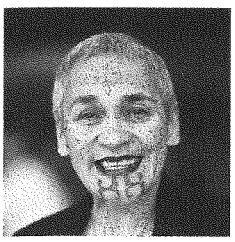
Chapter 4

Mā hea – which way? Mō te aha – what for? Too many questions, not enough answers for Māori on the March



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E rau rangatira mā, tēna rā koutou....

This presentation will be in four sections. The first section introduces two major issues: mana motuhake, and mana tāngata, then we will consider some proposed legislation: the Foreshore and Seabed Bill and the Civil Union Bill. Then I will look at strategic Māori responses to political pressure over the last three decades, and note two recent and dramatic examples - the Hīkoi Takutai Moana, April 2004, and the Enough is Enough Rally, August 2004. The final section considers the implications for psychologies and psychologists working today in Aotearoa.

The first issue - What is mana motuhake?

> Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa
> Te ohonga, ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau
> Ko te mana tuatahi, ko te Tiriti o Waitangi
> Ko te mana tuarua, ko te Kooti Whenua
> Ko te mana tuatoru, ko te mana Motuhake!
> (Nā Te Kooti Rikirangi)

Mana Motuhake is about self determination, about tino rangatiratanga, which has become the more widely used term today. Unlike that term, self-determination is not cited in a colonial document, rather it is cited in the compositions of Te Kooti, and appears in the 1870 Coat of Arms of the Kingitanga movement. The motto on this crest, commissioned by Tawhiao Matutaera, the second Māori King, is *Ko te Mana Motuhake.* The phrase remains a rallying cry for Māori solidarity, a vision of independence, affirming cultural integrity and our rights as an indigenous people. This is the issue impacted severely by legislation both proposed and currently in Select Committee stages.

The second question - What is mana tāngata?

The Civil Union Bill has stimulated much discussion about mana tāngata: human rights, and human dignity, what being a human being means. The following chant exemplifies mana tāngata:

> He aha te mea nui ō te ao?
> What is the most important thing in the world?
> Maaku e kīatu,
> I say it is
> He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata, e!
> people, people, people.

Te Takutai Moana, the Foreshore and Seabed Bill

But to return now ki ngā ngaru pakarekare o te tai, and the Foreshore and Seabed issue. This Bill is now regarded as the precursor to another bitter struggle. Faced with the mockery and cynicism of Don Brash, the opposition's new leader, and his scathing commentary on Māori whom he asserts are the people favoured in today's world, the

government has been seriously challenged. Rather than look too soft, squishy and accommodating, they have decided to go hard. And an opportunity presented itself in the disputed ownership of the foreshore, as described in the following flyer:

> **Foreshore and Seabed -- the Challenge**
> The Court of Appeal found the Māori Land Court (MLC) could hear claims to the foreshore and seabed. The test the MLC would have to apply was intended for dry land only and could not recognise a property right which did not lead to fee simple title. The policy of successive governments has been to prevent further private ownership in the foreshore and seabed.

How did the government react to this potential problem that might be created by allowing the Māori Land Court to hear claims to the foreshore and seabed? In a reactionary and regressive way, by proposing to confiscate foreshore held in Māori title, whereas ANY property- held in fee simple or freehold title, whether by Māori, Pākehā or absent overseas investors, remained unaffected. Another flyer summarised the response:

> **The Government's Response**
> To protect public access by vesting full ownership in the Crown in perpetuity. To recognise the ancestral connection of Māori to particular areas of foreshore and seabed. To allow for the exercise of customary rights and where this cannot be fully expressed, to provide opportunity for redress.

The "customary rights" issue has been eloquently argued by most of the current Māori members on the government benches; they insist that food gathering rights will continue, as will such ceremonial circumstances as the launching of waka. So much for mana motuhake.

And now to mana tāngata, which, most importantly at this time, I consider includes the right to love. The visual/sculptural and historical record establishes beyond doubt that, like other Pacific societies, Māori enjoyed same sex erotic contact and relationships. The boundaries between male and female, masculine and feminine, were often extended or obscured; but that is another paper for another time. Same sex partnerships occurred and flourished; they were recognised.

Land inheritance has been known to occur, honouring the partner as much as one would honour and provide for a wife or a husband. At last such provisions are being reinstated in contemporary Aotearoa by the proposed Civil Union Bill as outlined in the following flyer:

> **Civil Union Bill**
> Same sex couples are formally recognised under a new definition of de facto relationship.
> A same sex partner's income will count for benefit entitlements. People in civil unions will be treated the same way as married couples in a will.
> Same-sex couples will gain next-of-kin status.

> The definition of stepchild will include children from a civil union, not just a marriage.

However, just as mana motuhake has been threatened since Cook's landing in 1769; mana tāngata has been under attack since Marsden's in 1814. Currently, these assaults converge. For many Māori both mana motuhake and mana tāngata appear to be threatened by proposed legislation. There are differences - forceful and distinctive between the two pieces of legislation as proposed - but in an already unsettled social environment these differences are difficult to make out, to tell apart. And for thousands of Māori, everyday regular people at the supermarket, the movies, the sports club, polytech, varsity, or wānanga, there is no difference at all.

These issues appear to be related, giving a clear and simple message - The government is out to get us, in an alliance of the racist and the unholy. The government is threatening our future, and our children's future through legislation. To protect and defend mana motuhake, mana tāngata, what do Māori do? They walk the talk, as they have been doing for a few decades now.

There is one spectacular and salutary example of a walking strategy which unseated the government of the day - the Māori Land March led by the inimitable Dame Whina Cooper under their slogan, "Not One More Acre of Māori Land!" In November 1975, Dame Whina Cooper led Te Roopu O te Matakite from the Taitokerau to Parliament House. Over fifteen thousand Māori arrived in the pouring rain, and the Rt Hon Bill Rowling met them on the steps, and received the Memorial of Rights. It was a gracious but intense occasion. Although defeated just a few weeks later, his government was the one that had legislated for the official status of Te Reo Māori, and established the Waitangi Tribunal, an effective means of reconciliation, resolution, and compensation for Māori people. What an irony.

Yet that was not enough. In 1977, Takaparawha - the police siege of Bastion Point - seared the nation's consciousness, and conscience. It was followed by the high drama of the 1981 Springbok Tour; hundreds of thousands of caring, commonsense New Zealanders marched for human rights in South Africa. And, three years later, hundreds supported the Hīkoi ki Waitangi in 1984, led by Tuaiwa Hautai (Eva) Rickard. The slogan then was "Honour the Treaty!", and that February, she led Te Hīkoi ki Waitangi from Ngāruawāhia to Waitangi. Songs were composed as they walked along the highway. Here is a section of one:

> For a treaty without honour has brought grief and disharmony
> So let's unite change wrong to right
> Hikoi ki Waitangi...

The large, diverse hikoi (crowd) was stopped at the bridge (over the mouth of Waitangi River), and refused entry to the Treaty House grounds. And, a few months later, another government fell. All that is part of the background for what New Zealand has been watching, and many of us participating in, this year.

First there was the most spontaneous, creative, and chaotic theatre of confrontation

outside the House of Parliament on 5 May 2004. Ritualized and righteous, it was a display of passionate commitment and protest. Māori and non-Māori took leave, risked government jobs, travelled hundreds of miles to be there. Many turned up simply to show the government and its leader that they were NOT 'wreckers and haters', nor were they bleating, dreadlocked sheep. They were ordinary people, church people, commonsense people. And people of mana and prestige - I sighted five former presidents of the Māori Women's Welfare League there, and one certainly can't get more mainstream and respectable than those fine ladies.

We marched there, following the pae ārahi and manutātaki, splendid in fibre, moko, and feathers, taiaha and mere flashing and slicing; Te Matarae I Orehu opening a path, confronting the kaupapa of the day. Some 20,000 to 30,000 people marched from Te Papa Museum to Parliament House to protest the Foreshore and Seabed Bill. Most, but certainly not all, were Māori. The Prime Minister declined to meet them. Senior Māori ministers waited on the steps, where they faced the rage of their people.

And the issues were clear. For Māori, there was no confusion, no contradiction, no compromise of mana motuhake, and identity; unless you were one of those Māori Ministers on Parliament steps that day. Many Pākehā extended support, deploring the horror of contemporary raupatu - land confiscation - by government edict. They walked with us, as we, Māori, issued a serious warning, to the nation, and its leaders.

That display set the stage for another theatre, another spectacle. This drew on the pani and the rawakore, the oppressed, aggrieved and deprived, who gave voice to Destiny New Zealand, the new political wing of Destiny Church, bellowing "Enough is Enough".

The Civil Union Bill

In August, in Wellington, the following words, that were first proclaimed on the Destiny Church website were bellowed forth:

> Enough is Enough!
> Stand Up for the Next Generation
> Who will rise up for me against the evildoers?
> Who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?
> Psalm 94:16

Who will take care of the future, they cried? Mā wai e kawe tāku kauae ki tawhiti? On that day, we beheld the self-proclaimed 'Warriors of the Lord', and their march on Parliament protesting against what they believed to be a government-supported erosion of Christian values and morality. They strode in military formation, neatly uniformed in black trousers and branded t-shirts, they punched the air with raised fists, and chanted in one voice, "Enough is Enough!!"

Most of them were Māori men in their prime, with a noticeable scattering of enthusiastic young boys and small children. The display anticipated the Destiny NZ party's defence policy, which proposed to introduce a third battalion, to rebirth the Māori Battalion, as part of education and career pathways for young Māori. Their message to government was:

VALUES MATTER
The message to Parliament
V alue our children and future generations
A cknowledge God
L eave parental rights and responsibilities alone
U phold our nation's founding values and high moral standards
E steem families and the institution of marriage
S top, talk and listen to the people

Since Marsden's first sermon, on Christmas Day 1814, the Christian message has continued to intrigue, seduce and challenge Māori listeners and thinkers, as much today as it did then. It is a religion of promises to the desperate, and the needy. It is also a religion of mystery and challenge to those seeking answers. For all of them, often in very different ways, it appears to explain, to offer certainties and the certainty of being right is a towering presence in Destiny New Zealand's statements. Destiny Church leaders also outline a Treaty of Waitangi policy, in which they claim God as an ally, and then focus on fatherlessness:

Destiny New Zealand: Treaty of Waitangi Policy
This generation of leaders has a responsibility to achieve full and final resolution on Treaty issues for the benefit of future generations.
Fatherlessness and family breakdown is the significant hallmark of the Māori whānau today - addressing this concerning trend is a priority of Destiny NZ policy.

And the pastor Brian Tamaki himself, looking appropriately sartorial, continues to pronounce, "This [Civil Unions] Bill undermines the sanctity of marriage! It promotes the unnatural and abnormal! It must be stopped! Human rights become human wrongs when they violate the word of God! It's not a right! It's a wrong!" Always media conscious, he was no doubt delighted by the following press report in *The Australian*:

MĀORI CHURCH'S WAR DANCE ON GAY MARRIAGE
The Destiny demonstrators were accused of trying to intimidate their rivals, a 2000-strong group of gay protestors, but church leader Brian Tamaki, a gleaming-toothed Māori man wearing large gold rings, said his group was supported by "all commonsense New Zealanders", (Reported 24 August 2004 excerpted).

Those could only be the same "commonsense New Zealanders" who supported Don Brash's infamous Orewa speech that exhorted divisiveness, anxiety, and the corrosive self doubt, in which this nation has wallowed throughout the year. For the day the 'Warriors of the Lord' marched, a counter demonstration was hastily organised as a challenge to the lavishly funded (black shirts and free buses from far away) display orchestrated by Destiny Church. It was a rally for human rights. It was dynamic, cheeky, and flamboyant, colourful and varied. For many, it was a site of confrontation; and for reflection, on being Māori; and being there. As one demonstrator observed:

Puawai

It was utterly appalling how they're [Destiny Church] (DC) are hiding their bigotry behind this flashy veneer of Māori tradition and culture. DC had this haka where they lined up all their babies and Māori Battalion looking men (short back and sides with lots of brylcreme) and it was hateful. It was very weird though standing with mostly Pākehā dressed in outlandish and gorgeous outfits facing down a black-clothed brown wall of my own people (who looked like bloody Italian fascists!) and us chanting for the rights for others to live and love as they want to, the irony was smacking me about the head (email from a Māori supporter at Human Rights March).

This young woman was supporting her friends and her gay whānau, yet by the values of the t-shirted masses, whānau as she understood it had no value. Whānau for DC only means dad, mum, and the kids. As Pastor Brian proclaims, "It's a crime that we, as a society, should allow our children to contend with such abnormality. We must stand up for them!" The children were also encouraged to stand up for themselves, to confront the self confessed sinners of the Campaign Against Conservative Fundamentalism, the Christians for Civil Unions. Imagine: clusters of little boys, some just into primary school, with faces distorted with fury, howling at the camera, their small arms flailing in the haka.

Questioned by a television reporter about the presence of small children at such a volatile event, the pastor replied, "They are where they should be! Here! With their parents!" What about mana tāngata? What about the little girls who like to play rugby, or the little boys who like mummy's frocks? Where were they? What becomes of them? Do they have a safe place in Destiny's next generation? Indeed who is Destiny's "next generation"? And how many children, adolescents, young and older adults will have their lives destroyed by these attitudes? What is the intention of this posturing, and manipulation of Māori customary values?

I was text-messaged and cell-phoned during the event: it became rather like a counselling session, and, although so far away, a strangely mortifying long distance way of being there myself. Another close friend wept into her mobile phone:

It was horrifying, all under the guise of tikanga Māori, about whānau and empowerment and even their shirts looked like the tino rangatiratanga t-shirt. They did karanga and haka, and it was stage-managed with the men in front, the rangatahi in the middle, the women at the back, all howling, "Enough is enough!" I asked the kids what they meant - mō te aha? - they said "We're out to get the bad guys. "Or "It's about whānau" or they just didn't know! (Māori lesbian at Parliament grounds).

One middle-aged Māori male who'd enjoyed rugby in his time, said this about being part of the Rally for Human Rights:

It was like the Nation of Islam, and Hitler Youth, and Mussolini' fascists, and the

> KKK, and what totally freaked me out is that they were Māori! My own people! And they hated me. I felt that. They hated me. They wanted me dead (Gay Māori at Parliament grounds).

What is Destiny Church saying by manipulating and stage-managing Māori ritual and theatre? Who are they appealing to? As supposedly Treaty conscious people with a sense of mana motuhake is there, for Destiny Church, only one form of mana tāngata? And would I be correct to assume that they have adapted, if they use the phrase [mana tāngata] at all, the nineteenth century notion that tāngata no longer means person or human, but means only –male – only refers to men; with the father as the leader, the cornerstone of the family, the patriarch of the microcosm. He leads with his women as his helpmeets and handmaidens.

There can be nothing, no one, in between. That is why those marchers slung their vicious curses, insulted people who are different, menacing and seeking to intimidate either brazenly or indirectly. Those black shirts were a sinister and effective statement and that march was a warning.

On that day, that warning was challenged by Georgina Beyer's magnificence and rage. It was an iconic image, never to be forgotten, as the majestic MP for Wairarapa charged into the fray snarling:

> How dare you use the cloak of Christianity when you are imparting to your children more prejudice and discrimination towards people like me? (Georgina Beyer, Member of Parliament for Wairarapa, confronting the DC protest rally at Parliament House steps).

Did her eloquent counter opinion, the warning of danger and distress, the call for tolerance and diversity, aroha and manaakitanga, inclusion and open communities, reach the Māori media? Sadly, and I think, significantly, it did not. People supporting the counter demonstration, which included fluent Māori speakers and known personalities, were never approached by the Māori media for comment. Only the scenes of sinisterly costumed 'warriors', and the paramilitary glamour of superfit men marching in black-shirt formation, made it to that night's *Te Kaea* (Māori Television Services news).

With awed commentary about the shoal-like vastness ("kua rau ika nei") of the crowd, the news readers described how it was "mō tō whānau" (for your family). The reporters stressed repeatedly, "Ko tō whānau he taonga tuku iho", (family is our greatest treasure), as chubby boy children with contorted features performed their perfect haka; framed on screen with their uncles and fathers and brothers and cousins, shouting, "Enough is enough!" So we ask this question - what is happening here?

- There is a reconfiguring of a sense of Māori-ness and Godliness by those opposing what is perceived or defined as anti-Māori so it is therefore anti-Christ. Or does the reconfiguring go the other way: what is perceived or defined as anti-Christian becomes anti-Māori?
- The reiteration and enforcement of these attitudes as a "cornerstone" of whānau, and

Māori identity. The imposition of conformity in the name of Christ.

- That leads directly to active rejection of anyone who does not conform; creating a zero tolerance environment that denies mana tāngata.
- The pani and the rawakore - the helpless, voiceless, jobless, landless - are apparently offered leadership, structure, and direction in their lives.

And we come back to mana motuhake, and mana tāngata. These are threatened realities for Māori. So it is salient for us to consider the discipline of regimented Māori marching, arms aloft, purposeful and proud, and to reflect on this event. Particularly when we consider an excerpt from a recent media report on the Foreshore and Seabed submissions to the Select Committee at the Ellerslie race course in Auckland, where Margaret Mutu, an Auckland university professor spoke on behalf of her people, Ngāti Kuri,

> If you are in any culture in the world and assert that you are going to take over another culture's territory; that is a declaration of war. (NZ Herald, 26 August 2004, pg. A3).

Obviously we have some problems here in Aotearoa. But I am basically an optimist and for me, and the world I live in, hope does spring eternal!

So, what are the implications?

- Whatever happened to aroha, kotahitanga, and manaaki tāngata?
- How can such active hatred and rage ever begin to heal or confront all the suicide, denial and isolation already in our community?
- Doesn't such passionate and public display only generate more social dysfunction and despair?
- What is the point of it all?
- Who are the haters and wreckers now?
- Who will pick up the pieces?

Every one of you needs to think about and attempt to answer these questions: For your profession, for yourselves, for the country, and most of all, for the next generation - for whom we should all be standing up.

He mana motuhake, he mana tāngata! Kia ora tātou katoa.

Context of the Address

Kia ora Ngahuia. Six years ago when you were planning this address what were the most important things you wanted to get across to the audience?

Kia ora Ray! It was the annual conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society and it was a big one, I remember it was at Te Papa, which is quite a glamorous venue. I assumed that the participants would expect to hear provocative and stimulating ideas. As a keynote speaker I think when you accept an invitation like that there is always the requirement that you present the audience with something new, something diverting, and something that they will take away with them to think about.

I set these parameters for myself when I do a public keynote as significant and as challenging as this Psychological Society one. I was also very conscious that I'd be talking with a group of people who have a great compulsion to understand not just Māori but also the realities of contemporary Māori. That compulsion arises because psychologists engage with a client base that includes a vast number of Māori people in need and at risk.

Often in situations where they get no choice about their engagement.

That's right, and because of those factors I thought it would be interesting to consider public policy and the contemporary environment by exploring a couple of issues that were affecting Māori people and Māori life at that time. The two issues were the foreshore and seabed legislation and the opposition to civil unions and those formed the basis of my presentation.

Other things like Don Brash's Orewa speech?

Definitely, and, kind of lurking in there, decades of misunderstanding, of deliberate, and I think, quite malicious interpretations of aspects of the law, and many decades of victimisation giving rise to ghastly dialogues in which one party constantly says; 'you did this to me, therefore you owe me', and the other party quite stiffly says; 'yes, yes, yes I am guilty and therefore I will just do whatever you want to do and then it will be fine'. Of course it is never fine and those types of conversations are still going on now in both the foreshore and seabed and the civil unions context. Particularly in the Destiny Church response to civil unions we saw quite a bit of that.

While one party is saying yes I am guilty, another party is saying so what? I wasn't there, you are talking about ancient history, get over it.

Yes, it's really interesting, if you look at a cross-section of Pākehā, New Zealand only a small minority will say yes, yes, yes; mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. What comes to mind for me is the early Māori or "Black" feminist movement here in Aotearoa. In the seventies and eighties a number of very high profile, dynamic, gifted women emerged from my own community. I saw, quite literally, a queue of white- liberal, bleeding-heart, Pākehā women writing cheques to fund these activist Māori women to overseas conferences and to different women's events around the world. That funding was seen, not just as a way of helping but as an absolution and I really question that part of the exchange.

I never benefited from the funding, primarily because I never thought it was right

that the donors should be so manipulated. Many would doubtlessly deny that behaviour now, and my discussing it here may not be received well! There seemed to be dodgy behaviour on all sides in that, by exercising the need to make recompense, the Pākehā women were also buying favours. That doesn't really solve the problem.

It's no different from the massive Treaty settlements that seem necessary but in themselves don't solve the problem. The solution is much more on the face-to-face, human to human level where honest, meaningful, genuine, and unafraid conversations that lead to resolution of the issue can occur. But policy makers are afraid to take that risk, and invest that time.

You are the third person I've spoken to today[1] who has emphasised the importance of relating. So, whether the comment is made with respect to professional rapport and role playing, or keeping one's distance because that was then and this is now, or the cheque book diplomacy you describe, those manoeuvres all seem to be ways of not relating with respect and honesty. The contributors to this book draw readers' attention to the necessity of relating with respect and honesty and it's important that it doesn't just stay in the book.

It should be a lived pattern; not one we just consider or idealise but actual behaviour that we all engage in so there are truthful, trusting conversations where there is no subterfuge or sneaking away. I think there was a somewhat naive attempt at creating that real relationship in the very early days of the alliance from hell - the Māori Party and the National Party. Pita Sharples and Tariana Turia felt that they could honestly and bravely participate in the type of dialogue that John Key anticipated. That naivety is astonishing because, even as we speak, those possibilities are being shafted by the social welfare reforms, by the mining initiatives, by the threatened sale of state assets, and by a range of different policies the current administration is considering.

The (Auckland) Super City

Yes, the Super City, the disestablishment of Te Waka Toi (the Māori Art Board[2]) the imposition of 'one size fits all' in public arts.

I suppose Pita and Tariana have only done what other Māori leaders have done in attempting to gain some Māori influence on policy and legislation.

It doesn't work! And you would think that they would learn. It's alarming it really is.

Speaking as a Pākehā, I find it intensely frustrating that we have this history of being offered or of creating possibilities and then we go and sabotage those possibilities.

Yes they do, and each generation has to clean up the mess that results. That's the irony,

1 See chapters: 12, Linda Waimarie Nikora, 5, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 11, Ted Glynn
2 Te Waka Toi, the Māori arts board of Creative New Zealand, is responsible for developing Māori arts and artists. Te Awekotuku was the chair of the board from 2006-2009.

I think we speak from the heart and we emphasise the need to leave behind us a better place- but that's dreaming really.

In Auckland, there seem to be a bunch of locals who are making damn sure that it's difficult or impossible to do that which is extraordinary, which makes me very angry.

I think that they are doing that because they see their own power base threatened.

If we are talking about John Key's bunch it's not so good, what if we are talking about Pita and Tariana?

As I said, it is an alliance from hell and they are not there as individuals. They can't be trusted to carry the mandate of the people anymore; their support for the National Party and its capitalist values and neo-liberal agenda just does not make sense to me. It is an unpardonable betrayal. You don't sleep with the enemy to get them to listen to you. That's a no-brainer.

Would it have been any different if they had gone with Labour? In the past Labour has just been sneakier about shafting Māori.

I don't know. The Te Reo Māori legislation, the Waitangi Tribunal initiative, the establishment of a parallel reo Māori education system at all levels, originate from Labour policy and their listening to and working genuinely with Māori. And those are just a few examples. I consider that Labour is a lot more trustworthy than any of the other parties, that's apart from the Foreshore and Seabed Act which was probably the most misguided and politically foolish action of the last Labour government.

I know that's just me declaring my own particular political allegiances. I am still quite angry at the way that Act was played out and the behaviour of Helen Clark (the Prime Minister); it was appalling and gravely disappointing from someone who I had really admired for many, many years.

What bugged me was that Helen and her Labour government could have said; 'the Supreme Court decision opens the way for legal processes to resolve the issue, we are going to be talking with the leaders of iwi and hapū around the country and will make our concern clear that, whatever the outcomes of legal processes, all New Zealanders should continue to have access to the foreshore and seabed'. I think they just panicked.

Yes, it was panic. The greatest disappointment was the government's refusal to acknowledge that the original litigation could have been settled in a very moderate and quite local way because it was actually a local issue. It need never have become something national, ghastly, partisan, and inter-tribal. The issue was between Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Koata the local iwi and the Marlborough Sounds Harbour authority. It could've simply been clarified, argued out and dealt with at that level. It need never have come into the public and national arena, and that was the original mistake.

The roots of the shambles go back to the 1860s when the Crown actually barred the Māori Land Court from assessing whether Māori at Thames had customary title to the foreshore and seabed there. That bar remained in place until the 1960s a rather nasty time bomb awaiting detonation.

Creating devastation for generations. We have gone slightly off track but that was very much part of the context for the address. The other part was the callous manipulation of Māori values, Māori ritual behaviours and Māori sensibility around the civil unions issue by Destiny Church and others. Recently, I had a really interesting reflection on a more recent event; the television broadcast of Sir Howard Morrison's tangi. All the men, the young men of the extended family dressed in black looked really elegant and strong. They appeared very clean and well groomed.

On the funeral day many of them engaged with the cameras, and offered commentary, and performed and I heard a lot of people who had watched that on the news and on Māori television comment how, on the day of the funeral, they looked like Destiny church.

Destiny effectively co-opting all that power and strength?

They meant to; it was about taking the imagery and manipulating visual symbols to screw with people's heads to create maximum visual and emotional impact on already vulnerable people in the population. The Destiny march was about power and that look was powerful.

That helps me clarify the section of the address on the Destiny church. I kept hearing your anger and sadness but somehow the text did not convey that very clearly.

Yes, well I am happy to amend it and develop it. That would be fine.

Reflection

Having had a chance to look back at what you said; what do you think are the most important parts of what you said on the day?

A very good but also quick answer would be: he aha te mea nui ō te ao? That's what I said in the address, it means 'what is the most important thing in this world?' and the answer is people. The address is about people, about the manipulation of Māori cultural values, and about the misunderstanding of how Māori manage assets like the foreshore and seabed. Those misunderstandings mean we end up asking questions: 'what happened to concepts or practices like aroha?' 'Like kotahitanga - being all together?' 'Like manaaki tāngata - support for each other?'

We know that in the wider society, particularly in the context of psychological practice, that there are huge gaps, vast chasms between saying the words out loud and

understanding what they mean and actually seeing them enacted. Māori people do not live the reality implied by these cultural concepts we hold so dear. In the world around us those concepts may be very hard to find, and if we found them would we become better people? Is it possible to reclaim and manifest those customary values, effectively and genuinely, and, if we did, can they be the basis of an amiable, working, laughing Aotearoa?

I totally agree, but it needs both our peoples to live up to their responsibilities.

To make it work, yes absolutely and I think this might be a bit simplistic as a way of putting it, but it really requires that the people understand and move forward together and, most importantly, keep moving forward.

This is a complete aside but you might enjoy it. The day after you spoke, we had the AGM of the Society where the then President, acting under pressure from the then President of the Australian Psychological Society pushed to have the meeting agree to a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for closer relationships between the two societies. That was fine, but she tabled the draft MOU the Australians had prepared and said; 'we need to sign this before there is a change in presidency'. Well, the draft MOU simply spoke about how the two societies would seek ways to work together. To my surprise, and I found out later the surprise of all the members of the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) in the audience, there was widespread opposition to going with that MOU because it did not acknowledge our commitment to a bicultural Society.

Wow

We were in the audience and were being shown there had been a major step forward; that the commitment to become a bicultural Society was now seen as a vital part of how members thought about our Society. The experience gave us a lot of hope.

It certainly would. It speaks to the hard work done by lots and lots of people over the preceding 20 years or more. Some were talking to the Psychological Society in the 80s about this issue so it is good to see that hard work finally bearing some fruit twenty years on.

Yes, and we now have an MOU with the APS in which they acknowledge our commitment to the bicultural journey. We had learnt from 2004 that we should draft the MOU so they could respond to our draft. In it we emphasised the commitment of both societies to cultural diversity that included indigenous people and had the Australians acknowledge our commitment to Te Tiriti. That made it clear that we were quite happy for them to make comparable commitments but we weren't going to hang around waiting for them.

I would hope they make such a commitment for themselves.

Giving the Address in 2010

Those are reflections about what was important at the time. If you were going to speak to the Society conference again this year [2010] would you cover the same ground or would there be major changes?

I think I would be walking the same path but definitely deploying different examples and considering some of the issues now in front of us. The stuff that was bothering us six years ago has not gone away, a lot of the grief, the frustration, and the broken dreams are still there. In all probability I would draw on subject matter related to the Tangi Research Programme which is what I am working on at the moment.

The programme is about the Māori experience of death, grief, and dying and from that deep and humbling pool of inquiry I'd probably draw a number of exemplars or situations. Those stories would illustrate what is happening now. They'd effectively challenge and stimulate the audience, and remind them that death, the final and finite experience of being human, is what we all share.

Ngahuia thank you very much for your time. Tēnā rawa atu.

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