

. . . a feudalistic arrangement which sits oddly with **the democratic impulses of the 21st century**.

The final message of this editorial is that only by rejecting one set of values in favour of the other (associated with 'outside advisers') will Waikato-Tainui (and, by implication, other Māori groups) succeed economically:

But at least it [Tainui] has been prepared to bring in **outside advisers to fashion a recovery strategy**. . . It has been a costly **learning exercise** but all may not be lost if the **lessons** have been taken on board.

From a political perspective, it would be unwise for a New Zealand national newspaper, whatever the views of some of its readers, to deny the significance of the *Treaty of Waitangi* by objecting openly to self-determination and self-governance and/or the concept of compensation for tribal losses.<sup>7,8</sup> Nevertheless, this can be, and is, done more indirectly. It can *even* be done in the context of an apparent endorsement of these concepts. In the following extract from the same editorial, an apparent acceptance of tribal rights to self-determination (expressed in 'Quite so' and 'Certainly') is undercut in a number of ways:

**Some** of those tribes make the point that Māori do not have to defend their handling of settlements; it is their own private business.

**Quite so. Certainly**, they should not be answerable to the Government or to the taxpayer. They and they alone have the right **and responsibility** to decide what happens to these **full and final** settlements for **past** wrongs.

**Yet** in their reticence, the tribes **betray** the kind of mindset that was at the nub of Tainui's downfall. **There is danger** that a conviction that outsiders have no business prying into a tribe's financial affairs **may** too easily **metamorphose into** a similar policy towards a tribe's **beneficiaries**.

First, the inclusion of the initial ‘some’ appears to be intended to suggest that there are tribes whose members *do* believe that Māori should be required to defend to outsiders their handling of settlements. The implication is that self-determination in relation to settlements is not necessarily a universally applicable principle. This effectively undercuts the force of the apparent endorsement contained in both ‘quite so’ and ‘certainly’, an apparent endorsement that is further undercut by the insertion of ‘and responsibility’ after ‘right’ and the inclusion of ‘full and final’ before ‘settlement’. In combination, these insertions introduce a sense of combined self-righteousness and threat that effectively act as a paternalistic counter to the reference to ‘wrongs’, a reference that is, in any case, firmly located as ‘past’. The reservation that follows (introduced by ‘yet’), is carefully crafted. Self-determination is not directly challenged. Nor are tribal leaders directly accused of failing to be open in their dealings with their own people. Instead, self-determination is indirectly challenged on the grounds of a possibility (‘*may . . . metamorphose into*’) that readers are encouraged, in the context of the use of the words ‘betray’ and ‘danger’, to interpret as an immanent probability. Thus, by virtue of a few simple rhetorical moves, the writer represents Māori self-determination as a threat, not to non-Māori, but to Māori.

The extract above involves the rhetorical use of a simple combination of the following textual relationships: *statement-affirmation*, *statement-reason* and *concession-contrarexpectation/reservation* (see Crombie 1986 for an outline and discussion of textual relationships):

**Text**

Some of those tribes make the point that Māori do not have to defend their handling of settlements; it is their own private business.

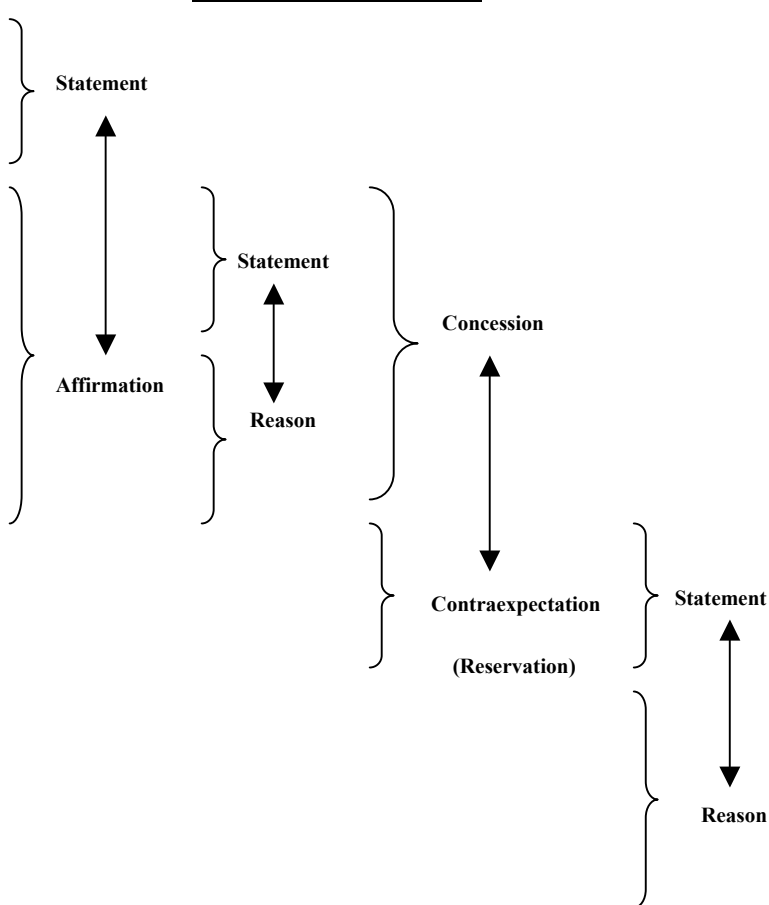
**Quite so. Certainly,** they should not be answerable to the Government or to the taxpayer.

They and they alone have the right and responsibility to decide what happens to these full and final settlements for past wrongs.

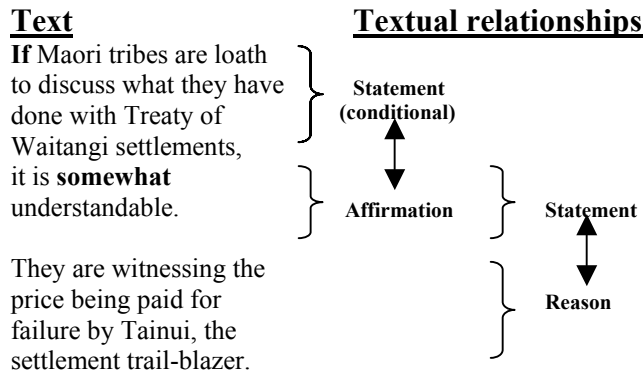
**Yet** in their reticence, the tribes betray the kind of mindset that was at the nub of Tainui's downfall.

There is danger that a conviction that outsiders have no business prying into a tribe's financial affairs may too easily metamorphose into a similar policy towards a tribe's beneficiaries.

**Textual relationships**



The extract above begins with relationships of *statement-affirmation* (partial affirmation) and *statement-reason*. So, too, does the introductory section of the editorial:



The initial statement is in the form of a rhetorical conditional: ‘If Maori tribes are loath to discuss what they have done with Treaty of Waitangi settlements’. Here, the conditional structure serves a function similar to that of the indefinite pronoun ‘some’ in the previous extract: it suggests that unwillingness to discuss Treaty settlements with outsiders is neither universal nor absolute.

In this extract, the inclusion of ‘somewhat’ immediately undercuts the effect of the affirmation/ endorsement (‘it is *somewhat* understandable’). What is particularly interesting, however, is not so much that the partial endorsement is itself expressed in such limited terms, but that the *reason* for that partial endorsement is not the expected one. Tribes are represented as being reluctant to discuss tribal resource issues in non-tribal contexts *not because* they are asserting a right, *but because* they fear exposure to public scrutiny – a fear that is presented as being understandable on the grounds of what is described as ‘Tainui’s failure’. Thus, readers are invited to interpret any assertion of the right not to discuss tribal affairs in non-tribal contexts as something that is to be viewed with suspicion. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that, whatever Tainui’s previous difficulties, the situation when this editorial was written is, in the words of the editor, that “its wealth has not grown . . . since its . . . settlement in 1995”. Unfortunate though that may be, it is not a situation that would normally be described in terms of corporate ‘failure’, ‘crisis’ or ‘public humiliation’. Indeed, these labels, particularly the last one, should alert readers to the real reason why tribes may wish, in line with their right to self-determination, to confine discussion of issues relating to tribal governance and tribal resource management to tribal contexts.

The writer is, no doubt, aware of the nature of the \$170 million settlement,<sup>4</sup> a settlement that involved land as a primary component, one that could not in the short term, however well managed, make any real difference to the lives of most of the approximately 150,000 ‘tribal beneficiaries’, many of whom are described as living in ‘straightened circumstances’. Nevertheless, readers are encouraged to identify with what is presented as their ‘sense of grievance’ and invited to share the writer’s concern that ‘the next generation’ might feel inclined to ‘turn to the Crown’. In this way, the writer seeks to align Treaty settlements with expectations of responsibility in relation to the economic problems that are faced by so many Māori.<sup>9</sup>

In the context of the ideological assumptions that underlie this editorial, readers, whether Māori or non-Māori, are invited to engage in a process of factionalization. They are invited to question the integrity of Māori managers in general, to reject tradition as irrelevant, and, above all, to support the notion that any assertion of self-determination should be viewed with suspicion.

The same message appears, in different ways, in each of the texts relating to Waikato-Tainui. In an article headed *Tainui bosses brushed off advice: lawyer* (23<sup>rd</sup> November 2000), the emphasis is on failure to accept advice (advice that was, on this occasion, apparently provided by a former employee accused of unacceptable business practices). Once again, the issue of pride is raised. This time, however, it is implied in an otherwise unmotivated reference to building height:

. . . Sir Robert and others were keen to buy so Tainui could have its headquarters in the 15-storey Tower building - **Hamilton's tallest**.

In an editorial entitled *Tainui – when pride comes before a fall* (9<sup>th</sup> February 2000), the ‘treaty process’ is described not in relation to the recognition of violations of the *Treaty*, but as being “designed to generate widespread wealth for tribal beneficiaries” and it is stated that “[other] tribes . . . have been somewhat less dogmatic than Tainui in resisting a social welfare role”. Reference is made to a “failure in self-reliance”, a “need for guidance” and to external “scrutiny”.

As the full texts of these pieces indicate, the writers do not hesitate to launch direct and personal attacks on individuals and groups. This is, in itself, of serious concern. However, attempts to present Treaty settlements as wealth-creating government handouts and to undermine tribal rights to self-determination are, perhaps, of even greater concern in that they are less direct and, therefore, more difficult to counter.

In all of the articles and editorials that we analysed, the writer’s voice is presented as the voice of the majority, the voice of logic and common-sense, the voice of the ‘norm’ (the WE as opposed to the THEY/ the OTHER). This is the voice that claims the moral and corporate high ground. Unless they are directly supportive of the writer’s perspective, *all* other voices are subject to distortion and misrepresentation. However, whereas the voices of non-Māori managers are often present, those of Māori managers are generally absent altogether except where their inclusion can be used to indicate either the dangers of otherness or the value of accepting a majority perspective. Although Pākehā managers may also be silenced or misrepresented, they are more likely to be given an opportunity to speak. Furthermore, whereas Māori managers are characteristically chastised for any perceived problems relating to resource management, mitigating circumstances may be highlighted in the case of other managers as is indicated in the following two extracts. The first is from an article entitled *Toomey quits Air New Zealand* (7<sup>th</sup> October, 2001); the second is from an editorial entitled *Airline Flies From Mess to Disaster* (17<sup>th</sup> September, 2001):

Air New Zealand chief executive Gary Toomey has resigned.

Air NZ's chairman Jim Farmer said it was a **sad loss** to the airline but the company found itself in quite a different position to when Mr Toomey came on board at the beginning of the year. . . .

"We have **no criticism to make of him - or the management team he led -** for what has happened. . . ."

Dr Farmer said the airline had come to a **confidential settlement** with Mr Toomey, which was "consistent with his contractual entitlements and benefits".

**Mr Toomey said** he believed the board's decision to place Ansett in voluntary administration meant the future Air NZ must set its sights on different goals from the ones that drew him to the company.

"I think it is appropriate for me to move aside, take a break with my family and consider some of the options open to me."

**Mr Toomey said in the statement** that he deeply appreciated "the literally hundreds of cards and messages I have received from staff and supporters during the difficult times that the group has gone through over the year".

**Air New Zealand executives** quoted in the Weekend Herald **complained that** the state of Ansett's operations were opaque when it was taken over. Unfortunately, they seemed no more transparent at the end. It is a state of affairs for which the Air New Zealand Board and senior executives must take responsibility . . . . Despite protestations, **the Governments on both sides of the Tasman are partly responsible for what has happened** but the Board and senior executives of Air New Zealand have to carry the burden of blame. **Vacillation, procrastination and politics combined to create a nightmare.** . . . It is a nightmare that **Australians are now fuelling** with reactions and comments that are, at least, stupid and, at worst, bordering on xenophobia. **It is being fanned by Australian media** who suggest that we have a national culpability for the Ansett collapse and a congenital failing that makes us financial cowboys and bad risks. That is rubbish and they know it.

It is interesting to note that in the extract above the editor of the *New Zealand Herald* accuses Australians and the Australian media of precisely those things that the *New Zealand Herald* is itself guilty of in relation to New Zealand Māori.

A final issue that we believed needed to be addressed was the issue of whether media representation of the kind to which we have drawn attention here can, or should, be described as racist in nature. We began by seeking a definition of 'racist discourse' that was already in use in the literature on critical discourse analysis. One problem that we encountered here is that racism is "contradictory and constantly undergoing transformation" (Miles 1989, p. 64). For example, both Barker (1981) and Reeves (1983) have detected changing patterns of racism in British political discourse. For this reason, we paid particular attention to definitions that arose directly out of the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand and that focused on the two main, identifiable groups: Māori and Pakeha.<sup>10</sup> The definition we selected is included in Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 70):

Racist discourse . . . should be seen as discourse (of whatever content) which has the effect of establishing, sustaining and reinforcing oppressive power relations between those defined, in the New Zealand case, as Māori and Pakeha.

We were aware that use of a definition of this type might leave us open to the charge of perpetuating racism in the sense that it might be interpreted as defining identity in terms of race (Gilroy 1987). However, we are using the terms 'Māori' and 'Pakeha' here to refer to the ways in which discourse positions people (as did Wetherell and Potter).

The effect that representation of the type illustrated here has on Māori communities and, by extension, on the capacity of managers to secure support, is a matter of considerable significance. We asked a number of people with direct links to Tainui whether they felt that media coverage had had a detrimental effect on their attitudes towards issues of tribal governance and resource management. In all cases, they replied that it had. Furthermore, all agreed that their understanding of the situation increased when the media lost interest and when it became possible for them to discuss the issues involved without external interference.<sup>11</sup> One of those we spoke to observed that members of her marae committee had been reluctant to contact Tainui leaders directly because of the negative image of them that had been conveyed in the press. When they eventually did so, they were welcomed and given the assistance they needed to complete a marae project.

Managing resources effectively by, on behalf of, or with others involves securing agreement and dealing effectively with disputes. This is never a straightforward matter, particularly where cultural considerations are of fundamental importance in determining the value of, and proper relationship between, outputs and outcomes in the case of tribally owned resources. In establishing governance structures and processes, and in setting and evaluating goals for resource management and development, Māori communities are likely to place cultural considerations at the centre (see, for example, Roberts, Norman, Minhinnich, Wihongi and Kirkwood (1995)). In doing this, they may adopt an approach that is different from that adopted by other communities. Unless Māori resource managers are given an opportunity to explain and discuss issues of this kind in an atmosphere of cultural safety and cultural understanding, they are unlikely to be able to secure the support they need, particularly where there are problems that need to be dealt with before progress can be made. It is important, therefore, that Māori leaders should become skilled in the art of deconstructing and managing the media. In addition, all means of securing a strong Māori presence in the media are worthy of exploration.

### Endnotes

1. This small-scale project is the precursor to a more comprehensive research project in which New Zealand media reporting of tribal resource issues over a twelve month period will be tracked.
2. Each of the four people involved in the project (three Maori and one non-Maori) independently assessed all of the relevant articles and editorials on a five point scale from 'typical of NZ Herald reporting of this issue' to 'not typical of NZ Herald reporting of this issue'. The ten pieces selected had the highest overall typicality rating. In the more comprehensive project to follow, typicality ratings will be established by informants who are not central to the conduct of the project itself.
3. For a discussion of Marxist and Marxist-related approaches to ideological analysis and analyses based on the social construction of 'reality', both of which have influenced the approach adopted here, see Miles and Phizacklea (1984) and Edwards (1991).
4. All of the editorials and articles which we analysed were written at a time when Waikato-Tainui was attempting to deal with the governance and resource issues involved in dealing with its 1995 *Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement*. That settlement included an official apology from the Crown together with the return of 15,000 hectares of Crown-owned land (including the Onewhere Forest and some tenanted rent-yielding land) as well as monetary compensation. The package was valued at approximately \$170 million. In addition, there was an agreement that, should the overall settlement ceiling be raised over

the next 50 years, Tainui would receive 17% of the additional amount (Ward 1999, pp. 54 - 55). In view of the extent of actual resource losses over the preceding one and a half centuries, the amount secured was very small, particularly when it is remembered that there were at the time of settlement approximately 150,000 Tainui beneficiaries. The immediate problem was how to manage this resource base in ways that would secure a future for Waikato-Tainui at the same time as gaining the assent and active involvement of the large number of iwi and hapu whose interests had to be represented. Land was a primary component in the settlement. The fact, however, that the settlement also involved a cash component meant that diversification was a realistic possibility, one that Tainui was anxious to exploit. However, balancing all of this, and attempting to do so whilst also attempting to accommodate the views of a very large number of beneficiaries as well as those values and aspirations that are culturally-rooted is not a simple task.

5. This editorial is not part of the corpus analysed here and is therefore not discussed in detail. Nevertheless, it illustrates the way in which the editor uses a range of techniques to reinterpret criticism of the press in a way that reasserts control by the press.

6. Tainui is a confederation of those iwi and hapu, which were involved in the establishment of the *Kingitanga* movement in 1858. This movement was part of a concerted effort to stem the tide of European land confiscations, one of its major achievements being the negotiation of a settlement on behalf of 33 Waikato *iwi* and *hapu* (McCan 2001).

7. A way around this is, of course, the editing, selection, highlighting and timing that are fundamental to using 'letters to the editor' as a way of including material that might otherwise be dangerous.

8. Even so, there has been, particularly in local newspapers, a considerable amount of direct criticism of these concepts.

9. This point is also made in an earlier editorial *Tainui – when pride comes before a fall* (9<sup>th</sup>. February 2000) – where, at the same time as seeking to avoid any possible accusation of misrepresentation of the true reason for settlements, the editor makes the same type of link: "Certainly, usurping the Government responsibility would be unwise, but, equally, Tainui can hardly disregard the financial hardship being suffered by many of its beneficiaries".

10. In making reference here to two groups within Aotearoa - Maori and Pakeha - we do not mean to suggest that such a perception is unproblematic. The generic use of the terms 'Maori' and 'Maoridom' is often considered to be inappropriate by those who point out that 'maori' originally meant 'usual' or 'normal', that the sense of a generic, Pan-tribal identity was originally imposed/adopted for strategic (largely political) reasons and that the resurgence of Maori identity that has taken place since the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century has been largely tribal in character (Durie 1998, pp. 54 – 55). Similar objections could be raised in relation to the term 'Pakeha'.

11. These issues were discussed informally with approximately twenty *whanau* members. In conducting any further, more detailed study, we would approach this matter in a more systematic way.

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### **Appendix: Articles and Editorials**

#### **Editorial: *Tainui - when pride comes before a fall* (9/2/2000)**

Careful business management needed to be balanced with the welfare of tribal members if Tainui was to derive maximum benefit from its \$170 million settlement with the Crown. The extent of its failure on both scores is now clear. A total of \$40 million has been slashed off its balance sheet in the wake of a series of misguided and extravagant investments. The upshot is a radical restructuring that will see many of the tribe's 100-plus staff lose their jobs. There could hardly be a more dismal outcome for a treaty process designed to generate widespread wealth for tribal beneficiaries.

The failure has been abject at two levels. Some Tainui investments - the shareholding in the Warriors franchise and the planned sponsorship of Hamilton's new stadium - were driven more by pride than circumspection. Others, such as the purchases of Raukura Waikato Fisheries, displayed a lack of business acumen. More fundamentally, however, there was a failure of governance. The tribe says its own checks and balances let it down. In reality, there was not so much a let-down as a total void. Executives, some of whom have now departed, were left virtually to their own devices. It is hardly surprising that there are now calls for Tainui's key leader, Sir Robert Mahuta, to accept the ultimate accountability.

Finally, it seems, tribal members are stirring. Many will feel their trust has been ill-judged. Yet they ignored an array of danger signs. The gloss and glib phrases which permeate Tainui's latest annual report hardly disguise the lack of financial detail. Sparse references to assets and liabilities highlight the lack of transparency. Then again, there were the warnings from the former Minister of Maori Affairs, Tau Henare, and, more persistently, from Huntly doctor David Gilgen. These gained little traction, possibly because Tainui, more than most tribes, has been fragmented by the drift to urban areas.

Certainly, the tribal culture appears at odds with that of the likes of Ngai Tahu. This is perhaps reflected in the South Island tribe's more restrained, and hard-headed, approach to investment. Taking major shareholdings in a string of tourism ventures, such as whale-watching and jet-boating, is not without risk but at least has a more secure element of logic. Other tribes, while making some sound business decisions, have been somewhat less dogmatic than Tainui in resisting a social welfare role. Certainly, usurping the Government responsibility would be unwise, but, equally, Tainui can hardly disregard the financial hardship being suffered by many of its beneficiaries.

The price for Tainui's failure in self-reliance has been the involvement of a corporate doctor and the recruitment of a strategy committee manned by the likes of businessman Hugh Fletcher. These will apply the scrutiny and governance which the tribe eschewed after the settlement with the Crown. In all likelihood, it would, at that time, have described such oversight of its affairs as demeaning.

Tainui's need for guidance just five years after its treaty settlement is ammunition for the doubters of that process. But its plight does not signify that all tribes will muff the challenge of managing and developing their settlement funds to the long-term prosperity of their members and New Zealand. Tainui's failure, however, sends out a strong message. Pride and personality cannot again be allowed to ride roughshod over prudence.

#### **Article: *Tainui bosses brushed off advice: lawyer* (23/11/2000)**

Tainui leaders who say a former employee tried to trick them into paying \$24 million for five Hamilton buildings worth only half that amount ignored his advice and all commonsense business practices, says the man's defence lawyer.

Paul Davison, QC, is representing Craig John Beecroft, the former chief executive officer of Tainui Corporation.

Yesterday, Mr Davison told the Auckland District Court that tribal leaders had paid no attention to detail, thrown away important faxes and did not know what their responsibilities were.

Beecroft, aged 29, and his close friend Blair Ainsworth Kirk, 30, are accused of trying to defraud the tribe in 1998 by arranging to buy five buildings for \$11.8 million and then attempting to on-sell them to Tainui for \$24 million.

They face two fraud charges each relating to a signed sale and purchase agreement to buy the buildings and a \$500,000 cheque drawn from Tainui's account to fund a deposit.

The Crown has alleged that Kirk bought the buildings and used Beecroft's position within the Waikato tribe to on-sell them at twice the price.

While the transaction never went ahead, the Crown claims Beecroft knew what the buildings were really worth and deceived the tribe by encouraging it to pay that amount and sign the sale and purchase agreement.

But Mr Davison said Beecroft adamantly denies knowing that his friend was behind the company offering the buildings for sale.

Cross-examination of key Tainui leaders and executives over the past nine weeks has shown that Beecroft did tell them the buildings were worth only between \$10 million and \$12 million.

Mr Davison said Beecroft had learned not to try to tell Tainui what was in their best interests or how they should run their affairs.

"A non-Tainui member such as Mr Beecroft had been told very clearly what the limits of his responsibility were, in that others knew better, thank you very much," Mr Davison said.

While Beecroft tried to warn Tainui about the price, power struggles and private agendas operated within the tribe and people "fell into line with the wishes of the all-powerful boss - Sir Robert Mahuta," Mr Davison said.

The court has been told Sir Robert and others were keen to buy so Tainui could have its headquarters in the 15-storey Tower building - Hamilton's tallest.

Mr Davison said that in investigating the proposal for Tainui, Beecroft was working in a minefield as those who "despised" him ignored his faxes and threw important information about the purchase price away.

"This was a climate or situation where there were changing instructions, inconsistent instructions, where people who held positions of responsibility in Tainui didn't quite know for themselves what they were required to do."

Mr Davison said Tainui witnesses called during the Crown's case had not given a full account of what really went on, and that in putting the deal together Beecroft had simply been following the tribe's instructions.

Kirk's lawyer, Garry Gotlieb, is expected to open his case next week.

The trial will run for a fortnight more.

### **Editorial: *Openness vital to Tainui's recovery* (11/01/2001)**

If Maori tribes are loath to discuss what they have done with Treaty of Waitangi settlements, it is somewhat understandable. They are witnessing the price being paid for failure by Tainui, the settlement trail-blazer. The tribe's financial performance could hardly be more abject; its wealth has not grown by one dollar since its \$170 million settlement in 1995. As its beneficiaries grapple with the dismal outcome of misguided and extravagant investments, Tainui's public humiliation is complete. Is it any wonder, then, that other tribes should duck for cover, even if without exception they have made a better fist of settlements?

Some of those tribes make the point that Maori do not have to defend their handling of settlements; it is their private business. Quite so. Certainly, they should not be answerable to the Government or to the taxpayer. They and they alone have the right and responsibility to decide what happens to these full and final settlements for past wrongs.

Yet in their reticence, the tribes betray the kind of mindset that was at the nub of Tainui's downfall. There is danger that a conviction that outsiders have no business prying into a tribe's financial affairs may too easily metamorphose into a similar policy towards a tribe's beneficiaries.

A Herald investigation has found that Tainui's financial affairs were reported incompletely and highly selectively. Polish took the place of pith in annual reports, which lacked key information such as cashflow statements, explanatory notes to the accounts and statements of accounting policy. If tribal beneficiaries got to see the full accounts, it was under the most restrictive of circumstances. Only the accounts for 2000, completed under a new regime condemned by Tainui chief negotiator Sir Robert Mahuta, provide a clearer picture and reveal the extent of the financial crisis.

Full disclosure of accounts is essential if there is to be accountability for investment decisions. Sir Robert not only disregarded this basic corporate tenet but seems to have believed that he could, if necessary, act autocratically. In so doing, he highlighted a particular problem afflicting Tainui.

Essentially, Sir Robert draws his power from his adopted sister, the Maori Queen, in a feudalistic arrangement which sits oddly with the democratic impulses of the 21st century. When Tainui's democratically elected ruling executive, Te Kaumaarua, dumped Sir Robert from his corporate directorships, it found itself facing a resolution for its own dismissal from Dame Te Atairangikaahu. The Maori Queen claimed that only she could remove Sir Robert. The case went to the High Court and Te Kaumaarua won.

That outcome was, however, less significant than the Maori Queen's unwise appeal to tribal members' traditional loyalties. She has failed to recognise the shifting of generational sands, and that this is a clash she cannot win. Loyalty to the Maori King movement will wither until she withdraws from decision-making and, like other monarchs before her, accepts a figurehead status.

Dame Te Ata has already done Kingitanga great harm by supporting a system of governance that has failed the Tainui people. Those who guided the tribe's fortunes lost sight of the fact that every member of Tainui - and succeeding generations - should benefit from the settlement. Investments such as that in the Warriors rugby league team suggested that personal pride was a more powerful motivator than tribal welfare. And out-of-control overheads and exorbitant remuneration spoke volumes of a culture of aggrandisement.

Tainui's lamentable situation has inevitably promoted a sense of grievance, not least among tribal members living in straitened circumstances. For them, the settlement might never have occurred. If Tainui fails to remedy its financial woes, that grievance could be felt even more strongly by the next generation, some of whom might well feel inclined to turn to the Crown. Such notions will not wash, however. This was a full and final settlement.

As of now, Tainui is back where it virtually started. But at least it has been prepared to bring in outside advisers to fashion a recovery strategy. The new generation of leaders seem also to recognise the need for openness, effective governance and accountability. It has been a costly learning exercise but all may not be lost if the lessons have been taken on board.

**Editorial: *Airline Flies From Mess to Disaster (17/09/2001)***

A week ago in this column we described the Air New Zealand-Ansett situation as "a mess". In the past seven days it has moved on from there to become an unmitigated disaster. A week ago the future of Ansett looked uncertain but Air New Zealand had every prospect of flying through the turbulence. Now the future of our national flag carrier looks bone-jarringly shaky.

In cutting Ansett loose from any prospect of rescue, Air New Zealand triggered an emotion-charged chain of events. However, the seeds of this disaster had already been sown. That much is clear from the decisive actions of the administrators brought in when Air New Zealand turned its back on the Australian carrier. The almost immediate shutdown of Ansett is conclusive proof that it had already reached the end of the runway.

Air New Zealand executives quoted in the Weekend Herald complained that the state of Ansett's operations were opaque when it was taken over. Unfortunately, they seemed no more transparent at the end. It is a state of affairs for which the Air New Zealand board and senior executives must accept responsibility. Even before the takeover their airline had a sufficient shareholding and rights to demand of Ansett's management the necessary operational and financial information. That lack of clarity must have played a significant part in the drawn-out attempts to rescue the Australian airline and, by implication, that of Air New Zealand itself. And the question marks continue to hover over everything.

Chief among the unanswered questions is Air New Zealand's liability for almost \$NZ500 million in staff entitlements. That is an issue in which the Australian Government is taking a keen interest and one it would certainly wish to be placed firmly at the New Zealand airline's feet. Air New Zealand, for its part, will try to distance itself from that liability which would tip its balance sheet beyond the scope of the current rescue package promised by Brierley Investments, Singapore Airlines and the New Zealand Government.

Prime Minister Helen Clark has made it clear that her Government will not accept liability for the Australian workers' losses. Nor should it, although a court decision against Air New Zealand could well see a further state bail-out of the New Zealand carrier that, in reality, would have just that effect. Should Air New Zealand not be found liable, the Australian Government will be forced to compensate workers, probably by new levies. That, in turn, will ensure a continuation of the baying for Kiwi blood that began when Ansett shut its doors.

With the benefit of hindsight, the best solution for both Ansett and Air New Zealand would have been for the Kiwi airline to allow Singapore Airlines to take over the Australian operation in its entirety and to take up a larger holding here. SIA has the ability to manage large airlines efficiently and its no-nonsense approach to business would probably have identified Ansett's operational deficiencies early

on. However, that was not to be. Despite protestations, the Governments on both sides of the Tasman are partly responsible for what has happened but the board and senior executives of Air New Zealand have to carry the burden of blame. Vacillation, procrastination and politics combined to create a nightmare.

It is a nightmare that Australians are now fuelling with reactions and comments that are, at least, stupid and, at worst, bordering on a form of xenophobia. It is being fanned by Australian media who suggest that we have a national culpability for the Ansett collapse and a congenital failing that makes us financial cowboys and bad risks. That is rubbish and they know it. New Zealanders could just as easily point the finger across the Tasman at the HIH Insurance collapse that may reach \$A4 billion or the \$A600 million losses of One.tel when it closed. The people of New Zealand are no more responsible for Ansett's state of affairs than are Air New Zealand cabin and ground crew who have been vilified by their Australian counterparts.

Looking ahead, disaster recovery will take some time and there may be more pain before it is over. New Zealand taxpayers, for example, had better steel themselves for the loan facility in the present rescue package being fully taken up and extended. Brierley Investments and SIA will also have to dig deeper into their pockets.

### **Article: *Toomey quits Air NZ (9/10/2001)***

Air New Zealand chief executive Gary Toomey has resigned.

Air NZ's chairman Jim Farmer said it was a sad loss to the airline but the company found itself in quite a different position to when Mr Toomey came on board at the beginning of the year.

"He has encountered a set of problems that were not of his making and has worked relentlessly to find answers to them," Dr Farmer said in a statement to the Stock Exchange.

"We have no criticism to make of him - or the management team he led - for what has happened and wish him well, wherever he goes now."

Roger France, a newly appointed Air NZ director, will act as executive director until a new chief executive is appointed.

Dr Farmer said the airline had come to a confidential settlement with Mr Toomey, which was "consistent with his contractual entitlements and benefits".

Mr Toomey said he believed the board's decision to place Ansett in voluntary administration meant the future Air NZ must set its sights on different goals from the ones that drew him to the company.

"I think it is appropriate for me to move aside, take a break with my family and consider some of the options open to me."

Mr Toomey said in the statement that he deeply appreciated "the literally hundreds of cards and messages I have received from staff and supporters during the difficult times that the group has gone through over the year".

Forsyth Barr Frater Williams executive director Don Turkington said Mr Toomey's resignation would put further downward pressure on Air NZ shares tomorrow.

The A shares closed down 10 per cent, 3c, at 30c, to meet the B shares which closed steady on 30c.

"It's just another uncertainty. It's not so much that Toomey is leaving but that there is no real replacement for him at this stage," said Mr Turkington.

"They haven't showed a lot of airline management depth through this crisis and at least Toomey was an experienced airline person," he said.

Mr France is a chartered accountant who recently retired as a senior partner in PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

"It's surprising that they couldn't keep Toomey until they could find a replacement."

Mr Turkington said that with the shooting having started in Afghanistan, the already ugly environment for aviation stocks had deteriorated further.

Speculative buying largely dried up on the sharemarket today with only 1.9 million Air NZ A shares traded and just over 2 million Bs.

**Restorying the individual: The cultural dimension of special education in three  
Te Arawa sites**

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**Abstract**

On the basis of observation of three Te Arawa educational sites, it is argued here that a central characteristic of successful programmes that attend to Maori students with special needs is cultural-centredness. Significant aspects of that culture-centredness are outlined here, aspects that, it is argued, are fundamental to the process of restorying that is, it is argued, critical to the success of many Maori students, particularly those with special needs.

**Introduction: Three programmes and their commitment to relationship-based pedagogies**

Schooling under colonial policies became a powerful vehicle for the assimilation of indigenous peoples. In recent years, however, some indigenous communities have gained considerable control over their schools, thus ushering in a new era in terms of relationships between these peoples and surrounding dominant cultures. According to Lipka and Stairs (1994), the negotiation of new forms of schooling of this type reflects unique socio-historical contexts which are demonstrated in “indigenous ways of going to school” (p 65). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, these new approaches to schooling have emerged out of the struggle of Māori people to balance two important objectives - being full participants in the contemporary world and, at the same time, maintaining their cultural identity as Maori (Durie, 1997).

Exploring these new ventures requires educators to change their understanding of schooling so that it encompasses school, culture, and whānau as a coherent unit. Understanding of cultural differences and how they impact on learning requires mutual respect between majority and minority cultures in all their aspects – customs, language, values and belief systems, and the achievement of equitable power relationships (Bishop, 1996). In schools where cultural negotiation is profound and meaningful, there is hope of adopting pedagogical approaches that will assist Māori students who have learning and behavioural difficulties.

According to Bishop and Glynn (1999), power sharing is a necessary condition for relationship-based pedagogies. Interactions involve sequential revisiting of experiences and their cultural meaning in ways that encourage teachers and students to become committed both to one another and to the learning process. In a paper presented at the 2001 national conference of the New Zealand Association of Research in Education (NZARE), I described three different educational programmes.<sup>1</sup> Each of the three programmes is located in the rohe (district) of Te Arawa, mai i Maketu ki Tongariro (geographically between Maketu and Tongariro), in the central North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. One of the programmes, located in a traditional Maori context (te ao tawhito), is the Mokoia wānanga, a school

which has a focus on traditional Māori arts and humanities. Another programme is in Rotorua's urban area. It is a special school for at-risk adolescents and is sited in proximity to Rotorua Boys' High School and the city centre. The third programme is located within a mainstream state primary school at Ngongotaha, and attends to improving literacy and numeracy skills for Maori students.

Although each of these programmes operates in a different context, what they have in common is that their pedagogic approaches are culturally-rooted and take full account of the issue of power relations. At the centre of each is a power-sharing agenda that has the potential to emancipate Māori students, particularly those who have special needs. Here, the characteristics of these programmes are outlined in a way that highlights their commitment to relationship-based pedagogies underlying which is what I refer to here as 'the psychology of mana'.

### **Relationship-based pedagogies and the role of narrative**

Alive in every culture is a rich and vibrant tradition of storytelling. Shared within families and communities, stories often serve to anchor and enrich human pathways. For example, historians of the Te Arawa tribe tell of the time when Ngati Ohomairangi (the parent tribe in the distant homeland of Hawaiki) decided that the time had arrived to migrate to new homes and islands that were less crowded. At that time, Ngatoroirangi was the high priest of the principal tribe, of which Ngati Ohomairangi was a division. Houmaitawhiti was the paramount chief of Ngati Ohomairangi and the tribal priests were two brothers, Tia and Hei. When it came time for Ngati Ohomairangi to move on, the canoe builders were assembled, the commander of the Te Arawa canoe being Tamatekapua. According to Stafford (1967) and Grace (1995), Tamatekapua was a chief who was endowed with great courage and prowess, one who possessed a gift for leadership which raised him to pre-eminence in the tribe. Tradition indicates that he was, at times, mischievous. Nonetheless, his boldness and strong personality won him the loyalty, affection and admiration of his people. Tamatekapua is the ancestor of the Te Arawa tribe. His memory is preserved for all to see in the beautifully carved and ornamented meeting house of the same name at Ohinemutu, Rotorua. In hearing stories of this kind, young Māori learn that they, too, have a place in history and tradition, a place that provides security and continuity.

The unfolding of history is fraught with intrigue and wonder. Not all such stories settle peacefully in our ears, our hearts, and our minds. Nevertheless, whether we weep, or laugh, or become quietly meditative, these stories are part of our past and give us a sense of continuity and location. Thus, according to Robinson and Ginter (1999), all such stories can serve as gifts for the present if we are open to these gifts.

Bishop and Glynn (1999) propose narrative pedagogies as a means of providing and creating power-sharing relationships in classrooms. They maintain that the aim of narratives as pedagogy is to create in the minds of those who are participants in the pedagogic process "an image of relationships that are committed, connected and participatory . . . and where possible an holistic approach to curriculum is fundamental to the practices developed" (p. 176).

The programmes observed at Mokoia, Awhina and Ngongotaha subscribe to the creation of power-sharing relationships and a holistic approach to curriculum

development is adopted. Ironically, however, many of the students referred to the sites have themselves been storied in unfortunate ways, ways which locate them in terms of deficit. As Bishop, Berryman, Glynn, McKinley, Devine and Richardson observe, teachers who lack the means to critically revisit their own practice are at risk of believing in the stories that have been created about these students, stories that centre on deficit and inadequacy.<sup>2</sup>

At Mokoia, Awhina and Ngongotaha, the approaches can be described as 'ecological' in that they each locate student achievement within the quality of the interactions they experience within their living environments. At the heart of assessment and intervention is a focus on improving the quality of the teaching and learning contexts available for students with special needs. Fundamental to this is the process of restorying the individual as an antidote to stigmatisation. The restoried individual can then move forward in positive new directions. Central to this process of restorying in all three of the educational sites to which reference has been made are three significant knowledge sources: experience, sound pedagogy, and reason.

### **Experience, reason and sound pedagogy as sources of knowledge in the restorying process**

Since experience and reason are primary sources of knowledge, Johnson and Christensen (2000) emphasise their importance in providing students with opportunities to progress. For Tate (1990), the pathway to reason is through experience of tika (fairness), pono (integrity), and aroha (inclusiveness). These are important for all students. For students with behavioural problems who may have been deprived of aroha, the pathways to reason outlined by Tate are likely to be of particular significance.

Students who have had negative experiences are unlikely to revise their views of themselves and of their potential simply because they are invited to do so by their teachers. If, however, their experiences of themselves, of others and of the learning environment are positive, then it becomes possible for them to believe that it is reasonable to revise these views. Hence, experience and reason, accompanied by sound pedagogy which is relationship-based, are critical to the process of restorying. *Table 1* indicates how the trilogy of experience, reason and sound relationship-based pedagogy are realised in the case of the three educational sites to which reference has been made. It suggests that there are four key elements to sound pedagogy:

- engaging students in studying their own community;
- promoting an approach which is participatory and engaging;
- becoming involved phenomenologically through style, spirit, and content; and
- drawing from theory, ancient or contemporary, or both, to enrich practice.

**Table1:** The role of experience, reason and sound relationship-based pedagogy at three educational sites

Sources of knowledge	Mokoia Wananga	Awhina High School	Ngongotaha Primary School
<p><b>Experience</b> How we interact with people and generate our personal knowledge; How we are influenced by institutions around us (Johnson and Christensen, 2000).</p>	<p>Skilled leadership Home, school community links Assuming a multiplicity of roles Mana, withitness and demeanour</p>		
<p><b>Sound Pedagogy</b> Curriculum as the constructed and lived experiences of students and teachers (Beane, 1995); Curriculum as working to establish relationships in a whanau manner. (Smith, 1995; Macfarlane, 1995; Bishop and Glynn, 1999).</p>	<p>Engaging students in studying their own community Participatory and engaging Being involved phenomenologically, i.e. methodically, spiritually, cognitively Engaging the notion of praxis</p>		
<p><b>Reason</b> Involves thinking about something and developing an understanding of it (Johnson and Christensen, 2000). Operates through <i>tika</i> (fairness), <i>pono</i> (integrity) and <i>aroha</i> (acceptance) (Tate, 1990); Some truths are knowable independent of observation (Johnson and Christensen 2000).</p>	<p>Ko au ko koe Ko koe ko au, Ko tāua</p>	<p>Mana tū, mana ora, Mana noho, mana mate</p>	<p>He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tamaiti, he tamaiti, he tamaiti</p>

Table 2 outlines four compelling facets which help explain how experiences at Mokoia, Awhina and Ngongotaha can become quintessential sources of knowledge. Following Table 2, two elements of the trilogy of knowledge sources are discussed in more detail. These are experience and sound pedagogy.

**Table 2:** Experience as a source of knowledge: compelling aspects of the programmes at Mokoia, Awhina and Ngongotaha

Compelling facets	Mokoia Wananga	Awhina School	High	Ngati-Whakaue Enrichment Class
<b>Skilled readership</b>	Respect for Maori knowledge, language and customs; } → Appeals to the best in each person; Manifests qualities of tika, pono, aroha and ihi.			
<b>Home, school and community links</b>	Reaches out to community; } → Encourages community to reach in; Views the notion of whanau as paramount.			
<b>Roles assumed by teachers</b>	Models the desired behaviour; } → Propounds Maori epistemology (Maori knowledge having great integrity); Skilled in Maori communication; has cultural competence.			
<b>Style adopted by teachers</b>	Participatory and engaging; } → Holistic and flexible; Assertive and warm.			

### Experience

Central to experience is how we interact with people to generate our personal knowledge and how we are influenced by institutions around us (Johnson & Christensen, 2000). According to Tietjen (in Lonner and Malpass, 1994) a comprehensive approach to studying children's relationships needs to take account of social networks and social supports. A social network consists of the ties and linkages that connect individuals, and sometimes groups or institutions. Social support may be defined as those resources that are provided by other people and that arise in the context of interpersonal relationships. Supportive resources can include information, material assistance, affection, assistance in problem solving, and comforting (Belle, 1989 cited in Lonner and Malpass, 1994). Belle (1989) and Rogoff and Morelli (1997) have found that children's social networks vary in relation to the age, gender and social class of the child as well as in terms of the number of parents in the child's home. They have also found that children who have supportive networks are more competent and cope better with stress. The patterns of relationship that children have with others differ among cultures according to values, beliefs and social organization, that is, according to a range of factors that are fundamental to the development of cultural identity (Tietjen, 1994; Smith, 1995). According to Durie (1998), access to key cultural institutions and resources (such as land, whanau, language, and marae) is also of significance in the development of cultural identity (from a culturally generic perspective). Thus, from an educational perspective, all of these things are relevant and significant experiences. As well as encouraging and supporting home, school and community links, educational programmes need to incorporate skilled leadership and teachers need to have mana (authority, charisma, demeanour) and be sufficiently flexible to assume a multiplicity of roles.

### Sound pedagogy

As a term in educational discourse, 'curriculum' is used in a wide variety of ways. Broadly, it refers to what schools teach; more specifically, it can be used to refer to

particular planned activities. Thus, Eisner (1994, p. 31) defines curriculum as “a series of planned events that are intended to have educational consequences for one or more events” and conceives of educational activities as involving much more than is intended and as influencing people in a wide variety of ways. This way of viewing the curriculum can be related to the Maori concept of mana in that mana can move people in ways that make change inevitable (Tate 1990). Redirected positive change is a highly sought outcome for students experiencing behaviour difficulties, and an essential element in restorative practices in schools.<sup>3</sup>

Curriculum and sound pedagogy are closely related. The latter involves making the teaching and learning processes both scientific and artistic. Beane (1995), in proposing an alternative to traditional frameworks in which culture provides curriculum coherence, observes that children need to see both themselves and others in the curriculum, something that can be achieved as the student moves outward from the self and the immediate community, through a study of people and events in their province and their country, towards the world at large. Bishop and Glynn (1999) take this a step further by emphasising the fact that the establishment of relationships should be done in a whanau manner. Such an approach implies that when whanau-type relationships are established, commitment and connectedness become paramount and, in this way, responsibility for the learning of others is fostered.

### **Conclusion**

Careful observation of the three educational sites to which reference has been made reveals a high degree of correspondence in terms of educational theory and practice, something that is very unlikely to be simply coincidental. Since all three of these sites appear to have been successful in providing students with a positive sense of self worth, a positive sense of cultural relatedness and a positive view of their own potential, they can be seen as providing models of good practice that are worthy of imitation. In all three cases, culture is central; in all three cases, there is a movement outwards from child and whanau; in all three cases, curriculum and pedagogy are informed by authentic cultural perspectives, that replaces cultural mismatch by cultural cohesion. As Byrd (cited in Ford, Obiakor and Patton 1995: 140) notes, “[the] challenge is to orchestrate a student curriculum in which there is consonance, not dissonance”. Thus, “after determining the appropriate cognitive and cultural maps and matches, the teacher may implement a curriculum model that gives consideration to these factors”.

Clear differences were observed in the contexts of the programmes at Mokoia, Awhina and Ngongotaha, differences relating to natural and physical settings, age, level, teaching style, specific educational goals. Nevertheless, each of them was observed to be succeeding where others had sometimes failed. What each of them had in common was a view of the curriculum that is contextually specific, time-situated, and culturally bound (Beane, 1995). What they also had in common was a belief that the curriculum should affirm the validity and legitimacy of Maori knowledge and culture by acknowledging the importance of the notion of whanau (Graham Smith, 1995). Each of these programmes recognised that their pedagogies needed to be informed by Maori metaphors, concepts, and principles (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). The effect of this was observed to be the type of restorying that is often so fundamental to the success of students, particularly students with special needs.

Overall, the educational experiences observed at the three Te Arawa sites provide some responses to issues relating to Maori students who are experiencing difficulties at school. These sites, like many other successful educational contexts in New Zealand and around the world, provide a platform for educators to begin to see how it is possible to “listen to culture”. It is hoped that those involved in the professional practice of teaching will seek to refine their approaches by learning more about diverse groups through professional development, research dissemination, and fully inclusive practices (Cross, Bazron, Dennis and Isaacs, 1989). This may require boldness and a strong will. But remember, the renowned ancestor Tamatekapua had strength of character, strength of personality and a tendency to take risks . . . which won him the affection and admiration of his people.

#### Endnotes

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2. Discussed in the following unpublished paper: Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Glynn, T., McKinley, E., Devine, N. and Richardson, C. (2001). The experiences of Maori children in the year 9 and year 10 classroom: Part 1 The scoping exercise. Paper presented to the Research Division of the *Ministry of Education*.
3. Discussed in an unpublished paper: Hooper, S., Winslade, J., Drewery, W., Monk, G. and Macfarlane, A. (1999). School and family group conferences: Te Hui Whakatika (a time for making amends). Paper presented at the Keeping Young People in School Summit Conference on Truancy, Suspensions and Effective Alternatives, Auckland.

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**The Digital Divide in New Zealand:  
The position of Maori and Pacific peoples**

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**Abstract**

Information and communication technology plays an ever-growing role in economic, political and social life and those who are unable to access such technologies are increasingly disadvantaged. Hence, what has come to be known as the ‘digital divide’ is of considerable significance. Here, indicators of that divide as it affects Maori and Pacific Islands peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand are presented and discussed.

**Introduction**

The concept of a ‘digital divide’ was first referred to, in a socio-economic context, to highlight the situation of groups which are unable to participate fully in society either because they lack access to information and communication technologies (ICT) or because they lack training in the use of these technologies. These technologies offer the promise of removing the barriers of distance that confront scattered populations and those who wish to communicate with them. They could, therefore, be of particular relevance to, for example, those Maori who live in rural areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The paradox is, however, that those very technologies which promise to reduce the effects of distance and inequality of opportunity also threaten to exacerbate them: those who could benefit most are often also those who are least likely to have access to information and communication technologies. As the Hon. Steve Maharey and the Hon. Paul Swain noted in press release on December 5<sup>th</sup> 2000 “in an information society, there is the potential for an inequitable distribution of ICT which exacerbates existing social and economic disparities” (Maharey and Swain, 2000).

Members of groups who may have been marginalized, in part because they have been unable to obtain the resources and skills demanded in a digital economy, may find their position even further eroded because they are unable to communicate using the increasingly dominant language of computers. In discussions of this issue, the emphasis has often been on a particular technology, the Internet. This is because access to a computer that is linked to various institutions and sources of information can confer powerful political and economic advantages in a modern society.

Attending to such evidence as there is in relation to the digital divide is critical if we are to monitor, and seek to improve, a situation which appears to be both persistent and ubiquitous. In the United States, for example, the digital divide between African Americans and whites is actually widening in relation to rates of Internet access and home computer ownership (Hoffman and Novak, 2000). Furthermore, the digital divide can occur in workplaces as well as in homes, something that is due, in part, to differences in occupational profiles. Thus, it has been noted that African Americans are significantly less likely than whites to have computer access at work, something

that increases any disadvantage they have from the lower rate of ownership of home computers (Hoffman and Novak, 1998).

Mainly on the basis of overseas research (see Maharey and Swain, 2000), several groups in Aotearoa/ New Zealand have been identified as the most likely to be disadvantaged in terms of access to information technologies. These include Maori and Pacific peoples, those with few formal qualifications, the unemployed, and those in rural locations. My aim here is to focus on evidence from Aotearoa/New Zealand itself concerning the digital divide as it affects, in particular, Maori and Pacific Islands people.

I report here on evidence relating to four indicators of the digital divide:

- access to the Internet in homes;
- use of the Internet from homes or other locations;
- training in computer-related subjects provided by employers; and
- training in computer-related subjects obtained outside of workplaces.

These indicators are significant in their own right, pointing as they do to the ability to participate in an increasingly digital society. In addition, they have instrumental relevance in that, for example, they may be valuable in improving employability and job security (Gibson and Watene, 2001).

### **The data**

The data used here come from three sources:

- The 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings ([http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod\\_serv.nsf/2001+Census+of+Population+Dwellings](http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nsf/2001+Census+of+Population+Dwellings));
- The NetWatch Survey, which is regularly carried out by the market research company, AC Nielsen (<http://www.acnielsen.com/products/reports/netwatch/>); and
- The Education and Training Survey, which was a one-off survey, conducted by Statistics New Zealand as a supplement to the September 1996 Household Labour Force Survey ([http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod\\_serv.nsf/htmldocs/Education+and+Training+Survey+-+Information+Releases](http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nsf/htmldocs/Education+and+Training+Survey+-+Information+Releases)).

The 2001 Census required the heads of households to report whether their dwelling had a working telephone (including cell phones if they were in the dwelling most of the time), a fax machine, and/or Internet access. The question relating to telephone access had been used previously. However, the questions relating to fax machines and the Internet were new, reflecting both increased use and increased policy interest in these information and communication technologies.

The AC Nielsen NetWatch survey provides detailed information on Internet usage, both in terms of users and in terms of Internet sites that are visited. The information is gathered from a total of 3,000 people aged 10 years and over, who are surveyed each quarter throughout New Zealand. The results reported here come from the four quarters in the twelve months from July 2000 to June 2001. Of this combined sample

of 12,000, the number who self-identified as Maori was 1,300 and the number who self-identified as Pacific Islanders was 540. The results are weighted to population totals.

The Education and Training Survey was the first of its kind in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is the only major survey of job-related training in the country. The survey asked respondents aged 15-64 about their participation in training that was either provided by an employer or obtained externally. A total of 13,988 people who had worked for wages or salaries in the 12 months prior to the survey answered the questions on employer-provided training. A total of 22,257 people answered the questions on external training. For each in-house and external training course (up to a maximum of four) the survey asked respondents about the main subject of the course: 'Computing' was included as a choice along with eight other broad subject areas.

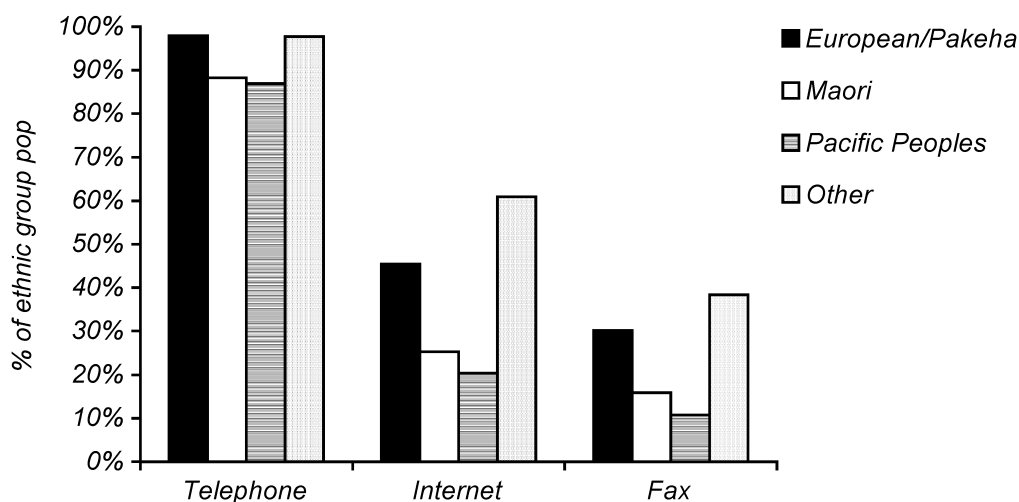
### Findings

Findings relating to Internet access, Internet usage, employer-related training and external training are outlined below.

#### Internet Access

Information concerning access to the Internet and other communications technology is expressed in terms of population proportions, rather than in terms of dwellings. This is because households lacking access to these technologies may also have larger average family sizes. Presenting the results in relation to dwellings could, therefore, lead to an under-estimation of the size of the population without access. Where respondents affiliated themselves to more than one ethnic group, they are counted here in each of the applicable groups. This is a departure from the custom of assigning people with multiple affiliations to a single ethnic group on the basis of hierarchy, a custom that has been criticized by Gould (2001).

**Figure 1:** Access to the Internet and Other Communications Technology



Whereas 46 percent of European/Pakeha respondents live in dwellings with Internet access, only 25 percent of Maori respondents and 20 percent of Pacific Islands respondents are in net-accessible dwellings (see *Figure 1*). Furthermore, 61 percent

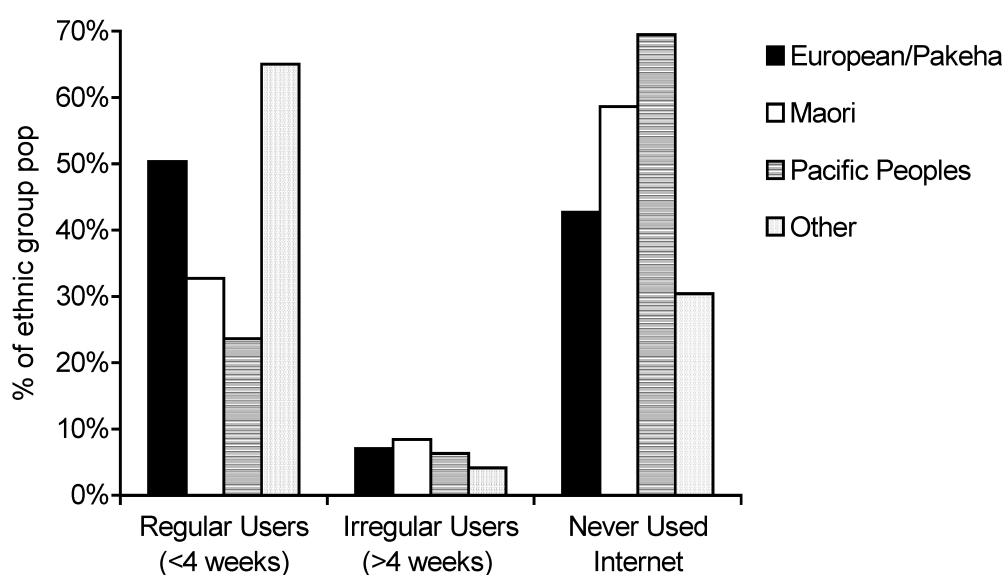
of households in the ‘other’ ethnic group category live in dwellings where the Internet is available.

These gaps in internet access parallel those for the two other forms of communication technology covered by the Census. The proportion of Maori and Pacific Islands respondents living in dwellings with a telephone is 10 percentage points lower than for the rest of the population. The gap in access to fax machines is even greater: 30 percent of Pakeha and 38 percent of people of ‘other’ ethnicity have a fax machine in their home compared with only 16 percent of Maori and 11 percent of Pacific Islands people.

### **Internet Usage**

The NetWatch survey asked whether people had ever used the Internet and whether they had used it in the last four weeks. It did not discriminate in terms of location of use, that is, in terms of whether the Internet had been accessed from workplace, school, home or other location. In *Figure 2* below, those who replied that they had used the Internet in the past four weeks are treated as ‘regular users’. According to the survey results, just under half (47.7%) of New Zealanders aged 10 years and over can be considered as regular Internet users.

**Figure 2:** Evidence regarding Regular and Irregular Internet Use



Whereas 50 percent of European/Pakeha respondents were regular internet users, only 33 percent of Maori respondents and 24 percent of Pacific Islands respondents were. In contrast, ‘other’ ethnic groups recorded a 65 percent usage rate. A small part of the gap in regular usage by Maori might be offset by their higher likelihood of being irregular users, at 8.4 percent compared to 6.6 percent for the rest of the respondents.

### **Employer-provided training**

Workers who identified as Maori and Pacific Islanders were significantly less likely to have received employer-provided training in computing than were workers who identified as Pakeha or ‘other’ ethnicity. In each case, the gap in training rates (1.5 percentage points in the case of the Maori sample; 2 percentage points in the case of the Pacific Islands sample) is statistically significant.

**Table 1:** Training Rates in Computing amongst all Wage and Salary Earners

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<i>% of wage and salary earners who received employer-provided training in computing in the previous year</i>
European/Pakeha	4.3%
Maori	2.6%
Pacific Peoples	2.1%
Other	4.7%
All Ethnic Groups	4.1%

The lower training rates in computing for Maori and Pacific Islands workers may be because either:

- their employer-provided training rate is lower overall;
- or*
- employer-provided training focuses less on computer-related areas than is the case for other groups.

To distinguish between these two possible causes, a further analysis was conducted relating only to the 3194 workers who had received some form of employer-provided training in the 12 months prior to the survey. Of these, 17.5 percent indicated that at least one of their training episodes had computing as its main subject. In the case of Maori, the figure was 15.1 percent. For Pacific Islanders, it was 15.8 percent. In neither case is the difference statistically significant. What this indicates is that it is the lower rate of employer-provided training overall in the case of Maori and Pacific Islands employees that accounts for the fact that they are significantly less likely to receive workplace training in computing. While this survey did not ask about use of computers in the workplace, it is fair to assume that workers who are sent on computer training programs are more likely to be using computers that are those who are not given this training.

### **External Training**

Whereas employer-provided training reflects, at least in part, the views of employers in relation to the profitability of training a particular worker, external training, although inevitably constrained by time and cost, reflects the choices of individual respondents. A comparison of the responses in each of these two categories (employer-provided training and external training) reveals a similar pattern.

**Table 2:** Training rates in computing amongst all respondents

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<i>% of respondents who participated in external training in computing in the previous year</i>
European/Pakeha	2.9%
Maori	1.3%
Pacific Peoples	1.1%
Other	1.1%
All Ethnic Groups	2.6%

However, when the subject matter choices of the 2500 respondents who undertook external training are examined, an interesting difference between Maori and Pacific Islands peoples emerges. Of those Pacific Islands respondents who undertook external training, 25 percent had training in computing subjects (which is higher than the average (21 percent) across all ethnic groups). In contrast, only 14 percent of Maori who participated in external training chose computing-related subjects.

Thus, Maori respondents had a lower likelihood of learning about computing, both because they had a low participation rate in external training and because proportionately fewer of those who did participate in external training chose to study computing. For Pacific Islands respondents, it is the low overall external training rate in itself (rather than the choice of subject for external training) which is significant.

### **Summary and Future Directions**

Focusing on Maori and Pacific Islanders, I have summarized here statistical data from Aotearoa/New Zealand which relates to the digital divide. What this summary indicates is that both groups have significantly lower levels of access to, and use of, information and communication technologies than do others in the country. Furthermore, training in the skills related to these technologies is also unequally distributed. These technologies play an increasingly powerful role in economic, political and social life. Consequently, where disadvantaged groups have a lower level of access to them, they are at risk of becoming further disadvantaged.

Although I have focused here solely on the digital divide as it currently affects ethnic groups in New Zealand, there are a broader set of issues that could be investigated in the future. First, there is the issue of content. It is not clear whether, or to what extent, the digital divide is due to language barriers or content barriers. Thus, for example, Taglang (2001) reports that 87 percent of documents on websites are predominantly in English. Thus, those people who do not speak English and those for whom English is not a preferred language may find the Internet less useful than do others. A second issue is the extent to which the types of pattern reported here are manifestations of other factors, such as average incomes and educational attainment, which also vary across ethnic groups. For example, in a survey of 1520 rural residents, Botha (2001) found that finance was a barrier to accessing information and communication technologies for 84 percent of Maori respondents, compared with only 65 percent of all respondents. More detailed multivariate statistical modelling would be needed to separate these factors out from the basic patterns across ethnic groups described here.

### **Acknowledgement**

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**Ngā tai e rere nei i waho o Mauao**  
**(The flowing tides beyond Mauao)**  
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**Aria**

I te ao o ngā tūpuna he maha ngā kaupapa o taua wā i mau ki rō waiata, e whakaata mai ana i ngā kōrero-ā-iwi, ngā taukumekume i waenganui Māori, Pākehā, i waenganui hoki i ngā Māori anō. Nā wai hoki ka puta mai ngā herenga ki waenganui i tēnā iwi, i tēnā hapū, ka whakahoahoa tēnā iwi ki tēnā, te mutunga mai ka whānau ake ngā rōpū hou hei wānanga i ngā kaupapa i manawapātia. I pērā anō hoki ngā iwi o Tauranga Moana, ka huri atu ki tēnei iwi, ki tēnā hei huarahi tautoko āwhina mai i aua kaupapa nei. Ko ngā pupurihanga o ēnei taonga tuku iho e whakaahua mai ana i ngā kaupapa i waenganui i te ao Māori i aua wā, mō te iwi, mō te tangata kotahi rānei. Mā ēnei hoki kitea atu ai tā rātou titiro ki te ao i aua wā.

He whiringa kōrero tēnei pepa mō tētehi waiata a Ngāi-TeRangi<sup>1</sup> e whakamōhio ake ana i tētehi taukumekume i waenganui i a rāua ko Ngāti Kahungunu. Ka kitea i roto i ngā kōrero ka puta ngā huarahi whakapā atu ai ki tēnā iwi, hapū i waenganui, i waho atu rānei o Ngāi-TeRangi hei āwhina mai i te pupuri mana. Arā anō hoki te whakanui i ēnei momo waiata, ōna mana me te mātauranga Māori e pupū ake ana i konei.

**Abstract**

*The waiata of our tūpuna Māori (Māori ancestors) capture in verse many issues and topics that were of significance at the time they were composed. They provide us with snapshots of iwi histories, including accounts of battles between Māori and Pākehā and between Māori and Māori. They tell us of alliances formed and reformed between tribes and hapū and of the reasons for these alliances. We see how the alignment and realignment of kin loyalties related to the issues of the day. Tauranga Moana iwi were not immune to such activities: tribal loyalties were chameleon-like, many alliances being pursued in relation to common interests. The 'oral mapping' of these local narratives that we find in waiata provides an illustration of topics relevant to individuals and to iwi: personal and collective statements about the 'order' of their day. They provide us with an insight into the our ancestors' 'ways of seeing the world'. Above all, they are fundamental to the illustration and preservation of Māori knowledge.*

*This paper presents an analysis of a Ngāi-TeRangi waiata tangi (lament) which relates to activities linking the iwi in a political stance against Ngāti Kahungunu. What is demonstrated is the intricate network of iwi and hapū involvement, within and without Ngāi-TeRangi, in the quest for honour. What is also demonstrated is the importance of waiata as significant literary achievements, as oral treasures.*

### **He whakamārama i tēnei wānanga kupu**

Ko ngā whakamārama mō ngā waiata kei te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā. He huarahi ēnei kia kitea ai ngā momo tohu i tikina atu hei whakatakoto whakaaro mō te kaupapa o tēnei waiata. Ka kitea hoki ngā kōrero, āhuatanga me te mana o te rangatira nei o Te Umukohukohu i te waiata nei. Ko ngā mahi whakatakoto kōrero a Ngata (1980) mō ngā waiata a ētehi, a Tauranga Moana hoki he taonga hei whāriki i te taha tuhi, me te taha-ā-tikanga kia taea ai ngā hīkoinga i tua atu.

Mā ngā kōrero hōhonu ake, whakamārama me ngā tohu kua takoto i tēnei taonga a Tauranga Moana hikina ake ai ngā mahi mīharo i puta i a Ngata mō te mōteatea o te ao Māori. Kei ngā kōrero anō a tēnei tupuna rangatira o Ngāti Porou (1980, p. 311) “Kei te pānuitia te mōteatea nei kia kimihia ai ōna kōrero, ōna whakamārama, me ngā kupu tika”. Ko ngā kupu kei konei, ngā tuku whakamārama, me ngā wetewetenga tētehi huarahi whakautu i te karanga a te koroua nei, ahakoa nō mua noa atu tāna tonu.

### ***The analysis: an explanation***

*Explanatory material relating to the waiata is provided here in Māori and English. This material contextualizes the chant, providing information about the background and status of the main player, Te Umukohukohu, and discussing the symbolic nature of the imagery. Ngata’s work in relation to the annotation of chants (Ngata 1980), including those belonging to Tauranga Moana iwi, has been of great cultural and literary significance, providing the underpinning of subsequent explanation and analysis.*

*The prestigious Ngāti Porou leader (p. 311) said: “The song is being published for the purpose of seeking the full story on it, explanations and the correct text”. This study represents a response to the challenge implicit in that statement that speaks to us from the past. It seeks to add to Ngata’s groundbreaking work on the ancient chants of the Māori by examining one waiata, a waiata that relates to one piece of Ngāi-TeRangi history. It provides explanation and analysis in terms of historical background and symbolic imagery.*

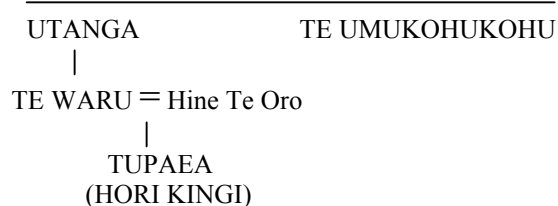
### **Whakapapa**

Ko ēnei whakamārama mō Te Umukohukohu e whai ake nei e whāriki ana i tōna whakapapa, ōna hononga hoki ki tērā rangatira o Ngāi-TeRangi ki a Hori Tupaea.

### ***Genealogy***

*The following whakapapa of Te Umukohukohu establishes his genealogical background, and whakapapa links to the leader Hori Tupaea of Ngāi-TeRangi.*

### **Tō Te Umukohukohu Whakapapa Te Umukohukohu’s Genealogy**



### **Ngā Hononga o Te Umukohukohu**

Ko te iwi o Ngāi-TeRangi, tō Te Umukohukohu hapū o Ngāi Tauwhao, nō te waka o Mataatua. Kei tēnei hapū a Ngāi Tauwhao, te mana whenua o ngā moutere o Tuhua rāua ko Mōtiti.<sup>2</sup> Anei ngā whakaaro o Te Patu (Stokes, 1980, p.3), “I noho a Ngāi-TeRangi ki tuawhenua, ko Tauwhao i ngā moutere e rua arā a Mōtiti me Tuhua”.

He ingoa anō hoki tō Ngāi Tauwhao, ko Whitikiore, i a rātou te mana whakahaere o Tuhua, o Mōtiti. Ko te tokomaha o te tangata i reira i te tau 1835 tata ana ki te kotahi rau whitu tekau tangata (pp. 30-31).

Ki a Ngata (1980, p. 310) ko Te Waru rāua ko Hine Te Oro ngā mātua o Hori Kingi Tupaea o Ngāi-TeRangi. Ka noho a Te Umukohukohu hei teina ki a Utanga, matua o Te Waru nō reira he whanaunga rāua ko te rangatira rongonui o Ngāi-TeRangi a Tupaea.

I kitea e te iwi i te matenga o Te Umukohukohu, ka heke haere ngā kāwai rangatira mō ngā wā kei mua mō te iwi. He rangatira ia nō Ngāi Tauwhao, nā ka mate atu, titoa ana tēnei mōteatea mōna.

He whakamārama anō hoki kei ngā wetenga kupu nei ki te hītori kei muri i tēnei uri o Ngāi-TeRangi whānui. Ko te rārangi Māori o te waiata nei nā Ngata (p. 266), ahakoa ko te rārangi whakamārama Pākehā nā te kaituhi o tēnei pepa i tuku. Kei raro iho ēnei whakamārama.

### ***Iwi links of Te Umukohukohu***

*Ngāi-TeRangi iwi, who have genealogical links to Te Umukohukohu’s Ngāi Tauwhao hapū, belong to the waka of Mataatua. The Ngāi Tauwhao have guardianship over the island homes of Tuhua and Mōtiti.<sup>3</sup> As related by Te Patu (Stokes, 1980, p. 3): “The Ngāi-TeRangi live on land and the Tauwhao live on two islands, Motiti and Tuhua”. Additionally, “Ngāi Tauwhao who were also called Whitikiore, held Tuhua [also called Mayor Island and Mōtiti], and the population in 1835 numbered approximately one hundred and seventy people (pp. 30-31).*

*According to Ngata (1980, p. 310), Te Waru and Hine Te Oro were the parents of Hori Kingi Tupaea of Ngāi-TeRangi. Te Umukohukohu was a younger brother of Utanga, father of Te Waru, therefore linking him to the great Ngāi-TeRangi rangatira Tupaea.*

*No doubt the death of Te Umukohukohu, like those of others who belonged to rangatira families within any hapū, would be seen as weakening the future leadership of the group. He was from the aristocracy of Ngāi Tauwhao hapū. The composer, who may have been related to him, would have seen Te Umukohukohu in this light, reflecting these circumstances in the composition.*

*Further information and historical background is given in the annotation of the waiata. The Māori version of the waiata provided here is included in Ngata’s collection (p. 266). I have, however, provided my own English translation.*

## A lament for Te Umukohukohu, Ngāi Tauwhao, of Ngāi-TeRangi iwi, Tauranga Moana

1	He waka ia ra kī wai tē hoki mai?	<i>Will the canoe which has traversed the water ever return?</i>
2	Ka waiho au i konei whakapou whare ai	<i>I am left as a house support-base.</i>
3	Kātahi nei ka kitea ki ta te iwi-rau,	<i>The woven iwi-rau cloak has been seen,</i>
4	E waiho mā te kamo e kimi atu ki tawhiti	<i>It will be searched for in the distance.</i>
5	Kite mea rā e ata tāraia mai kai a ronaki,	<i>It was well fashioned.</i>
6	Ka pai ano pea e Tiro ma, e tai mā?	<i>O Tiro and others, a solution will eventuate?</i>
7	He aha te moe ki te pō, ki te hei piripiri?	<i>What reason is there to sleep the night, wearing such regalia?</i>
8	Ko te wā tonu ki te hē i ahau	<i>Time only will judge my actions</i>
9	Ka pau hoki te hoatu ki te Kahu-kura,	<i>Of him, eventually given to Kahukura,</i>
10	Nāna ka tiheia mai e Ira-warū,	<i>And to be released by Irawaru.</i>
11	Ko Mata-ihī ra te mea e houa,	<i>Mata-ihī is burdened,</i>
12	E tangi whakatautau ana ki tana tamaiti:	<i>Weeping with pity for her child.</i>
13	Kai rawa i tōku ate, tākiri rawa atu ki tawhiti,	<i>I am consumed within: its effects can be felt in the distance</i>
14	Ka pā hoki ra, e tama, e tama i te kī,	<i>The comments made young man affect me</i>
15	Kīhai i kitea atu e te kanohi tangata	<i>You were not seen by the eyes of men</i>
16	Te whakarereanga atu i te wai i kau mai ai,	<i>Abandoning the waters you once crossed</i>
17	Ka whakaruru kohine, ka whakamānawa atu	<i>Where maidens were sheltered, pondering their fate</i>
18	Ki te whare o Tanga-roa, ki te Ika-pai-hau-rua,	<i>Within the house of Tanga-roa and Te Ika-pai-hau-rua.</i>
19	Me he tamaiti, tangata e mahara i te ngākau,	<i>If you, as a man searched within your heart</i>
20	Ka titiro atu tō kanohi, e tū ana, mai	<i>You may have seen before you</i>
21	Te riu o tōna waka okaoka, o Mata-riki.	<i>The bilge of his fragmented canoe, Mata-riki,</i>
22	He rau heke-tara, e, te kupu rere mai i tawhiti,	<i>With a protective heketara leaf signalling a message received from afar</i>
23	He werowero tawa, he makirirangi.	<i>Tawa battle spears abounded, on that day of deceit</i>
24	I konā ra, e kō, ka whakamau atu ki te huanui, o te ara	<i>And now, you traverse the great pathway,</i>
25	Kia whakaputa noa ko Papa a Mata-piko i te honu i waho nei	<i>Where Papa a Mata-piko can be seen out yonder</i>
26	Te raru, te huhe noa ki tana pāpā, ki tana tamaiti	<i>It has troubled, and exhausted his father, that his son,</i>
27	Ka riro nei i te tira huirangi, i te tira tū-kāwehi,	<i>Was taken by the journeying group, the feared group</i>
28	I a To-pehu, i a ai te ringa karapiti tōna marea,	<i>Because of To-pehu - he with his influence over the multitude</i>
29	I ōna tuākana, e.	<i>And all his seniors.</i>

### Te hītori kei muri i te mōteatea nei

He waiata tēnei mō Te Umukohukohu, tētehi rangatira o Ngāi Tauwhao, Ngāi-TeRangi. Ki tā Ngata kōrero (p. 305) he teina a Te Umukohukohu ki a Te Utanga, te matua o Te Waru. Ko Te Waru rāua ko Hine Te Oro ngā mātua o Hori Kingi Tupaea, nō reira ka noho a Te Umukohukohu hei whanaunga ki tēnei rangatira o Ngāi-TeRangi.

I mate mai a Te Umukohukohu i tētehi pakanga ki a Ngāti Kahungunu i Te Pakake, Ahuriri i te tau 1824. Ki a Ngata (1980) he pā a Te Pakake nō Ngāti Kahungunu i te

wahapū o te hāpua o Ahuriri.

E rua tonu ngā pakanga ki tēnei pā o Kahungunu, te tuatahi i te matenga atu o Te Umukohukohu i te tau 1824, te tuarua i te haerenga anō o Ngāi-TeRangi i te tau 1825 (pp. 305-311) ki te ngaki mate o te iwi. Nā Te Waru rāua ko Hikutaia tēnei tauā i ārahi atu ki Ahuriri, ka hinga atu hoki ēnei rangatira o Ngāi-TeRangi i te pakanga tuarua nei. Nā Ngata anō te kōrero (p. 219) ka rere atu a Ngāi-TeRangi, a Ngāti Awa, a Tūhoe, ki Whangara ki te ngaki i te mate o Te Waru rāua ko Hikutaia i Te Pakake.

***A historical explanation of the chant***

*This waiata was composed for Te Umukohukohu, a rangatira of Ngāi Tauwhao, Ngāi-TeRangi. According to Ngata (p. 305), Te Umukohukohu was a younger brother of Utanga, father of Te Waru. Te Waru and Hine Te Oro were the parents of Hori Kingi Tupaea, therefore linking Te Umukohukohu through genealogical ties with the Ngāi-TeRangi leader.*

*Te Umukohukohu died at a battle against the tribe of Kahungunu at Te Pakake, Ahuriri (now Napier) in 1824. Te Pakake was a Ngāti Kahungunu pā at the mouth of the lagoon of Ahuriri (Ngata, 1980).*

*There were two battles at this pa of Ngāti Kahungunu. The first, when Te Umukohukohu died, was in 1824. The second was in 1825 and took place when Ngāi-TeRangi again visited the area to avenge the death of kin (pp. 305-311). The Ngāi-TeRangi rangatira, Te Waru and Hikutaia, led the second war party to Ahuriri. They died at this battle, their second with Kahungunu. As Ngata notes (p. 219), Ngāi-TeRangi, Ngāti Awa, and Tuhoe all then went to Whangara to seek revenge for the deaths of Te Waru and Hikutaia at Pakake.*

**Ngā wetewetenga kupu**

Ko ngā wehenga kōrero e whai ake nei he whakatakoto i te taha iwi, te taha tōrangapū e pā ana ki a Ngāi-TeRangi iwi, arā a Ngāi Tauwhao me ngā āhutatanga taukumekume ā-iwi, ā-hapū i aua wā.

***An annotation of song***

*The following analysis focuses on cultural and political factors, highlighting the reasons why there was antagonism and friction between different iwi and indicating the significance of Ngāi-TeRangi and Ngāi Tauwhao mana.*

**Rārangi 1**

Kāore e mārāma ana ko wai te kaitito o tēnei waiata. Kua whakahuatia e ia te ‘waka’ me te pātai menā ka hoki mai. Ko te āhua nei he tohu tēnei e pātai ana mehemea ka hoki mai te tauā o Ngāi-TeRangi i te pakanga i Kahungunu. E taea te kī kua rere te ‘waka’ nei ki te rohe o Kahungunu, i te taha rāwhiti o Te Ika-a-Māui, nā i tua atu ka taea hoki te whakapae ko te ‘waka’, ko te ‘wai’ e hāngai tonu ana ki te hau kāinga o Te Umukohukohu o Ngāi Tauwhao, he hapū i noho i ngā moutere o Tuhua me Mōtiti, ngā whenua kua noho a Ngāi-TeRangi hei kaitiaki, ā he wai hoki kei ōna tahataha katoa.

I ngā whakamārama anō mō te wai e pā ana ki a Ngāi-TeRangi ka kitea tonutia ko te wai, arā te moana, ko Ngāi-TeRangi kua haere ngātahi mai rā anō. Mā tēnei hoki ka

tikina atu te moana hei pou, hei whāriki mō ngā kōrero e tau ana mō Tauranga Moana iwi.

**Line 1**

*This waiata by an unknown composer begins with a question, the composer asking whether the canoe will ever return. The image of the canoe here is certainly symbolic. It may also be literal in the sense that it may refer to a canoe journey to the territory of the enemy on the eastern coast of Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island). In symbolic terms, whether the actual route was over land or water, the canoe represents the journey of the Ngāi-TeRangi warriors.*

*Water is a constant motif in the life of Tauranga Moana iwi, representing both a physical boundary and a spiritual home. In evoking water, therefore, the canoe may also symbolise the home territory of Te Umukohukohu and his Ngāi Tauwhao hapū, that is, the Ngāi-TeRangi territories of the Tuhua and Mōtiti Islands which were surrounded by water.*

**Rārangi 2**

Kua whakatauhia mai e te kaituhi me tū te/ngā tangata hei ‘whakapou whare’, me tū ia/rātou hei āwhina, hei hiki i te iwi, i runga i te matenga atu o Te Umukohukohu, nā kua noho tahanga hoki te iwi. Ko tētehi atu ka tirohia ana te kōrero me tū tētehi hei ‘whakapou whare’, te āhua nei kei te tohu mai tēnei ko te ‘whakapou whare’ he tāne, i te mea me tū rangatira anō ia i waenganui i te iwi, kia tōtika tonu tātai mai i ngā rangatira rā anō - ko ngā tāne ngā kaitiaki whenua, kaitiaki wāhine, kaitiaki tamariki.

**Line 2**

*The speaker is likened to a ‘house support’. Although the reference is a singular one, the symbolic reference is likely to be to the supporting role that must now be played by those many members of Ngāi Tauwhao/Ngāi-TeRangi iwi who must fill the void left by the death of the leader, Te Umukohukohu.*

*Like the pillars that support a house, kinsmen now have the responsibility, as guardians, of supporting and uplifting the iwi and protecting the land, the women and the children.*

**Rārangi 3**

Ki a Wiremu (1980, p. 80) ko te ‘iwirau’ he momo korowai, he mangu, he mā te hekenga. He tohu rangatira te korowai i roto i te Ao Māori o mua, nā ka taea tonu e tēnei rangatira e Te Umukohukohu, huānga o Tupaea, Ngāi-TeRangi, tēnei momo kākahu te mau, i te mea nō ngā kāwai rangatira tonu ia.

Nā te mea ko te ‘iwirau’ he tohu rangatira, ka taea tonu tēnei tohu mō Te Umukohukohu te whakatakoto – he toa ia, i haere ki te whawhai i Pakake i roto o Ngāti Kahungunu, kāre hoki e kore i āwhinatia tēnei haere a Ngāi-TeRangi, e tōna iwi e Ngāi Tauwhao. E mau iwirau ana ia i tērā wā, arā e tohu mai ana kei te tū kaha ia mō tōna iwi, me tōna hapū.

**Line 3**

*An ‘iwirau’, according to Williams (1985, p. 80) is a type of cloak, woven in alternate bands of black and white, which is a symbol of aristocracy within traditional Māori*

*society. As a relative of Hori Tupaea, the great Ngāi-TeRangi chief, Te Umukohukohu would have had the right to have such a symbolic cloak bestowed upon him: he was of chiefly lineage. Te Umukohukohu was part of the warrior group which went to battle at Pakake in Ngāti Kahungunu territory. As such, he would have received a blessing on departure from Ngāi-TeRangi and Ngāi Tauwhao. Thus, he would have been symbolically armed: armed with the blessing due to him as a warrior and the respect due to him as a man of noble lineage.*

#### **Rārangi 4**

Kei te kimihia te korowai nei – i tawhiti – he tohu pea tēnei e pātai ana kei hea anō a Te Umukohukohu – ka tirohia ana hoki i hea tēnei pakanga, i te tairāwhiti o Te Ika-a-Māui, koinei pea te ‘tawhiti’ e whakaarohia nei, te tawhiti atu i te kāinga.

Ko tētehi huarahi anō hei titiro mō te ‘tawhiti’ nei e rongohia ana i rō waiata tangi, ko te whakaaro ake mō ērā kua mate atu, arā kua haere ki ‘tawhiti’.

I tēnei tirohanga anō kei te tohu kē pea te kaitito ki te rohe o Pakake, he wāhi tawhiti mai i Tauranga, i Tuhua, i Mōtiti hoki – ākuni pea e pātai ana te kaitito kei hea taku whanaunga, i mau nei i te korowai rangatira, kei tawhiti tonu, kāore i te hoki mai.

#### **Line 4**

*The symbolic cloak, representing Te Umukohukohu, is sought in the distance. Physically, the search might be located in that distant place on the eastern coast of Te Ika-a-Māui where the battle took place.*

*Spiritually, the search would have no spatial limits: ‘tawhiti’ (distant/distance) is often used in laments to refer to one who has passed on, the one who has gone to the great beyond.*

*The distant place to which reference is made here could, thus, be the place of battle or the place where those who have passed on gather. Equally, it may include Pakake (which is a long way from Tauranga), or even Tuhua and Motiti islands. The wearer of the cloak of nobility is ‘awa’ (kei tawhiti). In death, he is both nowhere and everywhere.*

#### **Rārangi 5 - 10**

Kua whakatakotohia e te kaitito te take me moe i te pō – e mau ana i ngā kākahu rangatira – kua mate tō rātou whanaunga a Te Umukohukohu. Kei te pōuri hoki te hunga kāinga kua pā mai tēnei āhuatanga ki a rātou – mā ēnei tohu o te rangatira e whakahoki mai i a ia – kāore, he wā tēnei mō te tangi – he wā kei te mōteatea te iwi – he wā hei tuku i a Te Umukohukohu ki a Kahukura. Ki a Buck (1949) ko Kahukura he tohu o te āniwaniwa, he tohu anō hoki o te mate (Hirini Melbourne, personal communication).

Kei te pōuri te kaitito, te tangata rānei - koia te pou o ēnei kōrero.

Kua wehe atu a Te Umukohukohu mai i te ora ki te mate – arā he ao anō tērā. He tupuna anō a Kahukura-awhitia nō Ngāti Kahungunu i te wā o te pakanga i Pakake; nō reira ākuanei i waenganui te tupuna nei i ngā tauā o Kahungunu rāua ko Ngāi-TeRangi.

Ko Te Momo-a-Irawaru he rangatira nō Ngāti Te Kohera, o Ngāti Raukawa, i neke ki Kahotea Pā, i roto o Kahungunu i te wā tonu o te pakanga a Ngāi-TeRangi mā ki a Ngāti Kahungunu – Ki ngā kōrero a te ‘*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769/1869*’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 539) kāore i roa rawa ka mate a Te Momo-a-Irawaru. Kāore i te mōhiotia he aha i herea mai ai te ingoa nei a Irawaru ki te waiata mō Te Umukohukohu. Ēngari kei te whakaaro ake koinei pea te ‘Irawaru’ e whakahuatia nei i te rārangi tekau. Ko ngā kōrero a Ballara (1990, p. 539) he whakamārama i te hononga o Te Momo-a-Irawaru ki te papa kāinga o Pakake.

### **Lines 5 - 10**

*The composer asks why Tiro and others should sleep the night wearing chiefly regalia: such symbolic regalia cannot bring back one who has passed on. Instead, it is a time of sorrow, a time to give Te Umukohukohu to ‘Kahukura’. According to Buck (1949), ‘kahukura’ is a symbol for a rainbow. However, Hirini Melbourne, a Tuhoe informant, notes (personal communication) that the kahukura, a type of butterfly, is also a symbol of death.*

*Te Umukohukohu has gone from the world of the living to another world, that of the dead, represented symbolically by ‘Kahukura’. The reference to ‘Kahukura’ may have yet another facet here. Kahukura-awhitia (who lived in Ngāti Kahungunu territory during the battle at Pakake), was an ancestor of Te Umukohukohu. Perhaps, therefore, there is a reference here to the fact that, in death, Te Umukohukohu has joined his ancestors.*

*Te Momo-a-Irawaru was a chief from Ngāti Te Kohera (of Ngāti Raukawa) who settled during the battle with Ngāi-TeRangi at Kahotea Pā, within the Ngāti Kahungunu region. According to the ‘*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769/1869*’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 539), Te Momo a-Irawaru died a short time after the battle. It is possible, therefore, that the reference to Irawaru in the tenth line of this waiata is, in fact, a reference to Te Momo-a-Irawaru. Ballara (1990, p. 539) provides an outline of the relationship of Te Momo-a-Irawaru to the Pakake incidents.*

### **Rārangi 11 me te 12**

I ngā whakatakotoranga kupu a Wiremu ko te ‘mataihi’ ko mua o te whare. Nā Wiremu anō hoki i whakaata mai te whakataukī nei, “Mataihi tuku ki raro, he whare auahi; mataihi tū noa, rakorako noa a raro” (Williams, 1990, p. 187). “Ko Mataihi rā te mea e houa” hei tautoko anō i āna ake kōrero – ka tirohia ana ēnei kupu ka taea te whakapae ko mua o te whare kua hinga, kua motu. Ka hāngai tonu tēnei ki te matenga atu o Te Umukohukohu. Kua ngaro atu ia i te kāwai rangatira o Ngāi-TeRangi kua ‘hou’ mai te whare ariki o Ngāi Tauwhao, arā ‘kua hou a Mataihi’.

Ko tētehi kōrero anō mō Te Mataihi ko tā Ballara (1990, p. 539), e pā tonu atu ana ki ngā kupu kei te mōteatea e kī ana he wahine ia nā Tiakitai, rangatira o Ngāti Kahungunu, i roto i te pakanga o Pakake. He punarua ia. Kei te whakaatahia e te waiata tāna tangi whaea nei mō tāna tamaiti kua ngaro atu. I whānau mai he tamaiti tāne, nā Tiakitai, a Te Teira ki a Mataihi. Ko Taylor anō tētehi atu ingoa o Te Teira (Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 539).

He whakamārama anō mō te tamaiti nei – ākuni i mate atu i te pakanga ki a Ngāi-TeRangi me ōna hoariri i te wā o Pakake, koira te take ka puta ngā kupu nei, “Mataihi ka tangi hotu nei mō tāna tamaiti”. Ahakoa ko tā Ballara (1990) tuhi ko “Te Matahi”, ēngari kei te waiata ko Mataihi, kua kitea anō ēnei momo tuhituhi – ka rerekē te tuhi mahi i te ingoa, koinei pea te huringa i konei.

Ka tirohia ana ko te whakamārama tuarua kē te mea ka tino whakaponohia, tuatahi nā ngā hohonga o Te Matahi ki te rangatira rā o Ngāti Kahungunu, Tiakitai, i whawhai rā i te pakanga i Pakake, ki tā Ballara whakatau (1990, pp 538 –539). I tua atu hoki i noho tēnei wahine i tērā rohe i te wā o te taukumekume nei.

### **Lines 11 and 12**

*Williams (1990, p. 187) notes that the ‘mataihi’ is the ‘front of the house’. Reference to the front of the house may bring to mind the following proverb quoted by Williams for which I provide a translation here: “Mataihi who descends downward, a house of smoke, mataihi who stands desolate, underneath is exposed”. If this is the case, then there may be an implied link between weeping and collapse, the death of Te Umukohukohu being symbolised by the weeping/collapse of the meeting house, itself a representation of the ancestors. Thus, with the death of Te Umukohukohu, the house of aristocracy of Ngāi Tauwhao has crumbled. This interpretation is a possible one. It is, however, more difficult to justify than the following interpretation.*

*Another possible interpretation of lines 10 and 11, one that is more consistent with the actual wording, is that the reference to Mata-ihi is, in fact, a reference to Te Matahi who was one of two wives of Tiakitai, a Ngāti Kahungunu leader and trader who was involved in the battle of Pakake (Ballara, 1990, p. 539). Te Matahi bore a son, Te Teira, also known as Taylor, to Tiakitai (see Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 539). It is possible that Te Teira was lost in the battle with Ngāi-TeRangi and its allies during the Pakake sojourn. This would explain the reference to Mata-ihi weeping in pity for her child. Certainly, Ballera’s spelling of the name of Tiakitai’s wife is different from that in the chant. However, it is certainly possible that the reference in both cases is to the same person, especially when it is borne in mind that Ballera (pp. 538 – 539) has established personal links between Te Matahi and the Ngāti Kahungunu leader, Tiakitai, who was involved in the battle of Pakake. Furthermore, Matahi lived in the area during the war campaign.*

### **Rārangi 13 me te 14**

Kei te whakaata mai ngā kupu a te kaitito, te pou rānei o ēnei kōrero i te mamae i te matenga o Te Umukohukohu. Kua aituā mai ki ‘tawhiti’ rā anō, kei te ‘tākiri’ te manawa – he tawhiti te hinganga mai. Nā te mate atu o tēnei rangatira kua pōuri te iwi, kua ‘tākiri’ te mate ki te ngākau tonu o tōna iwi.

### **Lines 13 and 14**

*Here, the intensity of grief and pain are seen to extend into the distance (throughout the tribal territory) as the grieving voices echo throughout the land. The death of Te Umukohukohu has saddened the tribe: the very heart of the iwi has been affected.*

### **Rārangi 15 me te 16**

E kīa ana e te ‘kaikōrero’, e te kaituhi kei tēnei waiata ‘kīhai i kitea atu e te kanohi tangata’, me te tāpiri atu i ngā kōrero ‘Te whakarereanga atu i te wai i kau mai ai’.

He maha ēnei momo tohu kei ngā kōrero-ā-waha o te ao Māori, e kī ana ‘kua ngaro i te kitenga tangata’, i ‘te kanohi tangata’ – ko te ‘kitenga tangata’ ko te ‘kanohi tangata’ he āhua rite, ko te hunga kei te ora. Kua mutu te kite atu i a Te Umukohukohu i te ‘kitenga tangata’, kua tau atu kē ki te ‘kitenga wairua’.

Kei ngā kōrero mō te wai ki te āta tirohia ana nō hea mai a Te Umukohukohu, nō te iwi o Ngāi Tauwhao, he iwi i noho, e noho tonu nei i ngā moutere o Mōtiti, o Tuhua.

Koinei tonu ngā moutere kei a Ngāi Tauwhao te hapū o Te Umukohukohu, kei waenganui moana. Ko ngā moutere nei, ko te moana kei te noho ngātahi, ko ngā wai kei ngā tahataha tonu o ēnei moutere.

Ēngari i tua atu i tēnei kei te taha moana tonu hoki a Ngāi-TeRangi, te tupuna iwi o Ngāi Tauwhao. Kei tērā kōrero anō hoki i whakawhiti te tauā o Te Umukohukohu ki roto o Ngāti Kahungunu, - he waka tērā i whakahuatia ake i te rārangi tuatahi, nō reira ka taea te kī i takahia e ēnei uri o Ngāi-TeRangi ngā wai o Tangaroa, arā te ‘whare o Tangaroa’.

### **Lines 15 and 16**

*Here, reference is made to the fact that Te Umukohukohu can no longer be seen by the living. He has abandoned the waters that had been crossed.*

*This section of the chant relates directly to Māori thinking about life and death. It is rich with symbolism. Te Umukohukohu will be seen no more by the living: he is now a part of the spiritual world.*

*Ngāi-TeRangi hapū live by the sea, its influences shaping their world. Thus, in Ngāi-TeRangi hapū waiata, water is a recurring symbol of life and continuation. Te Umukohukohu has abandoned the tribal territory of Ngāi Tauwhao, the water-surrounded islands of Mōtiti and Tuhua. These waters, however, and these islands remain as a symbols of the indestructible nature of the people. The people, the sea and the islands are bound together in a permanent state of relationship.*

*We are reminded here of the reference to a canoe in the first line of the waiata. On their way to battle, the people of Ngāi-TeRangi may have crossed the waters of Tangaroa, just as Te Umukohukohu would have done when he began his journey across the water from Mōtiti/Tuhua. He may, with his kinspeople, have sailed to Ngāti Kahungunu by canoe as he headed for Ngāti Kahungunu. Thus, for Te Umukohukohu and his kin, there is an association between battle and water. However, Te Umukohukohu will no longer be wearied by battle. No longer will he cross the waters of Tangaroa, as he will have done when he headed for his last battle.*

### **Rārangi 17 me te 18**

Kāore i te mārara rawa he aha te tikanga i uru atu ai te ‘whakaruru kōhine, ka whakamanawa atu’ ki ngā korero nei. Ko te ‘whakaruru kōhine’ nei pea ko te korero mō te tiaki i ngā wāhine, i ngā tamāhine, mā ngā tāne hei whawhai ngā pakanga.

Mō ‘te whare o Tangaroa’ mehemea ka whakaarohia ake ngā kōrero mō te ‘waka ia rā ki wai te hoki mai’ i te rārangi tuatahi kei te pā tonu tēnei ki te whare o Tangaroa, ki te Ika-pai-hau-rua.

Ko te ‘takiwā’ tonu o Tangaroa te wāhi kei reira tēnei pakanga – kei te moana tonu o Pakake, o Ahuriri hoki, i roto o Kahungunu, nō reira kei te ‘whare tonu o Tangaroa’ ngā raruraru nei.

Ki a Ngata (1988, p. 196) ko te ‘ikahuirua’ he tangata kua mate ki ngā kōrero i hoatu ki a ia e Taite Te Tomo, tētehi tohunga whakamārama waiata.

Ka mate atu ngā tāngata e rua i te tangata kotahi kua kīa ko te ‘ikahuirua’ – kua takoto takirua ngā kupu nei te ‘ikahuirua’ me te ‘ika-pai-hau-rua’ i a Ngata (1980, p. 310). Ki a ia, he rite ngā rerenga kupu e rua.

### **Lines 17 and 18**

*The reason for the reference here to maidens sheltering as they ponder their fate is not immediately apparent. There are many possible interpretations. Certainly, it is likely that there would have been a need to find ways of supporting and protecting women and girls during the absence of their men folk at battle, protection that would need to have been extended when their men folk failed to return. Thus, the women shelter together, mindful of their losses.*

*It is important, however, to determine why there is a reference here to the house of Tanga-roa and Te Ika-pai-hau-rua. The most probable reason for the reference to Tangaroa is that the battle itself took place in that realm (at Pakake, Ahuriri, in Kahungunu territory). So far as ‘Te Ika-pai-hau-rua’ is concerned, an observation made by Ngata appears to be significant. Ngata (1988, p. 196) observes that Taite Te Tomo, an expert on mātauranga waiata, advised him that an ‘ikahuirua’ are two men who have been killed by the same person in battle. An ‘ika-pai-hau-rua’, however, is someone who has killed more than once – a two-fold slayer (Ngata 1980, p. 310). Taite Te Tomo considers that both of these expressions are very similar in meaning.*

### **Rārangi 19, 20 me te 21**

I konei kua whakatakoto whakaaro te kaitito e pātai ana ko wai kei te mahara ki te tamaiti, ki te tangata nei a Te Umukohukohu.

Kua kite atu te iwi, kua pakaru tōna waka, a Matariki. He tohu anō ki tā te iwi titiro, te waka kua pakaru, - kua hinga te tangata, kua hē te iwi.

### **Lines 19, 20, and 21**

*Here, youth and adults are asked to search within themselves to find the fragmented canoe, Mata-riki. Te Umukohukohu is dead. His death, in the hearts of his kinspeople, is represented symbolically by a fragmented canoe.*

*The earthly canoe journey is over. However, the name given to the fragmented canoe is ‘Mata-riki’ and Matariki, the star constellation Pleiades, is a guiding beacon to seafarers and a symbol of a chief who has settled within the realm of the night sky. Thus, Te Umukohukohu has joined those who have passed on to become a guiding light for his people.*

### **Rārangi 22 me te 23**

He ‘rau’ anō e whakamahia ana i roto i ngā kōrero pakanga, ko te rau o te patu. Ahakoa tēnei, ki a Ngata ko te ‘heke-tara’, he rākau kakara. Ki a Wiremu anō hoki

(1988, p. 236) ko te 'heketara' me te 'ngungu' he kupu mō te rākau kotahi. Ko te 'whakangungu' hoki ki a Wiremu (p. 236) he kati atu i ngā mea kino o te ao, ka whakangungu hoki ki te Pae-o-Kahukura. He momo pūrerehua anō hoki te kahukura, nā ki a Hirini Melbourne o Tūhoe, (personal communication), he tohu anō o te mate, pērā i a Kahukura te āniwaniwa.

### **Lines 22 and 23**

*In his analysis, Ngata refers to the 'heke-tara' as a fragrant shrub. This is consistent with the interpretation of 'heke-tara' provided by Williams (1988, p. 45), who also observes not only that another name for the same shrub is 'ngungu' (p. 236), but also that the causative form of that word ('whakangungu') can be used to refer to the blocking out of negative aspects of life through the erection of barriers to Pae-o-Kahukura (which, as indicated earlier, may not only be a symbol of a rainbow, but also symbol of death (personal communication: Hirini Melbourne of Tūhoe)). Thus, symbolic, protective barriers are erected in the face of death in battle, the battle itself being symbolised by the reference to a 'rau' (blade of a club) in 'rau heke-tara'.*

### **Rarangi 24 - 27**

Ahakoā kāore i te mārama te take i uru mai ai ngā kupu 'Papa a Mata-piko, i te honu i waho' anei ētehi whakamārama. Ka tirohia ana ngā kupu ko 'Papa - a - mata-piko', e rua ngā huarahi ka taea te whakatakoto. Tuatahi ko Papatūānuku e matapiko ana ki ērā kua tae atu ki a ia, kua hono atu anō, nāna ake a Te Umukohukohu i nāianei. Tuarua ko te moana kei te 'mata o Papatūānuku', arā kei 'te mata o te whenua'. Ko te moutere o Umukohukohu kei waho, kei te moana, i waho atu o Tauranga, ēngari kei konei te hononga o te whenua, o te moana. Ka tika tonu mō tēnei momo waiata.

He whakapae tēnei ko te 'raru' me te 'huhe' kua pa mai ki te iwi o Te Umukohukohu mō te rironga i te 'tira huirangi', i te 'tira tu-kawehi' hoki. Ko ngā tira e hīkoi ana i ngā wā e whakaritea ana ki a rātou kua mate atu, kei te 'hīkoi ngātahi' ki Hawaiki, te kāinga tūturu, ki 'Te Rerenga Wairua' rānei. He maha ngā kōrero kei te mate e kitea ana ēnei momo kupu, "Haere atu koutou te hunga haere", "Hīkoi atu te huarahi i takahia e ō tātou tūpuna", "Hīkoi atu te ara o te hunga i mua i a koutou". Ko ēnei tira hoki he tira wairua, arā 'te ihi, te wehi, te tapu'. Ko te tira tu-kawehi hoki ka whakaritea ki te tira a Tūmatauenga - he tira whakawehi i te tangata, he tira whawhai. Ahakoā tēnei, nā te mea hei waiata tangi tēnei, he tira rangatira tēnei e kōrerohia nei, ko rātou kua mene atu ki te pō, he kāhui rangatira katoa.

### **Lines 24 - 27**

Although it is not clear why the words 'Papa-a-mata-piko, i te honu i waho' have been included in the chants, there are two possibilities, both of which are appropriate in relation to this type of chant. First, 'Papa-a-Matapiko' has connotations of Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) being possessive of those whom she has received in death. Umukohukohu has died and he has been reunited with 'Papa'. Secondly, the sea is part of the face of Papatūānuku (the face of the land). The island where Umukohukohu belongs is situated out at sea, out in the depths beyond Tauranga Moana. Thus, the connotations of sea and land merging are appropriate in this instance.

References to the father being exhausted and troubled by the death of his child, remind us of the reality of the fear and suffering of those who are bereaved. Te

Umukohukohu has passed into the realm of the ancestors. Although he now travels with others on the great pathway beyond (the pathway trodden by the ancestors), and goes to Hawaiki, the homeland, the Leaping place of Spirits, his death is nonetheless a matter for grief and mourning. He travels now with the spirit group, the sacred group. He is, thus doubly taken – taken in battle and taken into the spirit world, taken into the realm of Tūmataunga, taken by the fighting group which is to be feared.

### **Rarangi 28 me te 29**

Kāore i te mārāma he aha i whakahuatia mai ai a To-pehu ēngari ki te whakatau atu i ngā kupu i mua mai, i muri atu o tōna ingoa, te āhua nei ko tētehi o ngā hoariri, i ārahi haere i a Kahungunu i tēnei pakanga i te taha o ōna whanaunga. Ko te whakaaro koia tonu te kaiārahi o te tauā o Kahungunu.

### **Lines 28 and 29**

*Although it is unclear why there is a final reference to To-pehu, it is possible (as suggested by the context), that the reference is to an ancestor who was the leader of the war party of Kahungunu.*

### **Whakamutunga**

Kei ēnei wetewetenga kōrero kitea ai ngā huarahi whakatakoto whakaaro o ō tātou tūpuna mō te rangatiratanga, mō tā rātou titiro hoki ki tō rātou ao, i runga i te whakapapa me te mana motuhake. I tua atu i tēnei kei ēnei taonga whārikihia mai ai te mātauranga Māori, ēnei pou here kōrero hei manawapātanga atu mā tātou. Nā rātou i whakarere mai, mā tātou hei nanao atu, kia puritia tonutia ai te mana whakaheke o ngāi tātou o te ao Māori.

### **Conclusion**

*As this analysis demonstrates, waiata provided a vehicle for the transmission, in artistic form, of Māori knowledge. They are oral treasures which are part of Māori identity, containing within themselves that knowledge which is a crucial pillar of cultural-well-being. They illustrate the way in which cultural identity is based upon kinship, and the relevance to cultural understanding of ancestral philosophies.*

### **Personal acknowledgments**

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K. Ngātai – Ngāi-TeRangi, Tauranga  
T. Taikato – Ngāti Hē, Tauranga  
R. Walker – Ngāti Hē, Tauranga

### **Endnotes**

1. The orthographic conventions relating to the representation of 'Ngāi-TeRangi' are as selected by the author.
2. Ko te moana tēnei kei ngā kōrero katoa mō/a Ngāi-TeRangi.
3. Te Arawa also claim the islands as part of their territories.

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# TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

## *Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao*



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### THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

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Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) aims to lead the way for the new millennium as an educator and research institute in Māori and Indigenous Studies. In achieving this we strive to be a world centre of excellence in teaching and research. Underpinning our School activities is the commitment to the advancement of Māori through the teachings of Te Reo, Tikanga, and indigenous development. With our quest for knowledge, Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao is committed to building long term relationships. Our School aims to provide life long learning opportunities and to prepare our students for successful careers. We welcome all to join our whānau at Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao.

Associate Professor Hirini Melbourne  
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School consists of several departments that contribute to our vision of uplifting the people:

- Te Tari Māori
- Development Studies
- Te Tīmatanga Hou
- Te Whakapiki i te Reo
- Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research
- Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

### **Te Tari Māori**

Our School was founded on the strong teachings of Te Reo (Māori Language) and Tikanga (Māori Protocol or Traditions). It is through the teachings of language and traditions that the School aims to maintain and develop the cultural identity of Māori as indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

Staff at our School are involved in a wide range of activities outside of their teaching duties. Staff are involved in activities such as iwi/hapū management and treaty negotiations, kapa haka and other Māori performing arts, which all contribute to the teachings and learning within Te Tari Māori and our School.

By maintaining and developing Māori cultural identity, the School plays an important role in indigenous nation building in New Zealand.

### **Development Studies**

Our Development Studies department offers the opportunity for incorporating the international dimensions of development issues for our School. Alongside the Māori development issues, the department offers learning about other indigenous peoples and the challenges they face in nation building. The department provides a multidisciplinary approach to learning by offering courses from a wide range of fields that relate to issues of development.

### **Te Tīmatanga Hou**

Te Tīmatanga Hou is a foundation programme designed for Māori students in mind. The programme is taught under a kaupapa Māori philosophy where tikanga, and te reo are incorporated where possible. The programme targets in particular Māori who do not have any previous tertiary education study experience and require preparation for entering the tertiary education environment. This is a commitment by the University and the School for providing accessibility to tertiary education for Māori through providing sufficient academic preparation in a culturally sensitive environment.

### **Te Whakapiki i Te Reo**

Te Whakapiki i te Reo offers practicing teachers the opportunity to enhance and develop their language proficiency and competency. The course further seeks to develop language skills for the delivery of Māori as a second language. This service helps the School to achieve the promotion and development of Te Reo outside and beyond the tertiary level of education.

### **Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research**

Given our School's relative youth, we have been successful in securing and undertaking research contracts. There are currently three major areas of research which different research teams, from the School and University, are undertaking:

- 1) Māori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika
- 2) He Rangahau Tikanga Māori - Traditional Fisheries Research Project
- 3) Māori Language Proficiency Tests for Year 5 and Year 8

The School will be opening a new Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research, which will help to manage the research activities within the School.

### **Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)**

To support Māori students studying at the University of Waikato, a centre was established to provide advice and a friendly environment for Māori students. MSAAC services provide academic advice and support Māori students to ensure there is a high retention rate of Māori students at the tertiary level. Students who approach MSAAC will find an environment that encourages academic learning with a particular focus on tikanga Māori, supporting both the cultural and academic development.

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### General

Manuscripts should be in Times 12 cpi with 1.5 spacing and fully justified. There should be the equivalent of one line left between paragraphs within sections and new paragraphs should not be indented. Articles that are 20 pages in length or shorter are preferred. The manuscript should **NOT** have numbered pages but should have a footer on each page with the first three words of the title.

### Title

The title should be in Times 12 cpi boldface and should be centred on the page. The title should indicate as clearly as possible the nature of the content of the manuscript. All content words of the title are to have an initial capital letter.

### Abstract

Each article must include an abstract of not more than 200 words. The heading Abstract should be in Times 12 cpi boldface, and centered.

### Headings

*Level 1* headings should be capitalized in the same way as the main title, and centered. The font used is Times 12 boldface. The format for *level 2* headings is the same as for *level 1* headings except that the font is Times 11, and the heading is justified to the left of the column. There should be the equivalent of a one line space between level 1 and level 2 headings and the following text. The format for *level 3* headings is the same as for level 2 headings, except that the font is Times 10, and there should be no space left between the heading and the text.

### References within the text

All references within the text should be placed in parentheses containing the author's surname followed by a comma and a space before the date of publication (Jones, 1999). If the sentence already includes the author's name, then it is necessary only to put the date in parentheses: Jones (1999). When several works are cited, each entry should be separated by a semicolon: (Jones, 1999; Peters, 1995; Simon, 1993). When a reference has more than three authors, cite only the name of the first author followed by *et al* in every subsequent reference to the same work. When including page references, separate them from the date by a comma and a space (Jones, 1999, pp. 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

### Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number<sup>2</sup> in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

### Tables and Figures

All tables and figures should be centered in the manuscript. Tables and figures should be numbered in the text, and should be preceded by a caption in Times 12 cpi italic. The equivalent of one line space should be left between captions and the tables or figures to which they refer. Captions and the tables or figures to which they refer should always appear together on the same page.

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References should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article. The title of the section, 'References', should be a *level 1 heading*. The first line of each bibliographical reference must be justified to the left of the column, and the rest of the entry should be indented five spaces. The following examples (of fictitious references) illustrate the format required for conference proceedings, books, journals, articles, Ph.D. theses, and chapters of books respectively:

- Jones, L.E. (1999). Marae Protocol. In *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society for Māori Language Revitalisation* (pp. 71 -- 133). Wellington, NZ: Te Rapa Books.
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The editors will respect the decisions made by authors in relation to their use of the macron in text written in English and/or Maori. Where Maori words are included by the editors themselves in text written in English, the macron will not be used in cases where a particular word (such as, for example, the word *Maori* itself) is deemed by the editors to have been fully integrated into New Zealand English. Thus, the macron is not used in the title of the Journal.

### Submission

Each manuscript should be submitted on white A4 paper (3 copies) and sent to the Production Editor (Dr. Winifred Crombie) at *Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Māori and Pacific Development), Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato), Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

The manuscript should be accompanied by a Word Disk and/or also sent by email attachment to <crombie@waikato.ac.nz>. Author's names should **NOT** be included in the manuscript but should be indicated in an accompanying letter in which institutional affiliations, institutional addresses, email addresses and phone and fax numbers are also included. The accompanying letter should indicate clearly whether the content of the manuscript has, in the same or similar form, either (a) been delivered as a conference paper and, if so, where and when, or (b) been produced or published in any other context and, if so, where and when.

### Acknowledgments

Place all acknowledgements (including those concerning research grants and funding) in a separate section at the end of the article.

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