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# TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: NEGOTIATING BUREAUCRATISATION

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

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at

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by

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Haere mai ki aau, ki Te Papaorotu
kite au te rena, kite urunga te taka
ki te moenga te whakaarahia.
Ahakoa iti taku ngohi, he rei kei roto.

*Tuheitia*
*Waikato Chief*

# Abstract

Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae is a Maori community settlement located in the Waikato region of New Zealand. Its hapu (sub-tribe) community was one of 33 hapu that formed the Tainui confederation claiming compensation from the Crown for land confiscated in the nineteenth century. The claim was settled in 1995 and it was within this context that research for this study was conducted at the marae from August 1997 to December 1999.

This ethnographic study examines the way that the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae managed its affairs through its two management bodies, the Marae Committee and the Trustees. It is argued in this thesis that the marae's mode of management is in transition from an informal to formal mode, and from an inward to outward looking focus. Bureaucratic administration, it is argued, has been the major catalyst for the transition and has been introduced into marae operations through an accumulation of state legislation affecting Maori land and communities. Furthermore, some aspects of bureaucratic administration have been legitimated and appropriated by the iwi authority, which has passed this on to the Marae Committee. The community have been complicit in the adoption of bureaucratic administration by accommodating the requirements of both the state and the iwi authority. However, a persistent question was whether the marae could maintain its own rangatiratanga (authority, self-determination, control) and separate identity in the face of increasing pressure to conform to a bureaucratic management style.

The community managed the marae communally by way of hui (gatherings) and meetings, which were observed using a combined methodological approach of Kaupapa Maori research and ethnography, as described in *Chapter 2*. The philosophy of kotahitanga (solidarity) underpinned the social organisation of the Tainui tribal confederation, so understanding the place of the marae in its wider socio-political environment has helped in comprehending the nature of the pressure on the community to increase its scale of operations and is explained in *Chapter 3*.

*Chapter 4* introduces the accumulation of influences that have brought about a change of managerial style from informal to formal organising. The practical effect of these influences are demonstrated in the management structure and administrative systems that the community used. These are described phenomenologically in *Chapters 5* and 6 respectively. The management plan, compiled since 1995, had a strong emphasis on management structural review and participation in tribal development initiatives and is discussed in *Chapter 7*. The implementation of a collaborative development project between the iwi authority and Marae Committee is described in *Chapter 8.* The final chapter reflects on the impact of bureaucratic administration on marae management as well as the dynamism of the community and how the rangatiratanga of the marae has thus far been maintained.

# Acknowledgements

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# Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *ahi ka roa* | Long established ties to a place usually over several generations; keep the fires warm |
| *epa* | Wall posts |
| *hakari* | Formal meal |
| *hangi* | An oven dug into the ground to steam food |
| *Hapu* | Sub-tribe |
| *heke* | Rafters |
| *Hinaki* | Relish, accompaniments on the dinner table |
| *hongi* | A ritual of combining life essences by pressing noses together (that is, breathing together) |
| *hui* | Gathering, customary meeting |
| *hui wananga* | Discussion forums |
| *iwi* | Tribe; tribal |
| *kai* | Food, meal |
| *kaiako* | Teacher |
| *kaiawhina* | Helpers |
| *kaimahi* | Workers |
| *kaitiaki* | Custodian, caretaker, guardian, trustee |
| *kaitiakitanga* | Custodianship, caretaking |
| *kaiwhaikorero* | Orators |
| *kanohi ki te kanohi* | Face-to-face |
| *kapahaka* | Dance group |
| *karakia* | Prayer, blessing the food (grace) |
| *karanga* | Welcoming speech of an elder woman presented in the form of a chant; call |
| *kaumatua* | Respected leaders, elder men and women |
| *kaupapa* | Purpose, charter |
| *kawa* | Protocols |
| *kawemate* | Unveiling |
| *kawenata* | Covenant |
| *kite* | Woven flax basket |
| *koha* | Gift, donation |
| *kohanga reo* | Literally means "language nest." Refers to Maori language immersion pre-schools. |
| *kopikopi* | Hula, jaunty hip-swinging dance |
| *koroua* | Male elders |
| *kowhaiwhai* | Painted rafter patterns |
| *kuia* | Elder women |
| *mahau* | Porch |
| *mana* | Authority, control, status, power |
| *mana marae* | Authority of the marae |
| *mana whenua* | Authority for the land |
| *manuwhiri* | Guests and visitors to the marae |
| *marae atea* | The courtyard or grassy open space in front of the |

| | |
|---|---|
| | meeting house |
| *matauranga Maori* | Traditional process for gathering, validating, learning, building, and disseminating knowledge |
| *matua* | Elder male, literally translated as “father” |
| *mihi* | Acknowledgement |
| *mihimihi* | Short speech |
| *pa* | Fortified village |
| *paepae* | Threshold of the meeting house; also referred to as the place where elders position themselves to welcome visitors to the marae. The men sit on the front row of seats near the marae aatea, women stand at the threshold of the meeting house. |
| *pakeke* | Mature person generally over the age of 45, and including elders who are not kaumatua |
| *panui* | Notice |
| *papakainga* | Homestead, the private communal home of a whanau or small number of whanau |
| *peeke* | Storage room, foodbank |
| *piruru* | Shelter for manuwhiri and the paepae |
| *pou* | Pole, post, position, portfolio, support |
| *poukai* | A Kingitanga celebration hosted by Kingite marae |
| *pou kara* | Flag pole |
| *powhiri* | Formal ceremony welcoming visitors to the marae |
| *putea* | Fund, account |
| *rangatahi* | Young people generally aged between the teenage years and the early-50's |
| *rangatira* | Chief |
| *rangatiratanga* | Self-determination, autonomy, independence, authority |
| *raupatu* | Land confiscations |
| *rewena* | Potato dough bread |
| *ringawera* | Workers doing general cooking, cleaning and other caring tasks at a hui. Literally means "hot hands." |
| *runanga* | Council |
| *tahuhu* | Ridge pole; symbolically the back bone of the house |
| *take* | Issues |
| *tamariki* | Children |
| *tangata whenua* | People who through occupation over several generations belong to a particular region; people of the land; hosts |
| *tangi* | To grieve or cry |
| *tangihanga* | Funeral. Colloquially shortened to *tangi* |
| *taniwha* | Mystical guardian |
| *taonga* | Treasures |
| *tapu* | Spiritual essence, sacred, restricted, reverence; |

| | |
|---|---|
| | latent forces |
| *taurahere* | Refers to groups of people living in tribal regions that are not their own |
| *te reo* | Maori language |
| *tekoteko* | Sentinel |
| *tikanga* | Customs, correct principles |
| *tino rangatiratanga* | Sovereignty, governance |
| *tipuna* | Ancestor |
| *tipuna whare* | Ancestral houses |
| *tohunga* | Experts, priests |
| *tukutuku* | Stitched reed panels |
| *turangawaewae* | A footstool, a place to stand |
| *urupa* | Cemetery |
| *waiata* | Song, chant |
| *waka* | Canoe |
| *wananga* | Forums, retreats |
| *whaea* | Mother, aunty, elder female |
| *whaikorero* | Formal speech made by a man |
| *whakama* | Shyness, shame, fear, embarrassment |
| *whakapapa* | Blood ties; genealogy; bonds |
| *whakatau* | Welcoming chant |
| *whakatauki* | Poem, proverb |
| *whakawhanaungatanga* | Build rapport; develop relationships; introduce oneself |
| *whanau* | Group of nuclear families with common parents, grandparents or great grandparents; extended family |
| *whanaungatanga* | Relationships |
| *whariki* | Woven flax mat |
| *whare* | House |
| *whare hakinahakina* | Health and fitness centre |
| *whare hauora* | Health centre |
| *whare wananga* | House of higher learning, tertiary institution |

# Chapter 1

## He Powhiri/Welcome

There is more than one road to Whatawhata but the one most travelled is the east-west State Highway 23 from Hamilton to the coast. Driving to Whatawhata means travelling westward over low hills from an urban landscape to rural countryside even though the drive will take a mere 15 minutes or so (13 kilometres). At the top of the last hill, a valley of farmland sparsely populated with trees is spread out before you with the small township of Whatawhata in the middle. Ahead in the distance is the Hakarimata range of densely forested mountains through which you must travel to reach the coast. The Waipa River meanders from the north down through the valley and cuts through the western-most part of the township. A wide two-lane bridge connects the two sections of the town. The main part of the town has houses and facilities clustered together, including a tavern, service station, timber yard, primary school, golf club, touch rugby clubrooms, domain, and a public cemetery called *Peehihoukura*.

Across the bridge and to the right is Maori Point Road, which parallels the river for a short way. There are houses on both sides of this road, most of them owned by families belonging to the local tribes for this area, the Ngati Hourua, Ngati Mahanga, and Ngati Tama-inu-po tribes. About two hundred yards along on the left hand side lies Omaero Marae, the first of the two marae to be found on this road. The marae has two buildings - a small dining hall and an ablution block - in the centre of a large, grassy paddock surrounded by a low wire fence.

A few hundred yards further on is a fork in the road. The road to the right is about four hundred yards long and stops at a gate in front of a tract of fallow land leading to the Waipa River. The left fork leads to Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. There are gates to paddocks rather than houses for the first kilometre along this road until the road winds around first to the right, then left, and straightens out for a further two kilometres or so to end at a gate protecting private land at the end.

A private urupa (cemetery) called *Ruamakamaka* for some of the whanau (extended family) from the local tribes is situated at the first bend in the road on the left hand side, and four homes are clustered just past the second bend. For a few hundred yards after these homes the road is flanked by fenced paddocks, then a house on the left hand side heralds the location of the marae, which sits behind the house. Both are conspicuous by the fence of seven-foot high punga[1] logs that surround them, since all the other properties in the area use low wire fences. Were you to park on the grass verge outside the marae gate you would see an old, dilapidated house in the middle of the neighbouring property, and a short way down on the right hand side of the road, two more private homes before the road ends. Across the road from the marae is a straight, potholed, gravel access road about half a kilometre long through fenced paddocks leading to two weatherboard homes owned by the same whanau. Part of a northbound road to Ngaruawahia and Auckland can be seen on the hills in the horizon.

Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae is private property so a visitor to the marae would have to be formally welcomed in a ceremony called the powhiri.[2] Visitors do not usually come alone but in groups as manuwhiri (guests). Enquirers contacting the marae to organize a visit will be questioned closely so that the powhiri can be arranged properly. The enquirer may be asked where the group come from, why they want to visit, and who will be in the group. That information will find its way into the karanga (formal chant delivered by women) and whaikorero (formal speech delivered by men) at the powhiri. Let us assume that we are a part of a manuwhiri group that has just arrived.

---

[1] A fern tree that has a fibrous, fur-like trunk of a dark brown colour. The trunks are easy to cut and can be used as fence posts: lined up next to each other, cut to the same height, tied together with fence wire and planted into the ground.

[2] *Powhiri* is referred to here as the ceremony in its entirety whereas Salmond (1976/1985) refers to powhiri as one part only of the welcoming ceremony.

## Nau Mai, Haere Mai[3]

Everyone in our group parks their cars on both sides of the road or on the front lawn inside the marae grounds (to the right of the scene in *Figure 1.1*, adjacent to the gravel driveway in the foreground, is enough room to angle-park two rows of cars). Our group congregates at the grass verge in front of the driveway and waits quietly. The women, most of whom are wearing black from head to toe, are grouped in front of the men. Parents are grasping tightly to their children's hands, silently directing them with tugs and pulls.

*Figure 1.1 View of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae from the front gate (1999).*

Find the man who is presenting our group koha (donation) and give him your contribution wrapped or in an envelope. The usual koha these days is money because it is easy to carry and use. Move to the safest position, in the middle of the group behind the women but in front of the men. Looking straight ahead, you see two or

[3] An expression of welcome.

three kuia (women elders) facing us on the left corner of the centre building (in *Figure 1.1*) the ancestral meeting house called *Te Papa-o-Rotu* (the place of Rotu).

One of the kuia starts to karanga, a call of welcome sung to us. The sound is soulful and never fails to silence everyone. A kuia leading our group answers with a karanga of her own and the group slowly moves toward the marae atea, the wide expanse of lawn in front of the meeting house. In the context of a powhiri, the marae atea becomes a vortex of spiritual influences and a channel through which the groups communicate with each other. Kuia karanga across the marae atea to each other's group in turn until they have all had their say. By the time the kuia have finished with their karanga, the group is close to the marae atea with the piruru (shelter) called *Te Iti o Tuheitia* on the right.[4] The kuia in the group then halt.

Standing in silence for a few minutes with heads bowed, the group pays its respects to the memory of ancestors of the marae and all those who have passed away. For their part, the tangata whenua (hosts) pay respect to the memory of ancestors and deceased family members of the people from our group. Some of the women may even tangi (openly grieve). Then, the group moves slowly to the piruru to sit, avoiding the first row of seats near the marae atea where the men sit across from their counterparts on the tangata whenua side. The front row of seats is called the paepae.

Men who are to speak for our group take their place on the paepae numbering the same as the men on the paepae on the other side. The men decide who sits on the paepae in a manuwhiri group. Kaumatua (elders) will assume a place but younger men may have a position too depending on the composition of the group. Sometimes, the paepae is chosen by default, falling to those within the group capable of doing a whaikorero. A group of men stand waiting for us under the other piruru, called *Te Rua o Tuheitia*.[5] They sit once our paepae has formed.

---

[4] The first structure on the right in *Figure 1.1*
[5] The first structure on the centre left in *Figure 1.1*

One of the koroua (male elders) from the marae stands to deliver a whaikorero and welcome us to the marae. One of the men from our group then stands to respond, and the speeches continue in this way until all on the paepae have spoken. The kaiwhaikorero (orators) draw on mythology, tradition, whakapapa (genealogy) and ritual to structure their whaikorero (See Karetu, 1975; Mahuta, 1974; 1981; 1984; Salmond, 1976/1985, pp. 115-117). After each whaikorero ends, people move from their seats in the piruru and stand by the speaker to waiata (chant or sing) on his behalf and bring his whaikorero to an end.

The last speaker from the manuwhiri group is responsible for presenting the koha after his whaikorero and waiata. While a kuia from the manuwhiri side stands to karanga, he walks into the middle of the marae atea, speaking as he goes, and places the koha on the ground. He then backs away until he is sitting once again on the paepae. There is a pause, a quiet moment deliberating whether or not to accept the koha, then the last speaker from the tangata whenua paepae slowly walks up to the koha while one of the kuia from that side karanga to accept it. When he picks up the koha, the kuia finishes her karanga and the kaumatua accepts the koha in his whaikorero. Then he too backs out of the marae atea and returns to the paepae.

Next, everyone stands and prepares to meet one another individually. The tangata whenua form a single line edging the marae atea on either side of their piruru and extending across the front of the meeting house toward the manuwhiri. Tangata whenua who have not had a role in the proceedings so far but have been watching and listening, join the line. Our group form a line too, moving to the right and in front of the meeting house until the two lines meet. We all shake hands with the tangata whenua, perhaps hongi,[6] perhaps kiss each other on the cheek, perhaps both.

There is only one thing left to do to finally disperse the tapu (latent forces) that we have brought with us, and that is to eat. We may have to wait a while before being invited into the dining hall for a meal and this time is a good opportunity to talk to

[6] A ritual of combining life essences by pressing noses together, that is, breathing together.

people and discreetly look around, although we cannot yet stray too far from the marae atea.

Te Iti o Tuheitia, the manuwhiri piruru (see *Figure 1.2*), is a large structure with a corrugated iron roof, rows of plastic seats bolted onto metal frames, and a concrete floor. There are no walls, just wooden pylons supporting the roof. The piruru is used for manuwhiri to sit, rest (some powhiri can last for several hours), and get some protection from the weather. Te Rua o Tuheitia, the tangata whenua piruru, is much smaller and contains only one row of fixed seats for the paepae. Long form seats may have been placed unobtrusively around the two walls of the piruru for the kuia to sit on. An opening in the middle of the back wall allows people to slip discreetly into and out of the piruru. Standing in front near the meeting house side of Te Rua o Tuheitia is a pou (pole) depicting ancestors of the tribe.

Next to Te Iti o Tuheitia is a three-walled structure of concrete blocks painted a creamy yellow colour. The structure has a concrete floor and corrugated iron roof but there is no seating. The Queen, Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, uses it when she visits the marae, and the people place a lounge suite and coffee table in the edifice with whariki (woven flax mats) covering the floor. Next to this is a metal flagpole. The marae has its own flag, which it raises at tangihanga (funerals) and other important hui (gatherings). When the Queen visits, the Kingitanga (King Movement) flag is raised as well.

In the background is a white weatherboard house fenced off from the rest of the marae by wooden planks and remnant sheets of corrugated iron. The house is used as Te Kohanga Reo (a pre-school in the medium of Maori language), but is closed for the day whenever there is a hui so that the children, kaiawhina (helpers), kaiako (teachers), and parents can join in the activities. The adults often become the ringawera (organisers) at powhiri. There is a wide gap between the Kohanga Reo and the meeting house and through this gap, at the back near the fence line, stands a memorial to one of the landowners, Pumipi Kingi Muriwhenua.

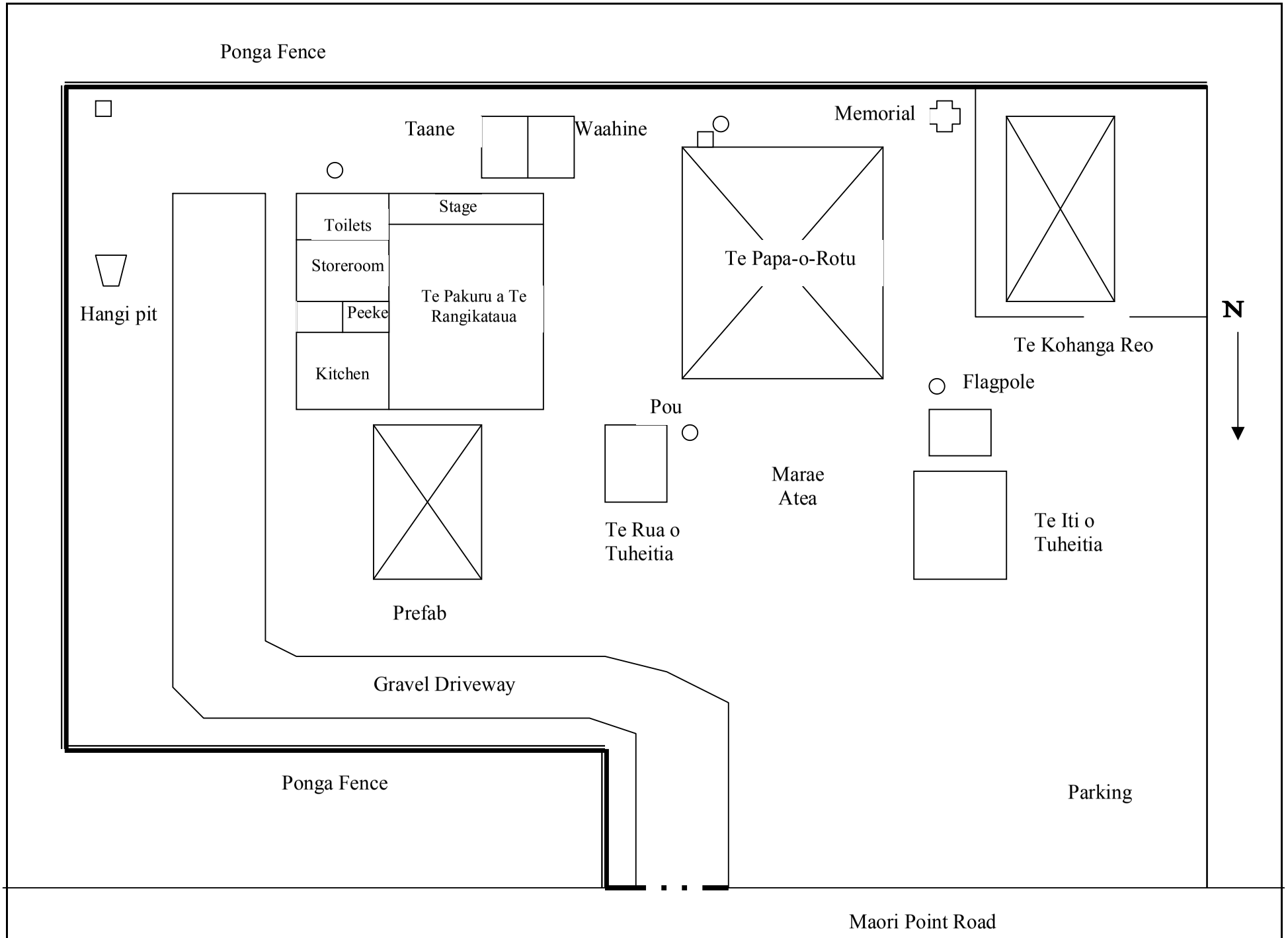


*Figure 1.2 Sketch layout plan of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae complex, 1998*

The meeting house, Te Papa-o-Rotu, can accommodate about 100 people for sleeping. Carvings surround the mahau (porch) of the meeting house and depict ancestors of the tribe. On top is the tekoteko (carved personification of an ancestor) of Tuheitia. The heke (rafters) on the porch ceiling are painted in traditional patterns called kowhaiwhai and the panels continue down the walls, alternating with carved epa (wall posts). Carvings adorn the lintels over the door and window as well. There are no carvings inside the meeting house. Instead, tukutuku (stitched reed) panels that stretch from the floor to the cornice are placed along the walls inside and kowhaiwhai adorn the tahuhu[7] and rafters. Between the tukutuku panels are framed photographs of family members who have passed away.

The dining hall is the large cream building at the far left of *Figure 1.1* and is called *Te Pakuru a te Rangikataua* (the flute of Rangikataua) in reference to the manner in which the ancestor Rangikataua called to his people by "speaking" through a flute (Phillipps, 1955, pp. 226-227). Behind the dining hall is a small ablution block of toilets and showers, and in front of the hall is a prefabricated building that was purchased from the local primary school in the mid-1980s (see *Figure 1.2*). Over the years, it has served as a place for the tangata whenua to sleep during hui or extra bed space if the meeting house was full.

When the meal for guests is ready, the double doors on the side of the dining hall open and one of the kuia karanga, inviting us in. The kaumatua group together and lead us into the hall and along the aisle from the door, where columns of trestles and form chairs flank both sides. Because our group is a large one, someone directs us to the seating to fill all of the places on each table. There is a wooden stage along the back wall where trestle tables and chairs may be placed for distinguished guests, who will be flanked by kaumatua from the marae there at the ‘top table.’ All other tables are positioned perpendicular to the foot of the stage. Since there are no dignitaries in

[7] Literally translates as.”backbone.” The tahuhu is a large, central rafter that runs along the ceiling the length of the meeting house.

our group, the ‘top table’ is a row of tables below the stage spanning almost the width of the hall.

Once we are seated, one of the kaumatua stands to karakia (bless the food) and we can eat. The tables are set with crockery and a dessert setting for each individual. Along the middle of the table are condiments, plates of bread, fruit, small punnets of seafood, and at times, soft drinks and sweets. Added to this while we eat are large dishes of the main meal: platters of different meats and dishes of roasted, steamed, or boiled vegetables. Waitresses move between the tables refilling food platters; collecting empty dishes; or carrying large teapots of tea or coffee, filling and refilling cups along each table.

The hall can seat up to 380 people. The ceiling is high which, combined with the rectangular shape of the building, makes the hall seem similar to a warehouse building or school hall. To soften this effect, the inner doors are painted with kowhaiwhai patterns in bright colours, as are the ridge pole and rafters, and framed tukutuku panels hang on the walls much like large tapestries. A mural depicting part of the history of the tribe covers the back wall above the stage and in the middle of the mural is a small window etched with a part of the story.

After a time, one of the men at the top table stands to mihi (acknowledge) a welcome to everyone and thanks the ringawera for their hospitality and care. Other kaumatua scattered throughout the hall also stand to do the same thing.

The formalities are now over and people begin to wander outside. Now that we have been welcomed to the marae, we are able to participate in helping the ringawera prepare for groups that are welcomed after us. Some of the kaumatua may be asked to sit on the tangata whenua paepae. After all of the groups have been welcomed, and the dining hall has been cleaned, the hui starts. We are now able to move freely around the marae, and contribute to discussions at the hui.

The powhiri described here is a typical formality for visiting groups that are not familiar with the marae. There are several variations, depending on the people visiting and the sort of hui that is to be held. Powhiri precede a hui whenever manuwhiri are involved. Many readers of this thesis will probably be manuwhiri as well so a textualised powhiri by way of an introduction is warranted. Hui that the tangata whenua hold for internal management purposes do not require powhiri.

There is a general routine order to domestic hui. The dining hall is the usual venue. Trestle tables and form chairs sufficient to seat about 30 people are arranged in a rectangle near the foot of the stage. Someone, generally a man, starts the hui with a mihi (introductory speech) and karakia (prayer). At hui wananga (discussion forums), a facilitator stands in front of the group to present the kaupapa (purpose) of the hui and the *take* (issues) to be discussed. There may be several facilitators presenting different issues: if they are unknown to the group, they may begin with a mihi to whakawhanaungatanga, a process of introducing themselves and explicitly stating their connection to the group. At Te Papa-o-Rotu, one of the rangatahi (young people) facilitates the hui using an agenda and summarises discussions on a whiteboard or large, industrial sized rolls of wallpaper.

Wananga are usually held over a weekend so that workers and people living at a distance from the marae are able to attend. During discussions, people will take turns to critically analyse the topic and issues that the facilitator presents. Discussions increase in complexity as diverse opinions and traditional knowledge inform the topic. The discussions can involve ascertaining opinions, may expose gaps in knowledge, can clarify issues, and are generally informative. They may even lead to conclusions or decisions reached by consensus. Hui always close with a mihi and karakia.

### He Mihi Whakawhanaungatanga

All of the whanau affiliated to the marae are connected to each other in some way by whakapapa: my connection to them is through my maternal lineage. Several of them

grew up with my mother, grandparents, and members of the wider whanau, and knew my great-grandparents. As a member of the community, I had maintained an informal interest in Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae since moving to Hamilton in 1990. Before then, my involvement with the marae had been limited to whanau hui such as tangi, because I resided outside the region. Shortly before starting this research project I was involved with the Marae Committee, the main management group, co-ordinating two development initiatives. The management roles that people undertake are not leadership roles in the same sense as they may be considered to be in a corporate office or non-government organisation. Instead, they are kaimahi (workers) in the same vein as working in the kitchen or cleaning the ablution block. At the Marae Committee hui in October 1997 I requested, and was given, permission to study the management activities at the marae.

This research project is an ethnographic study of the management and administration processes at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae and of the people who undertake these duties. Responsibility for the care and protection of a particular marae - as a physical place, as a space for cultural expression, as a manifestation of spiritual beliefs, and as a symbolic home for an entire iwi (tribe) - lies with all members of the tangata whenua for that marae. Descent, rather than place of residence, defines the community (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1998, p. 9). Therefore, every person of Maori descent has a marae, a communal home, somewhere. However, the daily tasks involved in caring for the marae tend to fall to a small number of the tangata whenua who live nearby. People's commitment to the marae was underscored by a belief that the marae was an indispensable part of their identity and so must continue to function for whanau and manuwhiri. The community conducts marae affairs and addresses related concerns collectively by way of hui, and these hui are the tahuhu (backbone) of the research.

Marae have been described as: a building complex with a meeting house and marae atea, a community gathering place, a community centre, and a village to name a few. At least one of these definitions is likely to describe any marae anywhere, from marae

that have been built for schools, tertiary institutions, and churches, to pan-tribal marae in cities, to marae that have whanau, hapu, or iwi communities. With regard to the latter, what we call 'marae' today are similar to the traditional papakainga[8] of a rangatira (chief) and his whanau, hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi. Near the centre of the papakainga would be the chief's whare or a meeting house, which always had an open space in front called the marae atea. The marae atea was a socially significant assembly point for the conduct of communal activities including play, dining, training, meetings, powhiri, and tangi (Walker, 1975, pp. 21-22).

Nowadays, papakainga are more likely to refer to a cluster of homes that are built on privately owned land. The difference between papakainga and marae is that the former are privately owned by a whanau or specific group of whanau, whereas marae are open to a broader, hapu or iwi community and are built on land entrusted to that community. Papakainga may not necessarily include a marae but where this is the case, the two are likely to be set apart slightly from each other in more clearly defined spaces. The combination of papakainga and marae are now symbolically as well as physically represented. For instance, Pohara Marae near Cambridge has a papakainga of about 20 homes situated behind the marae complex, that is, both papakainga and marae are physically represented on the same land block. Other marae, like Te Papa-o-Rotu, now stand alone on land reserved for the purpose, and some of the whanau live nearby in homes on privately owned land. The concept of papakainga and marae remains – the marae surrounded by homes - but is not represented on a single land block. Although people may no longer physically live on the marae, it is nevertheless considered a turangawaewae (a place to stand), a place where one belongs, where one is tangata whenua (people belonging to the land).

## A Suitable Definition for Marae

The definitions for marae described previously are only partially correct: the marae is a building complex, a gathering place, a community centre, and a village but it is so

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[8] Papakainga literally means home ground, home base or homestead. It has been translated as "village settlement" in early Maori land legislation.

much more than these functionalist definitions suggest. A more suitable definition for marae that have whanau, hapu or iwi communities is that they are symbolic or physical homes for a kin-based group. The idea of a marae as a communal home brings to mind the notions of belonging, of community, of identity, of privacy, and of the right to control what happens in your own home. These associations can take the meaning of marae beyond its physical manifestation to incorporate its social, psychological, emotional, and even spiritual meaning for people. There is a symbiotic relationship between the marae tipuna whare (ancestral houses), the community, and the land. Each element is representative of the marae's physical, social and cultural dimensions but the symbiosis is spiritual in nature incorporating such identity indicators as whakapapa, turangawaewae, ahi ka roa (traditional ties), and generational links to tipuna (ancestors). The land is a physical link to the generations of tipuna who resided there in the past and indicates the cumulative development of the iwi, the territorial and resource responsibilities to the atua (gods), and the social organisation of the region. The community is the kaitiaki (custodian) with responsibilities to past and future generations to ensure that the marae continues to function as a communal home. The tipuna whare document the history of the community and parts of the whare, if not the entire whare, can share a mystical mauri (essence) with the named tipuna, which is the case with the tekoteko of Tuheitia at Te Papa-o-Rotu. Recognition of this symbiosis leads to an understanding that marae have all three inter-related and inseparable elements. Even though each element of a marae may have had a separate historical trajectory at one stage, they each become bound together so tightly that it is cumbersome to refer to them separately, hence the all-encompassing term 'marae.'

The marae is not an organisation but the home of a kin-based community and this factor distinguishes the marae from community organisations or non-government organisations (NGOs). However, the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae used some elements that are common to organisations as a means of organising and structuring its managerial responsibilities.

## Research Focus

It is argued in this thesis that the marae's mode of management is in transition from an informal to formal mode, and from an inward to outward looking focus. Bureaucratic administration has been the major catalyst for this transition. Once established, the inevitability of bureaucratic administration encroaching on, and replacing, traditional practices raises the question of whether the marae can continue to maintain its own rangatiratanga (authority, self-determination, control, independence) and unique identity.

The marae had a particular kin-based community, was in a particular iwi region, and the research was conducted in a particular moment of the hapu's history. Kawharu (2001) stated that analysing the social and cultural dynamics could give a community perspective on how existing resources could be maximised against external pressures. Accordingly, the dynamics of the marae's management structure, processes and practices have been described and examined for the ways in which the community has maintained its rangatiratanga in the face of increasing external pressure to conform to a bureaucratic management style.

The community managed the marae communally by way of hui and meetings, and these hui and meetings were investigated from August 1997 to December 1999 using the combined Kaupapa Maori research and critical ethnography methodological approach described in *Chapter 2*. Since the concept of kotahitanga (solidarity) shaped the social organisation of the iwi confederation of which Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's community was a part, an understanding of the connections that the marae had to its whanau, hapu and iwi was essential for contextualising the place of the marae in its wider socio-political environment and has been explained in *Chapter 3*. Understanding the confederation's social organisation helps in comprehending the nature of the pressure on the marae to increase its scale of operations from solely internal matters to include external affairs.

*Chapter 4* explored the argument that the marae's management style was in transition from informal to formal organising due to the accumulative effect of bureaucratic administration, as introduced through state legislation affecting Maori land and communities. The role played by the iwi authority in legitimating bureaucratic administration and pressuring the marae to broaden its focus to external matters has also been discussed. These two influences, that of state legislation and the iwi authority, represent the two main pathways to the marae along which bureaucratic administration travelled.

The next four chapters are a phenomenological description of the marae's management structure, administrative processes, management planning, and development project implementation. The intricate and complex web of influences on management processes and practices at the marae play themselves out in ways that have not always been explained in this thesis. It is the nature of ethnographies that interest in the phenomena of contemporary practice endures long after theoretical and conceptual frameworks have gone out of fashion. Therefore, these chapters describe the phenomena as they were observed and incorporating detail that seems superfluous to the main arguments in this thesis, in order to contribute to future investigations as well as highlight the contextual complexities of marae management and administration. Cultural influences that kept the community in control were embedded in this detail, as was the influence of bureaucratic processes. It is argued that the community maintained its rangatiratanga by experimenting and blending cultural and bureaucratic processes.

The final chapter summarises the main bureaucratic influences on the way Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was managed as well as the dynamic, organic way in which community rangatiratanga was maintained. However, Max Weber's foreboding about the inevitability of bureaucratic administration once it is established and the likely assimilative outcomes serves as a cautionary note for marae communities (Weber, 1947/1964; 1946/1968).

The history of the marae, its community, its traditional iwi alliances, the marae's tikanga (customs) and kawa (protocols), and the stories behind the marae's artefacts and art, are all matters of importance to the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu that are best investigated using a matauranga Maori (traditional knowledge building) approach. Such a methodology is used by the community as a whole, for a community knowledge-building purpose, and is continuous and ongoing. Whether investigation of these matters will culminate in a written report is left for the community to decide. These topics have been discussed in this thesis in brief only and for contextual purposes, using material that is already in the public domain. The accuracy of that material still awaits community validation and by gathering it into this one report I hope to contribute to the matauranga Maori process upon which community knowledge can be built.

An in-depth, comparative analysis of the changing characteristics of traditional customs and traditional processes is also outside the scope of this thesis. The thesis is not a critical study that compares the 'old-time' Maori as they were with the 'modern' Maori as they are today, to the detriment of the latter. Instead, the thesis focuses on the progressing dynamics of a particular Maori community in flux and its use of a modern development – the use of Western management and administrative processes and practices – and the biculturalism apparent in contemporary practices.

A close examination of the use of Maori concepts (such as kaitiakitanga or custodianship) and processes (such as whanau processes) remains unexplored. They too are mentioned here only in passing. Such an examination deserves further in-depth research attention and this study is a contribution to that endeavour. Although this thesis is intended to fulfil the conditions of a doctoral degree, in the spirit of Kaupapa Maori research the thesis also aims to be of practical benefit to the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu (who continue to adjust management processes and formulate development plans), other marae communities with similar circumstances, and external agencies that are contemplating seeking the involvement of marae communities in development initiatives of their own.

# Chapter 2

# Research Methodology: Kaupapa Maori Research and Critical Ethnography

## Critical Theory as a Backdrop to the Methodology

Prior to the research, my theoretical position was influenced most by critical theory on struggle, resistance, and emancipation. Particularly influential were the post-colonial theories espoused in such seminal work as Frantz Fanon's (1965) manifesto about decolonisation and the effects of colonialism upon subjected peoples, and Edward Said (1978) on Western representations of the Orient that were used to justify imperialism and colonial rule. However, post-colonialism is limited in focus to indigenous reactions to, role in, or effects from, encounters with Europeans and Western structures rather than the much larger landscape of indigenous experience. Other major influences were Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, from his characterisation of hegemony as a proletarian struggle through to hegemony as bourgeois control. Gramsci initially saw hegemony as a struggle fought on the level of ideas and culture and later developed the notion to mean a pervasiveness of ideas that colonised the mind (Femia, 1981). Cultural hegemony became an ideology that, when employed alongside the exercise of power, allowed one group to assert control over others (Lears, 1985). Paulo Freire's concept of concientisation was a process by which individuals caught in a situation of oppression could become active agents in transforming their lives by raising their own consciousness from that of naïve (experiences without knowing) to critical (intentionally experiments and searches for deeper knowledge) (Freire, 1976). Leonie Pihama (1993) aligned critical theory with Kaupapa Maori theory because it exposes the:

> underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide *ad hoc* justification for the

> maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Maori people (p. 57).

Linda Smith (1999) added that, "the project of critical theory held out the possibility that, through emancipation, groups such as Maori would take greater control over their own lives and humanity" (p. 186).

Michel Foucault's analysis of power relations broadens the parameters of critical theory to consider the productive as well as negative effects when power is exercised (Faubion, 2001). He made what now seems an obvious point: that power exists only when exercised and that it is exercised by all individuals. My study seeks to ascertain, through observation and participation, the nature of the power exercised by the marae community in both its positive and negative aspects. In its most positive form, the community exercises power to the advantage of self-determination and control over its own marae, and can be expressed in terms of tino rangatiratanga (Maori control of things Maori). Power in its most negative form occurs in relationships between the community and external agencies whereby a continual struggle for some form of domination or autonomy becomes apparent. For Maori, it is perhaps best exemplified as a struggle for mana (control). Conceptual frameworks about power relations similar to those exercised at the marae were incorporated as the thesis developed. Of particular note is the heuristic use of Max Weber's work on bureaucracy (Weber, 1946/1968).

## An Emergent Perspective: Kaupapa Maori Research

Many Maori academics and researchers are acutely conscious that research is about power and control. For Russell Bishop (1996), Kaupapa Maori research, "presupposes positions that are committed to a critical analysis of the existing unequal power relations within our society . . . [and] is a discourse that has emerged and is legitimated from within the Maori community because it is based on historical precedence of culturally constituted validation processes" (pp. 12-13). With its roots in Maori peoples' politicisation, Kaupapa Maori research perspectives centre Maori

philosophies and epistemologies in research processes and privilege Maori concerns and practices. Kaupapa Maori research is a fledgling approach, "a counter-hegemonic approach to Western forms of research and, as such, currently exists on the margins" (Smith, 1999, p. 189). Graham Smith (1992b) commented that Kaupapa Maori was a local theoretical positioning related to being Maori that presupposed that the validity and legitimacy of Maori was taken for granted, the survival and revival of Maori language and culture was imperative, and the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being and over our own lives was vital to Maori survival.

Various concepts, models, ethical principles, and methods are continually being built up under the aegis of Kaupapa Maori research. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) set out a series of ethical principles for policy researchers conducting research on Maori communities. Te Ahukaramu Royal (1998) reported that Te Whare Wananga o Raukawa[9] were at the embryonic stage of a theory of Maori knowledge called *Te Ao Marama*[10] that would develop a "two-cultures" model based on the Treaty of Waitangi and would advocate whakapapa (genealogy) as a methodology. Linda Smith (1999, p. 187) argued that the concept of whanau (extended family) was used in methodologies to organise decision-making, participation and reporting. Mason Durie (1995) introduced a framework *(Te Whare Tapa Wha)* for understanding Maori health perspectives that was compared to the four sides of a whare (meeting house), as well as a multi-axial framework called *Te Hoe Nuku Roa – Maori Profiles* that empirically measured the characteristics of cultural identity. Bishop (1995) suggested that collective storying was a means of addressing indigenous peoples' desire for self-determination in educational research.

There have also been recent developments in the public sector in distinguishing different aspects of Maori research. A report by the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology described the way the Government's investment in research, science

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[9] A Maori university.
[10] Literally translated means 'the world of light.' In this context, I understand it to mean 'understanding the world.'

and technology (under the Vote RS&T system) supported Maori research and behaved in relation to Maori research (Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 2004). The report acknowledged the new directions that were emerging with regard to who conducted Maori research, the circumstances in which the research was being conducted, and the research topics. The report focused in particular, on the activities of the three main purchase agents under Vote RS&T: the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, the Health Research Council, and the Royal Society of New Zealand. These three agents used different approaches that corresponded to specific terminology about what they meant by Maori research. The terms used were 'Maori development,' 'Maori advancement,' 'Maori responsiveness,' 'Kaupapa Maori,' and 'Kikorangi' (blue sky) research. Maori development related to research about Maori as tangata whenua (indigenous people of New Zealand) that was conducted by Maori, for Maori, and possibly used Maori methodologies, with the aim of consolidating and developing Maori knowledge and deepening the Maori research skill base. Maori advancement related to research concerning Maori as New Zealand citizens that focused on achieving equity and reducing disparities between Maori and non-Maori. Maori responsiveness related to an expectation that purchase agents would design research portfolios that were responsive to the needs and diversity of Maori. Kaupapa Maori research was that which used tools based on Maori paradigms and methodologies and represented a part of the development of Maori thought, culture and worldview. Kikorangi research was that which was led by whanau, hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe) and addressed questions of relevance to the community. Such research was considered to be Maori-specific but of an unusual or novel nature.

The Foundation for Research, Science and Technology used further descriptors to distinguish the various levels of Maori involvement in the research. Research specifically relevant to Maori was that which typically had a low level of Maori involvement. Research involving Maori contributed to improving outcomes for Maori and had Maori assisting in developing the research proposal, as participants, and possibly as research members. Maori-centred research was conducted with Maori as significant participants and as senior members of the research team.

Kaupapa Maori research met the expectations and quality standards set by Maori, responded to culturally distinct issues of importance, used and produced Maori knowledge, and had Maori involved both as significant participants and primary researchers (Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 2004, p.17).

Since this study was based at the marae, a Kaupapa Maori perspective was intrinsic to the research process but the elements constituting that perspective were not always consciously or deliberately inserted. Instead, the research process was moulded by the practices that the community took for granted, that is, the process was influenced by the tikanga (code of conduct) and kawa (proper practices) at the marae so that ethical considerations and appropriate methods were largely reactionary. Furthermore, whereas Bishop (1997) used powhiri (welcome ceremony), hui (gatherings) and whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) as metaphors to explain the interviewing method employed to gather collective stories, these features were a real and not metaphorical part of social organisation at the marae. Whakapapa (genealogy) and whanau are co-efficients of identity in marae social life that affect relationships and behaviour in complex ways so research for this study was no less affected. For example, the marae community is predicated on whakapapa so at times it was necessary for me to state my whakapapa – usually in terms of whanau - in order to allow connections between myself and others to take place. Those connections often enabled us to speak together freely. My loyalties were assumed to correlate with the whanau to whom I belong and vice versa, and expectations of how I would act were predicated on historical knowledge of those whanau.

### *Dilemmas in Using Kaupapa Maori for Academic Research*

Tensions between the processes and procedures that often apply to Western academic research and the demands of the marae community were apparent from the start. For example, community expectations were dominant in the fieldwork whereas the demands of academic research dominated the analysis and writing stages of the research. Twin purposes were common, such as conducting research for the community and for the thesis, writing the thesis for academic readers as well as for

the community. Certain procedures common in Western research could not be easily accommodated at the marae or were achieved by means not commonly practised in academic circles. Examples include the use of technology, interviewing methods, or the procedure for gaining informed consent (all of which are discussed in more detail below).

The community expected that my participation in the marae's activities would be at least commensurate with that of other active members of the community. To do otherwise would have led to allegations of exploitation and I did not completely escape this claim since I chose to withdraw from participating in order to write the thesis. But participation was based on the priorities of the community, which rarely coincided with the priorities of the research. Observation for research purposes therefore changed into a recording of community priorities rather than the initial presupposed set of priorities with which I began. The study evolved from a focus on specific development initiatives such as educational support and systems reviews, to the processes used in managing the marae because the former could not be adequately understood without the latter. Furthermore, the development initiatives discussed in this thesis were those given importance (and therefore acted upon) by the community during the period of this study.

A common dilemma was the tension inherent in the fieldworker's, "double perspective of insider/outsider, stranger/friend, and participant/observer" (Wright & Nelson, 1995, p. 48). A particular issue was that of the insider/outsider dichotomy. As an insider, one is a member of the researched group and a participant who contributes to meeting the needs of the community. As an outsider, one is an observer and a researcher of the community with a specific research agenda that, in my case, was not set by the community. The dilemma was more acute in this study because my participation revolved around facilitating community development. The insider/outsider discourse is an academic one that constructs difference by turning the researcher into the 'other,' the stranger, the outsider, in order to compare the researcher's culture with that of the culture being studied, assuming that the two

cultures are different. The positivist position of objectivity and neutrality as elements of valid research underscores this discourse. A separation of the various roles the researcher plays also helps in a reflexive analysis of the research processes used. The dilemma goes to the heart of personal identity when one belongs to the indigenous community. Making oneself an outsider in the context of one's own marae community is akin to stripping away one's whakapapa connections and sense of belonging. After agonising over the dichotomy throughout the entire fieldwork period, I concluded that the possibility of making myself an outsider, even on a temporary analytic basis, was beyond my ability. As Smith (1999, p. 137) points out, insiders, their families and communities, have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis forever more. The concept of whanau as a means for making decisions, participating and reporting (1999, p. 187) was as much an integral part of the research methodology as was its influence in managing the marae.

## Relations of Power as Analytic Focal Points

It is from the point of analysis and interpretation that the research moved beyond the community under study to consider ideas about the wider society within which the community operates, although such analysis must then be returned and laid before the community for debate. The challenge has been in analysing in ways that are compatible with Maori ways of knowing and doing.

Marae management - which includes marae development - is essentially a political domain, where relations of power dominate interactions within the community and between the community and external agencies, providing a framework for analysis. Expressions of community take on political dimensions which can be experienced, obscured and analysed. Celia Haig-Brown (1995) found that the concepts of power, control, and culture featuring in her research were derived from a synthesis of academic and indigenous discourses and, "were arrived at as analytic focal points only after the bulk of the fieldwork was completed" (p. xvi). The same is true of this study, whereby an analysis of power relations is consistent with the political realities of interactions at the marae, the socio-political realities of the combined Tainui iwi in

the region, and the critical perspectives favoured by so many Maori researchers and academics.

Framing day-to-day management activity within a nexus of power relations allows us to be, in Foucault's (1980) words, "concerned with power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions" (p. 96).

> [The approach is by way of an] ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be - invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended etc. (Foucault, 1980, p. 99)

Analysing the minutiae of processes used in marae management not only reveals the mechanisms of power employed in marae management in both their positive and negative aspects, but how these mechanisms are then used to strengthen or weaken the marae's position and by whom. This form of analysis with regard to day-to-day activity not only exposes the mechanisms of repression and struggle that either make the marae stronger or corrode its independence, it also reveals the extent and characteristics of any external influences. The two most influential relationships are those between the marae and the state and between the marae and the iwi authority. The political relationship between the marae and the state is a significant one because cross-cultural differences, especially in terms of non-Maori cultural norms that become legislation, affect the way the community handles domestic matters. In addition, examining the relationship between the marae and iwi authority is inescapable as the fates of the two have become more closely intertwined in recent years. However, the marae is a marginal influence in a triangulated relationship with the state and the iwi authority. Since a focus on the relationship between the marae,

state and iwi authority would remove the marae from the centre of this research, it is considered only where strictly necessary. Explanations are given whenever the state and iwi authority relationship becomes part of the concerns of the marae community.

Similarly, whereas the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi[11] are treated as being important guiding principles in cross-cultural encounters between the marae and government agencies, they are otherwise treated as being of marginal concern. The Treaty of Waitangi is a contentious partnership document between Maori and the state whereas the marae is a place where Maori is the dominant culture, where Maori people comprise the dominant population, and where Maori cultural practices, values, and beliefs are the natural order of things.

## The Contribution of Critical Ethnography

Ethnography, the empirical study of culture, is the Western academic research process that most closely explains the approach I used. It was especially useful in understanding incongruities in the field and in examining the textual representation of culture. According to George Marcus and Michael Fischer (1986), "every individual project of ethnographic research and writing is potentially an experiment" encouraging the, "play of ideas, free of authoritative paradigms" (p. ix). Ethnography is both a research process and a written product. The main method used in ethnography is participant observation in the field, whereby the researcher, “lives with and lives like those who are studied for a lengthy period of time (usually a year or more)” (Van Maanen, 1995, pp. 4-5). Culture is the primary concern of an ethnography.

A major disadvantage in associating this study with ethnography is the legacy of ethnographic research from the late nineteenth – early twentieth century that aimed to contribute to the colonisation and assimilation of Maori people, especially with regard to the work of ethnographers/ethnologists and colonial officials S. Percy Smith

[11] A Treaty between the Crown and Maori tribes signed at Waitangi in 1840 agreeing to share authority in governing the country.

and Elsdon Best. Bishop (1995) states that Maori knowledge was simplified and commodified for consumption by colonisers. Linda Smith (1999, p. 83) states that the research "encounters" involved an attitude to indigenous peoples which was a complex mixture of colonial exploitation and fostered independence. Historian Michael King (1994) wrote of how early twentieth century research disadvantaged and belittled Maori knowledge and refers specifically to S. Percy Smith's fabrication of a pre-Maori people called the Moriori and Elsdon Best's creation of the Great Fleet myth of waka journeying to Aotearoa/New Zealand together. Te Awekotuku (1991) called much of the writing of the time "necrophilic meanderings" reflecting a wishful perception of the Maori as a dying race. Nevertheless, despite the "moral ambiguity and political complicity" (Van Maanen, 1995, p. 8) of ethnographers of the time, their empirical research continues to inform and retains value as contemporary experiences and recordings of oral traditions.

Ethnographic conventions are now continually questioned, and an additional element has been added to the ethnographic research process: practitioners have placed the results of ethnography, the textual representations of cultures, under the microscope since the 1980s. In recent decades, ethnographers have concerned themselves with the moral, ethical, and philosophical dilemmas in representing (other) cultures. Ethnography has become very sophisticated in understanding the practical, philosophical, and epistemological problems facing social researchers. A current trend is to depict cultures in flux, as contested, emergent, obscure, and ambiguous (Van Maanen, 1988, pp. 125-127). Critical ethnographies, the genre with which this study fits, are studies that are strategically located to shed light on larger social, political, symbolic, or economic issues, and are concerned with representing social structures from the viewpoint of disadvantaged groups in capitalist countries (Van Maanen, 1988, pp. 127-128). These ethnographic conventions and standards are compatible with indigenous modes of information gathering and enable one to address indigenous concerns.

## Combined Kaupapa Maori and Academic Ethical Processes

The University of Waikato's human research ethics regulations, to which research for this study must adhere, are concerned, in particular, with issues relating to confidentiality, informed consent and potential harm to the researched. Te Awekotuku's (1991) discussion of ethical principles for policy researchers in Maori communities is couched in terms of the politics of research and highlights the importance of accountability. The main contention is that the researched should have as much right as the researcher to ownership and control of the research. Researchers' responsibility to the iwi being studied and the wider Maori community to which the iwi belongs are of paramount importance. Kathie Irwin (1994) argues for culturally safe research and Graham Smith (1992a) advocates culturally sensitive research. Linda Smith (1999) argues that indigenous perspectives of ethical codes of conduct serve, in part, the same purpose as protocols governing relationships, which are in turn underscored by respect. Fiona Cram (2001) discusses the link between ethics and tikanga, stating that Kaupapa Maori research dictates that tikanga is followed throughout the research.

In practice, the study was subject to the collective authority of the marae community and the tikanga of the marae, which needed to be taken fully into account alongside University-defined ethics regulations and which acknowledge what I shall refer to here as mana marae, the authority of the marae. The procedures used were compatible with accepted practices at the marae and included: seeking permission from the community, conducting the research at the marae, focussing observations on hui, privileging kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) conversations, reporting progress on the research at Marae Committee hui, and negotiating with the community on the content of the study.

The marae uses two key processes in relation to accountability: the hui and the whanau. A researcher has the opportunity to present issues at hui and these issues are debated collectively with a specific focus on the researcher's request, motives, approach and the potential risks that may be associated with the research. All

members of the researcher's whanau are made equally accountable for the actions of any one person within that whanau so they may be subject to questioning about the research and the researcher, that is, familial responsibility for one another is presupposed. Bishop (1994, p. 184) used the concept of whanau to refer to a whanau of interest, a group of researchers and other interested parties that had joined together on a project, and Irwin (1994) used it to describe her whanau of academic supervisors. The notion of whanau in this context allows that the group rather than the individual will authorise, guide, control, and own the research process. However, conceptualising the marae community as whanau is too ambiguous in the context of the marae since the term whanau is used specifically to identify kin as well as generally to describe a community with related interests. The kinship definition has been used here with regard to accountability of the whanau.

Informed consent was achieved by explaining the research in advance and consulting and reporting on an ongoing basis throughout the fieldwork period. Matters concerning the marae are the province of the community rather than the individual, so approval to initiate the research was obtained from the community at a Marae Committee hui. Progress was reported at Marae Committee hui so that community members were kept informed. A written record was kept in the minutes of the Marae Committee hui. The decision not to give the marae anonymity was based on the high value of a marae's identity and the need to keep that identity intact in its entirety thereby incorporating its historical connections to its community and region. Individuals quoted within this study remain anonymous and pseudonyms have been used.

## Working in the Field

In line with what Anne Salmond (1976/1985) called the "anthropology of occasions" (p. 3), I attended the hui of the marae's various management groups during the 29 months from August 1997 to December 1999. The field 'setting' extended from Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae to people's homes in Whatawhata and Hamilton, including my own. An important aspect of fieldwork at the marae was the use of data collecting

practices that did not unnerve or offend members of the group. For example, the usual technological paraphernalia used in interviewing (such as tape recorder or video camera) had a pronounced strangeness at the marae. The presence of technology served as a reminder of the wider modern world of which the marae is a part. It also had a distinctly foreign, out-of-place quality about it. My decision to forego the use of high level technology at the marae and instead record observations using writing materials only was based upon the fact that such tools were unobtrusive, and was consistent with what others did at hui.

Any decision to use formal interview techniques in the context of this research would have had significant political overtones. For example, selecting people to interview as 'research subjects' would have involved privileging the voices of these people over the voices of others. Had Kaumatua (elders) been chosen, something that the community may have approved, the implication would have been that their voices were more significant than those most centrally involved in the work reported on here, that is, Rangatahi and Pakeke.[12] Equally, selecting Rangatahi and Pakeke to interview may have been perceived as tramping on the mana (status) of Kaumatua.

In seeking to discover what the group felt were matters of significance I tried to be wherever such conversations took place, observing discussions, sometimes participating, but rarely directing them. In this way, I hoped to discover what people really felt and believed. Courtesy and decorum limited the extent to which probing was possible. Even so, since people reveal only what they choose in formal interview situations, the more oblique approach that I adopted may have been at least as productive.

My fieldnotes comprised: notes taken on proceedings at meetings and hui; retrospective notes on informal group discussions, face-to-face talks, and phone calls

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[12] I use rangatahi to refer to the "young," from teenagers to middle-aged adults, with an upper age range somewhere between the 40's and early-50's. Pakeke are the next age group after rangatahi and include elders who are not kaumatua.

with individuals; demographic information gathered during talks; and personal reflections on events. The informal group discussions usually occurred during 'smoko,'[13] or while people were making preparations during hui. One-on-one talks occurred when we rang or visited each other at home, or took one another to one side at hui for a quiet chat.

Copies of marae records were collected during the fieldwork period with the co-operation of the Marae Executive or as a result of my own participatory work. The records include proceedings at the wananga; minutes of Marae Committee meetings; annual reports; financial records; job descriptions; newsletters; email, letter and fax correspondence produced by some of the committees; and correspondence with the iwi authority, the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust. These primary sources are indexed at the end of this thesis and referenced in brackets in the text with an accompanying footnote. The qualitative research software Nud*ist Vivo was used to organise and inductively analyse the fieldnotes and marae records.

A Kaupapa Maori research perspective calls for a way of writing similar to that which many ethnographers use, that in Robert Desjarlais' (1997) words, "moves nomadically from one theme to another, grounding everyday events in cultural forms and political realities" (p. 6). Thick description (Geertz, 1973) has been used as much as possible to help portray experiences that are too complex and subtle to understand in any way other than phenomenologically (Desjarlais, 1997, p. 16). An emphasis has been placed on events, on the group, and on processes in the understanding that process is more important than product within cultural spheres, and that social relationships are given prominence (Uphoff, 1996, pp. viii-ix). Phenomenolgical description is particularly noticeable in Chapters 4 and 5 on the marae's management structure and administrative settings. The rationale for such detailed description of day-to-day minutiae is twofold: firstly, this thesis recognises the relevance of

[13] "Smoko" is a euphemism for taking a break during work. Sometimes a small group of smokers would gather outside the hall for a cigarette while the meeting continued and would talk casually and quietly amongst themselves about some of the points raised in the meeting. At other times, the meeting would halt for a meal break. The term "smoko" was used to describe either type of break.

ethnographies as historical records that endure beyond contemporary theoretical, conceptual and analytic preoccupations. Secondly, there are intricate, intertwining threads embedded in the processes and procedures used by the marae community that are not discussed in any detail in this thesis because they are only indirectly relevant. However, they offer evidence in support of alternative foci to this thesis. In other words, phenomenological description aids future research and analysis in the subject.

When E. T. Durie (1998, p. 23), Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court and Chair of the Waitangi Tribunal wrote of the evidence presented before the Tribunal, he said that traditional Maori and academic evidence were not in conflict and in fact depended on each other. Although I do not believe that Kaupapa Maori and academic research depend on each other I did find that Kaupapa Maori research and critical ethnography were not in conflict. Combining them proved to be so apt that the two merged easily. Although future directions in Kaupapa Maori research are likely to lead to methodologies based more on matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge building), opportunities for combined indigenous and Western academic research methodologies still have a place in Maori research. The compatibility of the two approaches also confirms the ironic possibility of indigenous ethnography as a genre.

# Chapter 3

## He Kotahitanga: Te Papa-o-Rotu and the Dynamics of Tainui Social Organisation

There is a wide network of inter-related organisations and groups in the Waikato region so an understanding of the connections that a marae has to its whanau (extended family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) is essential for contextualising the place of the marae in its wider socio-political environment. E. T Durie (1998) wrote:

> If one looks to the nature of the traditional hapu, one might discern a society where power was most regularly at the basic level of the community that functioned every day. Everything above is viewable as a confederation for a purpose, from fishing to war. Arguably, a combined effort did not depend upon some over-riding organ of state. One must look to the various ways that people aligned for aggression or defence and at different times. The personal magnetism of outstanding rangatira in rallying people for some common expedition is especially relevant. (p. 23)

He points out two intrinsic values: firstly, that power ascends from the people upwards in Maori society rather than from a sovereign body above down to the people 'below.' Maori society was therefore antithetical to centralist control rather than an embryo yet to develop the organs of state. Secondly, communities would unite or rally behind a respected leader if required out of obligation to kin or past allies.

Much of the socio-political network in Waikato is founded on historical alliances and the hapu still retains some of its position of power, although this position has come under severe pressure from more modern iwi and pan-tribal Maori establishments. If one keeps in mind that power ascends rather than descends, then the importance of marae and their communities are more discernible. The Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae

community is historically linked to several political institutions established since the nineteenth century for the many iwi and hapu in the Waikato. In recent times, tribal forums have become a communication network for disseminating information inter-tribally, or have been established with specific relationships and matters in mind. At any one time, a few dedicated individuals and whanau will maintain all of these associations for the benefit of the whole marae community. The work has become more demanding over time as the fate of tribal authorities becomes tied to the active operation of marae.

This chapter positions the marae in its socio-political environment in order to highlight the inter-connecting historical, spiritual and political influences on the marae. For instance, the history of the marae and its community positions them in a particular tribe and territory which itself, has a specific history. Past alliances of hapu and iwi within this tribal territory serve to strengthen and reinforce modern-day alliances. Therefore, although the marae has its own separate identity and its community is able to exercise rangatiratanga (self-determination, authority, control) within the marae's domain, the marae is historically located within an intricate web of inter-relationships that can exert enormous pressure on the marae to align itself with the broader needs of the tribe.

## Historical Associations of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae

Naming tipuna whare (ancestral houses) or adorning them with personifications of significant people is a way of documenting the marae's tribal connections - its whakapapa (genealogy) to its people. The main rangatira (chiefs) and tohunga (priests) to feature at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae are Rotu, Tuheitia, and Mahanga. Tribal history is promulgated by the way Kaumatua (elders) retell the stories depicted at the marae, and they reiterate the personal connections between the marae and its many whanau. Much of the marae's historical record coincides with those aspects of the tribe's history that have been made available to the public. In these written accounts, the tribe's history since coming to Aotearoa/New Zealand begins with the voyage of the Tainui waka (canoe) from Hawaiki. Rotu, a tohunga, is named in the

lists of people who helped to build the waka and as one of the crew members. He was known to be a specialist in forest lore and fowling and was amongst a small group of people who left Tainui at the Tamaki isthmus near Auckland to travel inland. He settled at a place he called Paewhenua, near Mt. Pirongia. The group's journey of discovery is represented in the mural painted in Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's dining hall (Cowan, 1905; Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 28, 16-51, 56; Kelly, 1949, p. 35; Pomare & Cowan, 1930, pp. 43-47; Te Hurinui, 1959, p. 33).

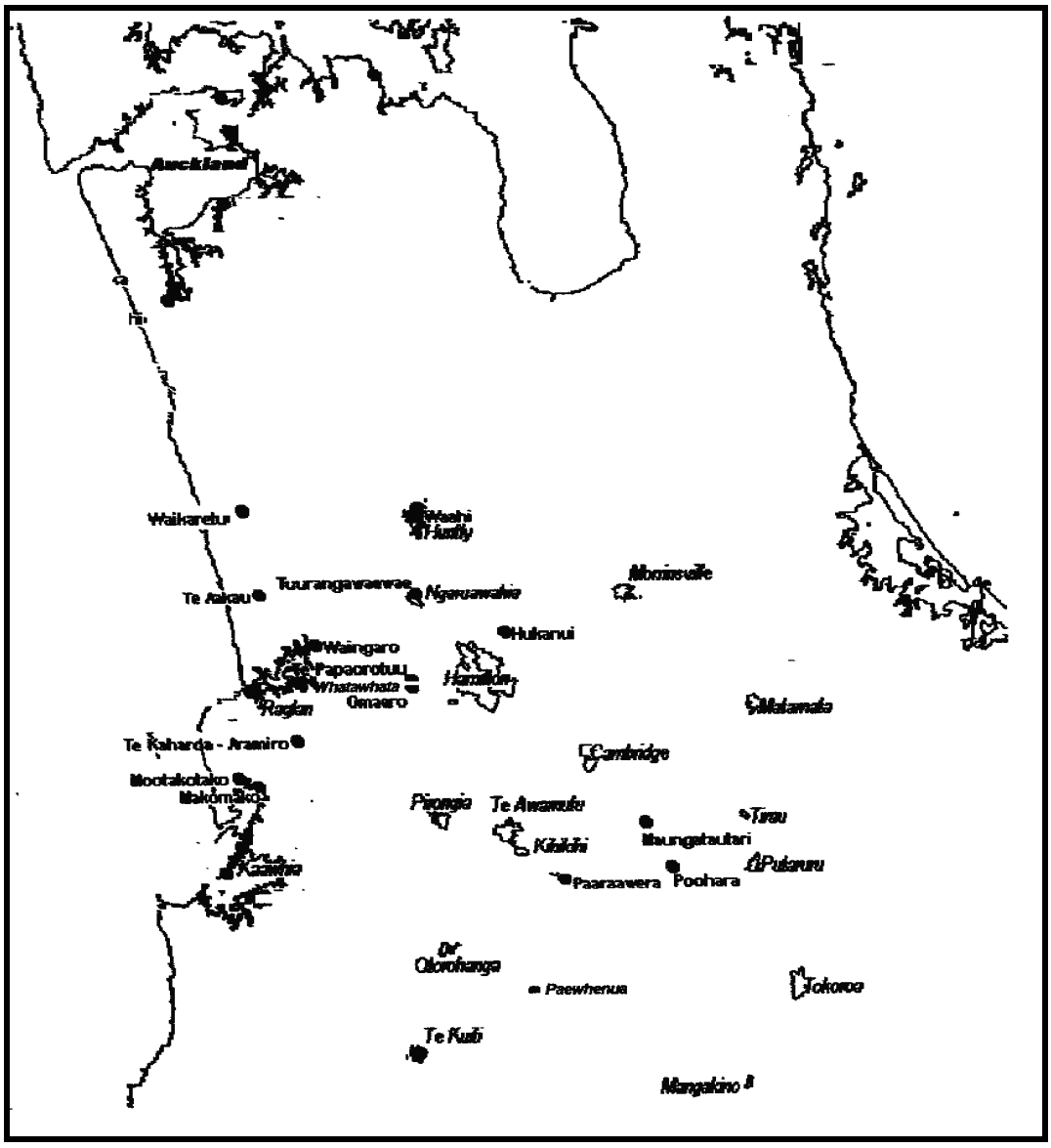


*Figure 3.1 Map of Waikato region*

Pei Te Hurinui (1959, p. 33) states that Rotu was one of several tohunga from the waka to establish whare wananga,[14] naming his *Te Papa o Rotu*, and situating it at Waikarakia. Although there is now a stream by that name near Te Kuiti, Te Hurinui's description suggests he meant a locality along the coast. Training was held in the winter months and the curriculum included: tribal genealogies and history; hero stories of ancestors; inter-tribal relationships and wars; accounts of the coming of the Maori to Aotearoa; the origin and evolution of humankind; the sacred recitals of the creation of the World of Stars; and Te Kore, The Formless Void. Te Wherowhero, the first Maori King, started his training at Te Papa-o-Rotu while in his teens and his father Te Rauangaanga was one of the tohunga at the whare wananga. Te Wherowhero's son and the second King, Matutaera (Tawhiao), had a tohunga of Te Papa-o-Rotu as his mentor (Te Hurinui, 1959, pp. 34-35, 173). Te Papa-o-Rotu has not been active as a traditional whare wananga since around the turn of the twentieth century, which coincides with the introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act 1908.

The whakapapa in Jones and Biggs (1995, p. 127) places Tuheitia as a tenth generation descendant of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka. Tuheitia was, "the leading chief of the territory to the south of Waikato heads and had his headquarters at Waikaretu. Here, in the house called Papa o Rotu, was born his famous son Mahanga" (Kelly, 1949, p. 90). Waikaretu is on the west coast north of Raglan. When he was approached to form a military alliance, Tuheitia uttered a saying to indicate that he was a man of peace.[15] However, Jones and Biggs (1995) attribute the saying to Tuheitia because he was so renowned as a warrior, his home was never attacked:

> Haere mai ki ahau, ki Te Papa-o-Rotu, ki te au tee rena, ki te urunga tee taka, ki te moenga tee whakaarahia. Ahakoa iti taku iti, he rei kei roto.

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[14] School of higher learning. Nowadays, the term is used by universities and other tertiary educational institutions.
[15] Personal communication, Henare Kerei, Kaumatua.

> Come to me, to the Papa-o-Rotu (at Wai-kaaretu), to the unstirred current, to the pillow that falls not, and the undisturbed sleep. Although I am small I have teeth. (p. 111)

The saying is inscribed almost verbatim above the door of Te Papa-o-Rotu meeting house.[16] Tuheitia died in a drowning incident and became the river taniwha (guardian) that swims in the Waipa River at Whatawhata (Kelly, 1949, p. 90). The tekoteko and the two piruru are named after Tuheitia.

Tuheitia's son, Mahanga, became the eponymous ancestor of one of the tribes to affiliate to Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. Mahanga was a wanderer and married several times in his lifetime, but he built a pa (fortified settlement) called *Purakau* at the confluence of the Waipa and Kaniwhaniwha Rivers near Whatawhata (Kelly, 1949, p. 93; Phillips, 1989, p. 20; Phillips, 1995, pp. 74-75). Te Papa-o-Rotu, either in the form of its name or the whare (house) itself, travelled from Waikaretu to Whatawhata some time after that. Ngati Mahanga is traditionally an iwi but it does not have hapu. Instead, whanau belonging to the iwi may associate most with one of three Ngati Mahanga marae: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae, Omaero Marae and Te Kaharoa Marae, which is at Aramiro in the hilly range between Raglan and Kawhia.

When Te Papa-o-Rotu was moved to Whatawhata, it was situated on the bank of the Waipa River, a few hundred metres behind and below its current location. Roore Erueti (1872-1952), a deeply respected Ngati Mahanga leader and Kingitanga adviser, told William Phillipps (1955) that it was carved with pounamu (greenstone) rather than metal tools. It was spared from destruction during the colonial government's invasion of Waikato in 1863, but had become run down by the end of the nineteenth century (King, 1977/1982, pp. 210, 244, 269, 276; Phillipps, 1955, pp. 198, 226-228).

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[16] The inscription reads: Haere mai ki aau, ki Te Papaorotu, kite au te rena, kite urunga te taka, ki te moenga te whakaarahia. Ahakoa iti taku ngohi, he rei kei roto.

In Phillipps' description of the meeting house, Te Papa-o-Rotu is confused with Te Oneparepare Pa. During discussions held at wananga and hui at the marae, Kaumatua agreed that Te Oneparepare was located further along from Te Papa-o-Rotu on the bank of the Waipa River. It is thought to have been situated there long before Te Papa-o-Rotu was moved from Waikaretu. The name of Te Oneparepare's meeting house was *Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua*, which became the name of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's dining hall. The old location for Te Oneparepare is now a popular swimming place for locals (D502).[17]

In the confusion, Phillipps mistakenly concluded that an 1844 painting of Paripari, a meeting house at Te Kuiti, was the 'first' Te Papa-o-Rotu (Angas, 1972, plate 41), with another being built some time in the same century, and a third at the time of his research in the 1950s. Cresswell (1977, pp. 33-34) was later to call them Te Papa-o-Rotu I, II, and III. The main difference between their versions and that espoused in this thesis is the way the marae is disconnected from its community, that is, the relationship between the marae and its community is not recognised as a symbiotic one. Therefore, neither writer made any connection between the meeting house in Whatawhata and the whare of Mahanga, Tuheitia or Rotu. They also considered each re-building to be a 'successor' or new building, rather than a continuation and renewal of the same meeting house. The name *Te Papa-o-Rotu* is a fundamental indicator of this historical continuity. Te Papa-o-Rotu and Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua are now the main buildings of the marae complex. Although they are both tipuna whare, neither of them are ancestors, as is common on some marae in other regions, and hui (meetings) can be held in either whare. However, tangihanga (funerals) and hui that have a spiritual or dangerous aspect to them tend to be held in the meeting house.

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[17] Tri-annual report of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. (1997, December). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

The land upon which the current Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae complex was built was Maori freehold land owned by Pumipi Kingi Muriwhenua (D595).[18] He partitioned the land for a papakainga (private homestead for his whanau) in 1912 (D582).[19] It was around this time that the complex as a whole, rather than just the meeting house, became known as Te Papa-o-Rotu. Two women aged in their 50s and 60s recalled living at the marae as children, although they called it a pa (settlement). Muriwhenua's land block (Parish of Karamu Lot 201B) is shown in its entirety in the sketch plan in Appendix B and Lot 201B1 is the land partitioned for the marae. By 1945, the papakainga had a meeting house (Te Papa-o-Rotu) and a number of other buildings. Muriwhenua's successors Roore Erueti (on behalf of Hare Waata) and Hurori Poo Kingi applied to the Maori Land Court to change the land's legal entity status from a papakainga to a reservation (see Appendix C). The timing of this change suggests that it may have been done at the instigation of the local Tribal Committee operating under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, which is discussed in more detail in *Chapter 7*. The land became a marae reservation, "for the members of Ngatimahanga [*sic*] tribe" (Appendix C). The land was then vested in trust to twelve Trustees who were members of the marae community. The official notice about the reservation was posted in the *New Zealand Gazette* in 1969 (see Appendix D). The marae community is the whole tribe so every member of Ngati Mahanga has turangawaewae (a place to belong) at Te Papa-o-Rotu, even though his or her family may not own land in the district, do not live nearby, or have not been involved with the marae for many years, perhaps even generations. All that is required is for someone to know their whakapapa and be able to make the connection to the marae.

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[18] Partition order, Parish of Karamu Lot 201B1. (1912, 17 January). Hamilton: Maori Land Court.
[19] [Owner partitions land for karamu parish 201B1]. (1912, 17 January). 16Mer200. Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

## Military Alliances

Waikato taniwha rau
He piko he taniwha
He piko he taniwha

Waikato of a hundred chiefs
Around every bend, a chief

This whakatauki (saying) refers to the many chiefs, and by association, iwi and hapu, along the Waikato River. All of these tribes trace their whakapapa back to the crew on the Tainui waka. The terms 'Waikato iwi' or 'Waikato tribes' have been used in a geographical sense since the turn of the nineteenth century to describe the tribes in the Waikato region and along the Waikato River (Ballara, 1998, p. 60). However, the existence of a confederation is most likely derived from the military alliances forged between iwi around the same time.

According to Kelly (1949, pp. 308-341), there were some 15 iwi in the Waikato region, including Ngati Mahanga, involved in these military alliances. He gives detailed accounts of the allies' expeditions – spanning 20 years - against Te Rauparaha and his people, who lived on the Kawhia coast at the time. The allies were involved in battles against Hongi Hika and the northern Ngapuhi tribes as well who, armed with muskets, invaded the Waikato territory some time around 1821-22 (Kelly, 1949, pp. 356-365; Owens, 1981, p. 44). The Waikato iwi confederation is still a political alliance today and has often been referred to as 'Waikato te iwi' (Waikato the tribe), and the iwi and hapu that are part of the alliance are spoken of as hapu of Waikato.

Some accounts mention a Tainui confederation that formed for military purposes and encompassed other iwi who claimed descent from the crew on the Tainui waka (Sorrenson, 1981, p. 180). Apart from Waikato iwi, the confederation included

Ngati Maniapoto of the central North Island, and Ngati Paoa of Hauraki. Today, the term 'Tainui' has become a brand name for Waikato tribal assets, authorities and institutions to the point where 'Tainui te iwi' (Tainui the tribe) is referred to in whaikorero (formal speeches) and in the media.

## Tribal Alliances

This study was conducted during a difficult time of transition and rapid development for Waikato tribal authorities. The tribal authorities were under constant heavy political scrutiny and media speculation at the time, and publicised their own account of unfolding events by way of Annual Reports, interviews with Maori newspapers, and quarterly newsletters, as a counterpoint to speculation and criticism by those outside the tribe. They also disseminated information through tribal forums. Historically, the tribal authorities have their roots in the Kingitanga but they have recently linked their future to active marae. According to E. T. Durie (1998, p.24) there is support for tribal management through iwi authorities because it provides a united approach to treating with the outside world and an economy in combining resources. However, he states that there is also continued support for the traditional value of empowering communities because it encourages local initiatives.

### *The Kingitanga Allegiance*

The Kingitanga was established in 1858 with Ngati Mahuta chief, Potatau Te Wherowhero, as King and was intended to be a pan-tribal, national political institution. It was, "not so much an emulation of British monarchy but rather an attempt to stem the tide of European colonisation by uniting the tribes into an anti-land-selling confederation." It "was an attempt to forge the tribes into a Maori nation - a nation within a nation" (Sorrenson, 1981, p. 180). Iwi from Taranaki, Tauranga, the Urewera, the Bay of Plenty, and Gisborne, initially pledged their support (Te Hurinui, 1959). After his death in 1860, Te Wherowhero's son, Tawhiao, became King.

The establishment of the Kingitanga was a response to relations with the colonial government as well as to dealings regarding land sales. In 1863, the colonial government invaded the Waikato and approximately 1.2 million acres of land in the region was subsequently confiscated from iwi, although about a quarter was eventually returned (Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995). Tawhiao and his supporters were forced into exile in the King Country and the Kingitanga became a source of spiritual and emotional strength as well as a political movement. It is unlikely that Ngati Mahanga was a part of the Kingitanga when it was first established because one of its main chiefs, Te Awaitaia, was a peer of Te Wherowhero's and was opposed to establishing the Kingitanga. However, after the raupatu (confiscations) most iwi and hapu in the region eventually united under the Kingitanga in concerted efforts to regain their land. The Kingitanga has championed these efforts ever since in a series of claims for compensation (McCan, 2001). A settlement with the Crown was reached in 1946 and culminated in the establishment of the statutory board, the Tainui Maori Trust Board, to administer annual compensation payments (Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995).

The current leader of the Kingitanga is Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, a direct descendant of Te Wherowhero and the sixth to hold the position. She is often referred to as the Maori Queen. Turangawaewae Marae at Ngaruawahia is her official residence but her home is at Waahi Pa, Huntly. Turangawaewae Marae organises and hosts national and Waikato tribal events throughout the year. Hanging in the meeting house at Te Papa-o-Rotu is a copy of the kawenata (covenant) of the marae’s allegiance to the Queen. The community becomes the kaimahi (workers) and kaitiaki (caretakers) who are responsible for managing the marae, but governance is reserved for the Kingitanga and any requests or decisions from Te Arikinui are followed without question. The Kaumatua are so sensitive to meeting her wishes that a comment from Te Arikinui or even a rumour of what she is reported to have said, is interpreted and acted upon.

### *The Tainui Maori Trust Board*

The legal battle that the Kingitanga spearheaded against the Crown aimed to obtain compensation for land confiscated from 33 Waikato iwi and hapu. When the Tainui Maori Trust Board was established, the Waikato iwi and hapu that the Board had the mandate to represent were called 'hapu' and this continued through to the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995. Ngati Mahanga became known as a hapu as a consequence, as did all the other iwi involved, and the iwi was referred to as 'Tainui.'

The Trust Board developed a register of people affiliated by whakapapa to the 33 hapu. To register on the benrol, people had to state their whakapapa back at least three generations, showing their relationship to the hapu to which they affiliated. Individuals voluntarily registered their whakapapa details onto the 'beneficiary roll,' including the name of the marae they considered to be their principal marae. They were not required to list any other marae to which they were affiliated, but they could change the name of their principal marae at any time. Benrol applications would be handed to the relevant hapu representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board. Before its dissolution, the Ngati Mahanga representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board received the applications for Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. He was responsible for ensuring that the applicants' affiliation to the hapu was confirmed in their whakapapa. He said that he would talk to Kaumatua if he was uncertain about a person's whakapapa, before approving his or her registration (N170).[20]

The highest number of people on the roll between 1997 and 1999 that named Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae as their principal marae was 1434 people in 1999. At that time, Te Papa-o-Rotu had the fifth largest marae population on the roll. By January 2000, the benrol number had risen to 1562 (D549).[21] Since registration on the roll is voluntary and people with multiple affiliations can list one marae only, the beneficiary roll figure is probably itself very low. Some form of tribal register or

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[20] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.
[21] Report on Te Kauhanganui meeting. (2000, February). Tabled at March 2000 Marae Committee Hui. Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

beneficiary roll was an important issue in the broader context of Treaty of Waitangi settlements since a register could become a pre-requisite for iwi elections as well as the distribution of tribal benefits (Durie, Fitzgerald, Kingi, McKinley, & Stevenson, 2002). This did occur for the Waikato Raupatu land settlement, with members of the first tribal council, *Te Kauhanganui*, being elected by tribal members registered on the benrol, and marae grants calculations being based in part on the number of registered tribal members for each marae.

The formal relationship between the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the marae revolved around the issue of mandates. The Board actively supported the Kingitanga and was the operations arm for one of the Kingitanga's main objectives: compensation for the raupatu. Hapu loyal to the Kingitanga were the first to sign their permission giving the Board the mandate to represent them in their fight for compensation. The Board also took some responsibility for the social, cultural and economic development of the hapu it represented but did not have the financial strength to do anything significant.

### *Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust*

Despite the initial settlement agreement in 1946, claims for land to be returned continued and led to another settlement that the hapu, through their marae, authorised in a kawenata on 16 May 1995 (D532).[22] The settlement deed was signed a few days later on 22 May, resulting in an official apology and settlement to the value of $170 million, including the transfer of about 40,000 acres of Crown-owned land (equivalent to 3% of the land mass confiscated). Tainui was the first confederation of tribes to make such a settlement deal with the Crown and as such was a regular feature in the media. A trust called the *Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (WRLT)* was established in the same year to act as a holding trust for assets transferred by the Crown. WRLT's objectives were to manage the settlement assets and ensure funds

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[22] [He Kawenata, authorising the Queen, Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, to sign the Treaty of Waitangi Raupatu claim on behalf of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae]. (1995, 16 May). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

for distribution for charitable purposes. The Tainui Maori Trust Board was the trustee.

Some of the land received, including Mangaroa Forest at Kawhia, the former Hopuhopu Military Base, and the former Te Rapa Air Force Base, is registered under a land trust established under the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act and known as *Potatau Te Wherowhero land title* (N158).[23] This title is so named in reference to the land pledged to the first Maori King, Te Wherowhero, for protection against sales to European colonists. The title is a long term holding trust for land that the iwi do not intend to dispose of, that is, the land that will be the tribal land estate, so land registered under this title cannot be removed without approval from 75% of the marae and all of the custodial trustees (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1996). The first custodial trustees are three members of the Kahui Ariki, including the Queen.[24] They hold the positions for their lifetime, when the Queen's successor will become trustee while people elected by the hapu will replace the other two trustees. Land under this title is managed by WRLT through one of its companies, the Tainui Development Ltd.

In 1996, WRLT created two companies: Tainui Development Ltd (TDL), which developed properties and aimed to increase the tribal land estate, and Tainui Corporation Ltd (TCL), which managed leased commercial property and aimed to increase the tribe's capital. Some of the income from the activity of these companies had to be added to the capital and some had to be distributed for charitable purposes. In their first year of operation, WRLT was able to distribute funds for grants and scholarships for tertiary study, training programmes, the establishment of endowment colleges, marae-based Kohanga Reo, recreation and health initiatives, Kaumatua expenses, the centennial regatta, and the New Zealand Maori Congress (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1996). By 1999, funds available for distribution had trebled and additional forms of distribution included grants to the Kingitanga, cultural arts

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[23] Fieldnotes, Tainui Development Ltd AGM. (1997, 1 August).
[24] Kahui Ariki is the term used to refer to the paramount family, the Queen and her whanau.

grants, sports grants, and grants to taurahere groups. The taurahere groups are those that have formed in cities for Waikato iwi members living there. There is a group in Wellington, Christchurch, Invercargill, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane. WRLT must give part of its distributable income to the marae. For its part, the marae must use the funds received for charitable purposes that benefit the marae's beneficiaries (Tainui Maori Trust Board, 1995).

As part of the settlement agreement, the Tainui Maori Trust Board was to be dissolved within five years and replaced by a tribally elected runanga (tribal council). Names for the new iwi authority were being mooted and at the time: the *Runanga o Waikato* prevailed. It was eventually called *Te Kauhanganui*. During its winding down period the Board transferred all of its assets to WRLT, including its shareholdings. The corporate structure was reorganised to accommodate the commercial activities of both the Board and the Trust and in 1998, WRLT created and became sole shareholder to a corporate governance entity, the Tainui Group Holdings Ltd, and transferred all of its shareholdings to the new company. Tainui Group Holdings oversees and co-ordinates the commercial operations of tribally-owned companies and as at 1999 had five subsidiaries that managed sectors of the tribe's assets: Tainui Development Ltd, Tainui Corporation Ltd, Raukura Waikato Fisheries Ltd, Raukura Moana Fisheries Ltd, and MDC Investment Holdings Ltd as shown in *Figure 3.2* (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1999). All of these companies had subsidiaries of their own.

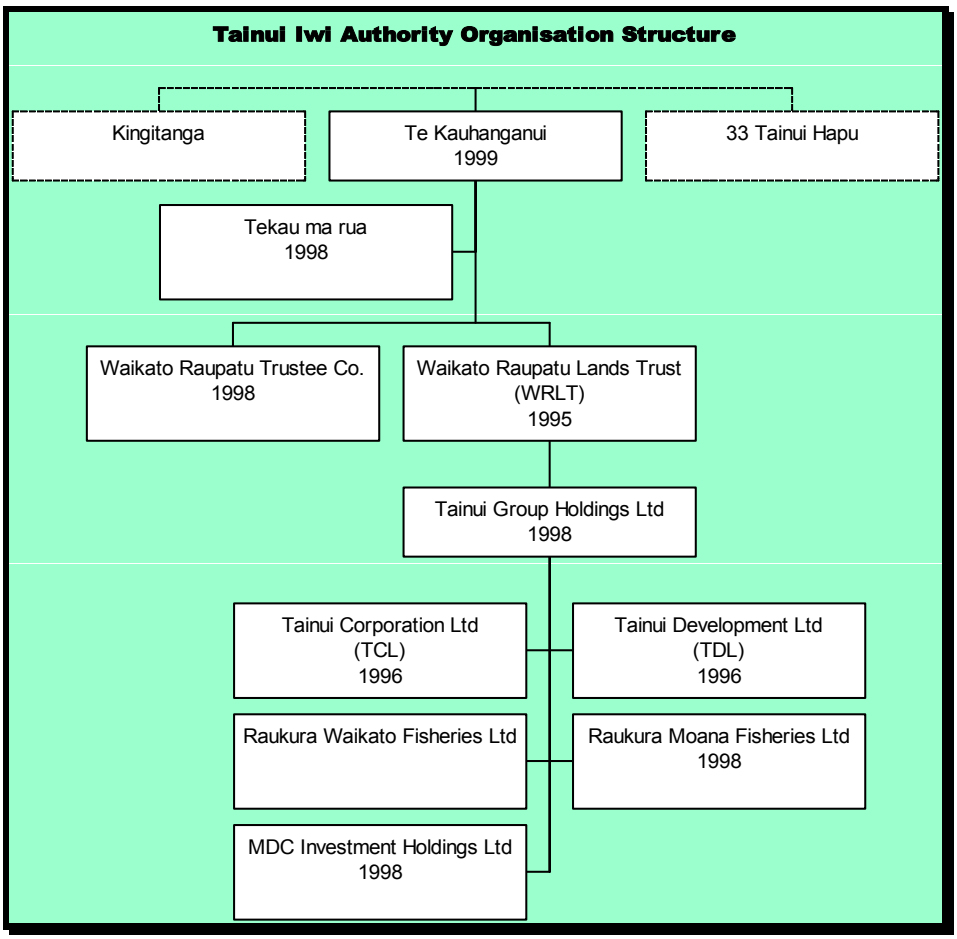


*Figure 3.2 Tainui organisation structure as at 1999*

### *Te Kauhanganui*

After several years of consultation hui, discussions at forums, and a postal referendum of those registered on the Tainui Maori Trust Board benrol, hapu members voted to replace the Tainui Maori Trust Board with a council of marae delegates. In 1999, Te Kauhanganui was formed to protect the tribal estate in the interests of the hapu, direct benefit distribution, plan tribal development, and support the Kingitanga. There are 61 marae from the hapu that approved the settlement deal and each marae has three delegates representing them on Te Kauhanganui (D532).[25] Each marae has one vote, weighted depending on its number of registered

[25] [He Kawenata, authorising the Queen, Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, to sign the Treaty of Waitangi Raupatu claim on behalf of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae]. (1995, 16 May). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

beneficiaries. At that time, four marae would not sign their approval to the settlement and were excluded from representation on Te Kauhanganui, nor did they receive marae grants (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1999, p. 10). However, members from these marae continue to be eligible to apply for benefits to individuals, such as tertiary study grants and scholarships.

Te Kauhanganui has an executive of 12 people called Tekau ma rua.[26] Tekau ma rua was formed in 1998 before Te Kauhanganui, to oversee the transition from the Tainui Maori Trust Board to Te Kauhanganui. At the time, the executive comprised four custodial trustees appointed by the Queen, four marae representatives elected by marae, and four executives from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. A company, *Waikato Raupatu Trustee Co.*, was created as the operations arm of Te Kauhanganui (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1999).

The iwi authority had a complex web of operations during the period of transition but eventually consolidated its organisation structure. Administration staff employed by the Tainui Maori Trust Board became employees of the WRLT and then the Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company. By 1999, the structure was as shown in *Figure 3.2*.

### *Tribal Forums*

There are several forums that marae communities can be a part of in the district. Some, such as poukai, have a wide-ranging network and spread information as part of their primary purpose. Others have been established as information forums for hapu within the region, or as consultancy forums for local government authorities. The latter are sometimes established as organisations. These forums strengthen the alliances between hapu in the territory and reinforce the mana (authority) of the iwi confederation's leadership, the Kingitanga and the iwi authority.

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[26] trans. Literally means twelve.

**Poukai**

Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu visits a series of 28 marae that are venues for poukai each year, all but three of them located within the Waikato region. Tawhiao established poukai in 1885 as a way of looking after and feeding people driven from their homeland after the war in 1863. He was particularly concerned about the welfare of the widowed, bereaved and destitute after witnessing first-hand the effects of poverty in England at that time (Mahuta, 1995, pp. 4-27). Poukai have become a way for iwi to feast together, grieve together for those recently passed away, disseminate news of relevance to the iwi, bring people's concerns to the attention of the Kingitanga leadership, and collect financial contributions to the Kingitanga and the host marae (King, 1977/1982, p. 30; Mahuta, 1995, pp. 30-31; Salmond, 1976/1985).

The poukai is held at Te Papa-o-Rotu on behalf of Ngati Mahanga as a whole so people from all three Ngati Mahanga marae join in to organise it. The date of Te Papa-o-Rotu's poukai is the 10th April in commemoration of the day Te Rata, the fourth Maori King, left the region to travel to England in 1914. The trip was an attempt to visit with the British monarchy to discuss the colonial government's land policies. An 80th anniversary of the poukai was held at Te Papa-o-Rotu in 1995 based on the belief that the marae's first poukai was held some time around 1915. At one hui, a Kaumatua said that the date of the poukai had been changed long ago from the 14th March but no further information was forthcoming at the time. The poukai is the most important event on the marae calendar, superseding tangi (funerals), which are held at Omaero Marae when necessary.

Reverence for the Kingitanga becomes apparent in the way the marae community organises and prepares for the poukai. A vast amount of energy and commitment goes into organising a poukai, although some of the people involved have been a part of it for so long they make it seem effortless. Preparations for the 1999 poukai at Te Papa-o-Rotu began with a meeting organised by the Marae Committee a month beforehand and held in the dining hall. Twenty people came along as well as

manuwhiri (guests) from Te Kaharoa Marae. Nine held management positions at the time of the meeting and 11 were members of the community. Six of the marae's seven management groups were in attendance: the Marae Executive, Trustees, Education Support Team, Projects Team, Fundraising Committee, and the Caretaker. None of the Community Representatives were at the meeting. The Marae Executive presided over the meeting. *Table 3.1* lists those in attendance by their position or by using a pseudonym based on their age group.

*Table 3.1 People in attendance at the 1999 Poukai organising meeting*

| N | PERSON IN ATTENDANCE |
|---|---|
| 1 | Chairperson/Projects Team Member |
| 2 | Secretary/Treasurer |
| 3 | Assistant Secretary |
| 4 | Trustee/Caretaker/Projects Team Member |
| 5 | Trustee/Education Support Team Marae Representative/Projects Team Member |
| 6 | Trustee/Projects Team Member |
| 7 | Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 8 | Education Support Team/Projects Team Co-ordinator |
| 9 | Fundraising Committee Member |
| 10 | Matua B |
| 11 | Whaea G |
| 12 | Whaea H |
| 13 | Pakeke C |
| 14 | Rangatahi F |
| 15 | Rangatahi G |
| 16 | Rangatahi I |
| 17 | Rangatahi N |
| 18 | Rangatahi R |
| 19 | Rangatahi AV |
| 20 | Rangatahi BL |

One Matua, three Whaea, one Pakeke, and 15 Rangatahi were in attendance (*Table 3.2*). There were also 13 tamariki (children) present. It was one of the rare times when most people took their children or grandchildren with them to a meeting. The majority in attendance (15) were women and five were men. An equal number of

attendees lived in either Hamilton or Whatawhata. Most (12) were employed full-time, four were students, three were retired, and one was unemployed. Therefore, the overall impression of the people at the poukai organising meeting was that of Rangatahi, women, people who lived either in Whatawhata or Hamilton, and people who were employed full-time. In addition, the majority participated in Marae Committee activities, and this is confirmed by the number of Marae Committee hui they attended between 1997 and 1999. Eight people attended more than half of the Marae Committee hui. Ten attended between two and 13 Marae Committee hui, less than half of the hui, and two people attended just one hui.

*Table 3.2 Profile of people at the poukai organising meeting 1999*

| **AGE GROUP** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 1 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 20 |
| 5% | 15% | 5% | 75% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 15 | | | 0 | 20 |
| 25% | 75% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 10 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| 50% | 50% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 12 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 20 |
| 60% | 5% | 20% | 15% | 0% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 2 | 10 | 8 | | 20 |
| 0% | 10% | 50% | 40% | 0% | 100% |

A Matua opened the meeting with a karakia (prayer). The Marae Executive had been in office for less than a year and had never organised the poukai before, nor could

they find any records of past meetings to guide them, so people at the meeting took the time to explain the usual procedures, tasks and kawa (traditional protocol). It was explained that the poukai lasts for two days and not one, as is the case on some of the other marae. The day before the poukai is the kawemate[27] day, where bereaved whanau come together to mourn and remember those who have passed away since the last poukai. Some of the manuwhiri stay the night and are accommodated in the meeting house. Others may stay on the second night if they are travelling from one poukai directly to the next, and some of the workers stay the night so they do not have to worry about travelling after the end-of-day party.

Finding supervisors (called "section heads") was first on the meeting's agenda. There is an informal hierarchy to the allocation of duties, with the toilets being the most humble job and the paepae or catering to Te Arikinui's needs being the most prestigious. People are expected to work their way through the hierarchy from the 'back' to the 'front,' something that may take many years. At the meeting, section heads were selected for each area of the complex – meeting house, dining hall, kitchen, butchery, peeke,[28] piruru, Kohanga Reo building, and ablution block. Most of them had been doing the work for several years and expected to continue to do so. Others were selected to organise specific tasks such as the 'top table,' sound system, cleaning, tent workers, kitchen workers, a 'shop' caravan for snacks and soft drinks, usher/master of ceremonies, and wardens. People would also be needed as 'runners' to collect and drop off whatever was needed, such as last minute shopping. There were few formal roles for management officials on the Marae Executive or Trustee Committee other than the ones they already held. In the past, the Marae Committee Chairman's role was to be 'out front,' that is, on the paepae, but the current Chairman was considered to be too young so it was left to the Marae Executive to decide what role he would take that year. Someone suggested he go into the finance tent but he preferred to move around talking to people and lending a hand where needed, which

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[27] A practice for remembering people during the first year of their passing. The bereaved family are said to "carry the dead" with them to hui and other tangi.
[28] A room adjacent to the kitchen where small foodstuffs are stored and prepared. Can be translated as 'foodbank.'

is the role he took on the day. A Trustee agreed with the suggestion, saying it was important for the Chairman to be seen by, and be accessible to, the people (N145).[29] The Secretary/Treasurer managed the finances with support from the Assistant Secretary and they were key people in overall co-ordination. The Trustees' Chairman and several other Trustees were Kaumatua who usually sat on the paepae.[30] The remaining Trustees became helpers in the dining hall, kitchen and butchery.

The menu was agreed upon and included a number of beasts - some of which were donated - 48 chickens and 3 pigs, all of which would be placed in the hangi, an oven dug into the ground where baskets of food are steamed over hot stones. They decided against providing roast beef and fish dishes because they found that these were usually left over after the meal and thrown out. Vegetables, pasta dishes and seafood salads would be made as kinaki (accompaniments) to the hangi. Since the hall could seat 380 people at most, there were usually two settings at the hakari (formal meal), that is, the menu catered for over 700 people.

The Department of Corrections operated a service whereby people sentenced to periodic detention would work in the community under supervision. Such a group of men had recently demolished the prefab building and were asked to make new trestles from the timber. The dining hall was arranged with up to 50 trestles for the poukai plus an additional four tables placed on the stage. Colours for the tablecloths and serviettes were chosen at the meeting as well. The rangatahi (young person) section head for the dining hall caused some consternation amongst Kaumatua when she mentioned that she preferred the waitresses to leave the hall once the tables were set because she could get more work done. One of the Kaumatua, Matua B, said that in the past it had been a condition of the work that once a person left the hall, they stayed out. Another Kaumatua, Whaea H, offered to train the waitresses, but the Supervisor believed that training was best done at hui less important than this one. In

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[29] Fieldnotes, Poukai meeting. (1999, 7 March).
[30] Used in this context, the paepae is an aphorism for the marae leadership who sit at the front of the marae.

the end, the Supervisor insisted she be left to do the work the way she had been trained and the Kaumatua reluctantly acquiesced.

A working bee was planned for the second weekend before the poukai to clean the complex and deal with any repairs that needed to be done. People were also asked to be at the marae on the evening of the 8th to help make the flower arrangements for the dining tables. These dates and times were set to coincide with times convenient for working people. However, many people take at least one day off from their employment to work at the poukai. Cleaning and crockery supplies were depleted and had to be restocked; gas bottles and water tanks had to be filled; portable toilets, tents, the sound system, shop caravan, and trailer chiller had to be hired; and insect spraying had to be organised. Section heads were responsible for ensuring that supplies and equipment were ready for the day.

The after-event party was the last thing discussed at the meeting. Once the poukai activities have ended, the ringawera (organisers) spend several hours cleaning and packing things away. Then they get together to evaluate the day, report on the finances, and relax. The Marae Committee supplies a few boxes of beer at the party and some people sleep overnight at the marae. As always, the meeting ended with a mihi and karakia.

Apart from the level of commitment shown in preparing for the poukai, other displays of reverence for the Kingitanga appear during the poukai to show just how important the Kingitanga is to the people. The Queen's pou kara (flag) is raised just after dawn of the first day, along with the marae flag, and they remain flying until the end of the second day. A Pai Marire[31] church service is held in the meeting house before breakfast each day at about 7 a.m., and then everyone goes to their designated jobs. On the second day, the hakari is the next meal after breakfast but is served around 1 p.m., so people buy snacks from the 'shop caravan' for themselves and their children.

[31] A religion established by Tawhiao.

Rangatahi and Pakeke gather around the dining hall trying to hear the speeches whenever there is a respite in their duties.

The paepae is full to overflowing on poukai day, with koroua (male elders) and kuia (women elders) from all three marae taking a position. Manuwhiri groups start arriving from around 8 a.m. so that they will have been welcomed with a powhiri before the Queen arrives. Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu and her party arrive in two coach buses and several cars at around 11 a.m. and park inside the grounds near the front gate. Once they are all assembled together at the road end of the marae atea, kuia from the marae begin to karanga (call) and the powhiri progresses in the normal way, with two exceptions. As the kuia karanga, the tangata whenua (hosts) welcome the Queen with the three-quarter beat whakatau (welcoming chant):

> Toia mai
> TE WAKA!
> Ki te urunga
> TE WAKA!
> Ki te moenga
> TE WAKA!
> Ki te takotoranga i takoto ai
> TE WAKA!

Since poukai day fell on a Saturday that year, the brass band was able to accompany the Queen's party and they started to play as the party moved forward. Some of the kuia danced the kopikopi (jaunty hip-swinging dance) as they made their way to the marae atea. Before Te Arikinui and her party took their seats in the piruru, the band gathered around the flagpole and played a hymn while one of the Kaumatua said a karakia.

Facilities for Te Arikinui and her family to use are set apart from the facilities that everyone else uses and the Kohanga Reo is ideal for such a purpose because it is self-contained and private. Her piruru is serviced from there as well. Snack foods and cups of tea are supplied throughout the day and are left on the coffee table in the piruru for the convenience of the Queen, her grandchildren, and guests. This practice

is unique to the poukai since food is not normally placed on the marae atea. Any leftovers are given to the Queen's group when they leave.

Two kuia are responsible for the koha (gift) 'dishes' used to collect the koha for the hakari. A matching pair of large, ornate ceramic dishes was once used to collect the koha until one of them broke. Kite (woven flax baskets) are now used and are still referred to as dishes. They are not used for anything else because the dish money is considered tapu (sacred). The koha is understood to be $5 for the meal and the kuia sit outside the main entrance to the dining hall to collect the koha from people as they enter. Tamariki (children) sometimes give a coin in a ceremonial gesture, to feel part of the ritual. Whatever is collected at the first sitting is given to the Kingitanga, and the koha from the second sitting is given to the marae. The hall is filled to capacity in the first sitting and about three-quarters full in the second sitting. Most of the ringawera eat at the second sitting. The money is counted and blessed by Kaumatua and the Treasurer in the 'finance' tent. The tent is set up for people to go to change money or for workers to go for cheques should they need any last minute supplies. The Marae Committee Chairman must then arrange a suitable time to approach the Queen and hand the Kingitanga koha over to her. It is a formal but private task. The koha for the marae is banked into what is known as the 'Poukai Account' and continues to be treated as tapu. It is used solely for poukai expenses and empties almost completely just prior to the poukai, to be refilled on the day in readiness for the next poukai. The koha rarely covers the full cost of hosting the poukai so some of the expenses are paid from the marae's general account.

In the dining hall, two women, specially chosen several years ago for the purpose, service the top table, which is set up on the stage for Dame Te Atairangikaahu, her guests, and some of the Kaumatua. Serving dishes and table settings of crockery and cutlery are used solely for this task and are carefully packed and stored away for the rest of the year. That year, some of the serving dishes were provided by whanau from Te Kaharoa Marae. Although the table has the same type of food as everyone else, it

is separated from that for the rest of the manuwhiri and is stored in bain maries with a water urn set up nearby.

After the hakari, people move back out to the marae atea and seat themselves in the piruru to listen to the discussions. The rest of the day is spent discussing issues (usually political) relevant to the iwi, and people who have come to the poukai to raise a particular issue get the chance to do so. In 1999, the dissolution of the Tainui Maori Trust Board and establishment of Te Kauhanganui was the hot topic but other topics included the history of the poukai, fundraising for the Kimikimi meeting house at Turangawaewae Marae, and there were delegations from AgResearch and Health Waikato. Men spoke into microphones on the perimeter of the marae atea and women spoke from inside the piruru. Sound speakers were located around the marae atea and inside the dining hall so that the ringawera could follow the discussions. A group of teenagers from Tauranga entertained the crowd with Maori and Pacific Island dances until about 5 p.m. The band then gathered around the flagpole once more and played a hymn and one of the Kaumatua said a karakia while the flags were lowered. Te Arikinui and her party then prepared to leave with everyone wishing them farewell. After they left, other visitors took their leave while the 'home crowd' went about cleaning the marae before the end-of-day party.

Other Kingitanga social forums include the regatta of waka competitions held February/March each year, and the Koroneihana, a weeklong anniversary celebrating the Queen's Coronation and held every May.

**Other Forums**

Nga Marae Toopu (The marae collective or syndicate ) is a community trust established in the mid-1970s for marae within the Tainui region. Its purpose is to promote unity and support the Kingitanga and it is regarded as a Kaumatua forum. Each participating marae can send along two delegates to its bi-monthly meetings held at Turangawaewae Marae and pays an annual subscription, some of which may be borrowed by marae for development projects. Since the delegates are Kaumatua,

Nga Marae Toopu is a very powerful forum for consulting on matters relating to tribal tradition and history. It is also valuable for comparing the experiences of individual marae because Kaumatua often share news about their marae.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board created tribal management committees covering specific sections within the Tainui region as management forums for hapu in those sections. These committees subsequently split off into independent trusts at the insistence of the Trust Board. One such committee was Te Tai Hauauru[32] Management Committee, a charitable trust that had trustees from five marae in the western area all with close associations to Ngati Mahanga: Omaero, Te Papa-o-Rotu, Te Kaharoa, Motakotako and Makomako. A sixth marae, Waingaro, had withdrawn. Although dormant for several years, Te Tai Hauauru was beginning to stir when Te Kauhanganui was formed. This alliance of neighbouring marae had similar issues regarding environmental resource management and was reformed at this time to liaise with other organisations, including the Waikato District Council, on resource consent applications, although it appeared to want to broaden into more areas that concerned the hapu as a whole. In 1998, at the request of Te Tai Hauauru's chairperson, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae appointed two delegates to the committee (N126).[33]

Between 1995 and 1998 the Tainui Maori Trust Board ran a rangatahi training programme. Marae were invited to nominate two rangatahi they considered would become future leaders of the marae with the intention that the rangatahi would improve their skills, report back to their marae community, and play a key role in marae management. In its first eighteen months of operation, the programme offered training in administration skills, management training in the following year, and iwi governance seminars and workshops in 1998. It was also used to some extent as a think tank and human resource pool for the Trust Board, and a communication network.

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[32] trans. West coast, or in this case, the Western Region.
[33] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, December). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

Another group that had a representative from the marae was Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa, an organisation that dealt mainly with environmental resource management issues in Hamilton city and had a consultative relationship with the Hamilton City Council. Its membership comprised delegates from five of the Waikato tribes whose territories surround and extend into Hamilton city: Ngati Tama-inu-po, Ngati Koroki, Ngati Wairere, Ngati Mahanga, and Ngati Haua. These days, such tribes are called mana whenua (sovereignty over the land) tribes with rights due to traditional occupation predating the colonisation of New Zealand. They claim the right to be a part of local government decision-making processes, especially regarding environmental resource management. Similarly, Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa[34] is a consultation forum between the Waipa District Council and the iwi whose territories fall within the District Council's region. Both groups meet once a month.

There were several more organisations that sought representatives from the marae including the Whatawhata Agricultural Research Station, and Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa,[35] a pan-tribal council set up as a voice for the many iwi whose members live in Hamilton. The Council had seats reserved for mana whenua tribes, including Ngati Mahanga. There were recurring debates at Te Papa-o-Rotu over whether Ngati Mahanga should send representatives. Matua B was strongly against the move because the marae gave its mandate for the Tainui Maori Trust Board to represent it and had a kawenata with the Kingitanga, both of which had representatives on the Runanga, so Matua B felt that the marae was already represented through them (N95).[36] The issue of representation was problematic with regard to the Runanga only, probably because it was pan-tribal. Marae delegates sat at the table with representatives from the Kingitanga on internal organisations such as Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa.

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[34] trans. The tribal syndicate of Waipa
[35] trans. The Council of Hamilton
[36] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1997, September).

Information from these many sources filters back to the marae either informally through 'te aka kumara,'[37] or by way of delegates' reports at Marae Committee hui. There is much opportunity for information exchange in this network of alliances and forums and the Kingitanga is a powerful unifying thread throughout.

## Conclusion

Ngati Mahanga was an independent iwi until it joined the Kingitanga, and has been labelled a hapu since the Tainui Maori Trust Board was formed. Both of these changes are extremely significant indicators of the dynamism of Waikato iwi social organisation and, of course, the effect on marae is profound. Individual hapu are now represented through marae more than through hapu leaders. Marae such as Te Papa-o-Rotu are now managed by their communities but governed by the Kingitanga. Tribal authorities exercise a unique influence in directing the development of hapu throughout the region because of the close association the Kingitanga has with these authorities and marae. A bottom up management approach is evident in the need for tribal authorities to first get a mandate from hapu before they can do anything else, and in the decision of Waikato people for Te Kauhanganui to be a council of marae. A top down approach is evident in the Kingitanga governance of marae and the ways that this is taken advantage of by tribal authorities. Just how much self-determination and independence hapu have through their marae is now a regularly negotiated position, especially since tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) is now considered to be something an 'iwi' (in this case an iwi authority) can claim on behalf of its hapu.

[37] trans. "the kumara vine," slang for gossip, synonymous with the colloquialism, "grapevine."

# Chapter 4

## The Changing Face of Management and Administration at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae

For most of the twentieth century, the way Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was managed has been in transition from a traditional holistic style to a modern bureaucratic form, and from an informal to formal mode. The tensions between the responsibilities of the two main decision-making authorities, the Trustees and the Marae Committee, are symptomatic of this transitional phase. The marae is grappling with how to incorporate modern bureaucratic administration alongside traditional practices in a way that will be productive and beneficial. Karina Constantino-David (1995) noted the growing trend towards "professionalisation," the expectation of better management and financial systems among non-government organisations (NGOs) in the Philippines: "what is disturbing, however, is that management is automatically taken to mean the installation of systems that conform to generally accepted business and/or governmental procedures" (p. 166). According to her, these systems often reflect values in conflict with alternatives. The marae has broadened its operational focus in the last decade from solely inward looking to an outward looking focus incorporating iwi affairs and the capacity needs of its whanau to participate in the wider New Zealand society.

This chapter discusses the changing face of marae management at Te Papa-o-Rotu, from informal to formal organising, and from an inward to outward looking focus. It is argued here that the cumulative effect of bureaucratic administration, as promulgated by state legislation affecting Maori communities since the nineteenth century, has been the major catalyst for these changes. The management processes used by the iwi authorities have served to reinforce bureaucratic administration as the most appropriate mode of marae management and administration due to the increasingly close relationship between the iwi authority and the marae within its territorial boundaries.

## A Century of Transition

Cultural traditions shape social action at the marae and from within these traditions Kaumatua (elders), Pakeke (mature people) and Rangatahi (young people) fulfil duties as kaimahi (workers) and kaitiaki (caretakers). There are people on the paepae (frontline of elders), people working as ringawera (kitchenhands), maintaining taonga (treasured artefacts) such as the woven tukutuku and painted kowhaiwhai panels, repairing plant and equipment, working at the marae-based Kohanga Reo (Maori language pre-school), caring for the urupa (cemetery), or holding whanau hui at the marae. All such activity can be classed as kaitiakitanga (custodianship or caretaking) because it keeps the marae active and warm, but only a few of the people will want to actively participate in marae management. Nevertheless, the opportunity is available to all of them. Marae management is a direct expression of kaitiakitanga as opposed to indirect forms like whanau hui, and it is the arrangement by which organising, resource management, development planning, and administration are performed. According to Uphoff (1996):

> In indigenous organization, as with indigenous knowledge, one confronts the reality that practices and beliefs are not things to be decided on independently and separately. There is a quality of connectedness and embeddedness which distinguishes 'indigenous' things from 'modern' things, the latter in the Western analytical tradition to be separated from each other and judged independently. This is to say that process is often more important than product within indigenous culture spheres. How things are done is more important than what is done, with great emphasis placed upon social relationships and preserving the harmony and integrity of the community and culture, more than on individual recognition or advancement.(pp.viii-ix)

A common saying at hui was that the Kaumatua did everything in the old days. The quality of their leadership depended on knowledge, skill and charisma, but they also led by example as workers. Hui were community gatherings that anyone in the marae

community could attend but Kaumatua led discussions, strenuously debated each issue - usually over a long period of time - arrived at a consensus then, as one, actively supported the decision both in what they said in public and in what they did to ensure the decision was acted upon (see Walker, 1975, p.23). They would pull in their spouses, children, grandchildren, and others in their whanau to carry out the tasks; commandeer Rangatahi and Pakeke working at the marae; or they would do the work themselves. Issues were discussed everywhere and with everyone: on the paepae, in the kitchen, at hui, and at home. No distinction was made between management and non-management matters since they were deemed to be merely different ways of approaching the same general issues, and administrative requirements were minimal. Kawa (customary protocols) has always been the primary determinant for the code of conduct at the marae.

In general, management issues at Te Papa-o-Rotu continue to be handled using traditional characteristics: Kaumatua are still the leadership, hui continue to be the setting for deliberations, consensus decision-making is still the norm, whanaungatanga (caring relationships) or personal networks are cultivated in order to complete tasks, and kawa continues to determine the way people conduct themselves at the marae. Continued use of these features serves to reinforce the rangatiratanga (self-determination, authority, control) of the community. The marae community also continues to have a common bond in the interests of the group, guided by what Weber termed substantive rationality, "the ability to anchor actions in the consideration of the whole" (cited in Elwell, 1996). Community groups and court appointed committees, hui and formal meetings, Kaumatua leadership and bureaucratic authority, kawa and bureaucratic procedures, consensus and majority vote decision-making: all are working simultaneously at the marae and some, like hui and meetings procedures, have become intertwined. In other words, the marae's response to encroaching bureaucratisation has been a cultural one.

There were three main pathways to the marae along which bureaucratic administration travelled: the first was the cumulative effect of state legislation to

which Maori communities have been subject since the nineteenth century. The land and community development legislation is described in this chapter in terms of the accumulation of bureaucratic influences on the marae. The second pathway was via the processes adopted by the iwi authority to which the Marae Committee complied. The relationship between the iwi authority and Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was one of negotiation and is discussed later in this chapter. A third pathway was that of the hegemonic use of bureaucratic procedures that Marae Committee members themselves determined were appropriate. The community at Papa-o-Rotu Marae managed its affairs using a mix of traditional Maori cultural processes and modern bureaucratic administration, and despite external pressure to increase its scale of operations and conform to a legal-rational form of bureaucratic administration, asserted its rangatiratanga by maintaining control over the encroachment of bureaucracy. However, a persistent question throughout this study was whether the marae could maintain its own, separate identity, authority and self-determination in the face of increasing pressure from such an assimilative influence as bureaucratic administration.

## Coercion and Legitimation Through Legislation

Bureaucratic management for Maori communities has a history dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Non-negotiable bureaucratic procedures implied a hegemonic assertion of bureaucracy as normal. However, while government structures of control imposed on marae appeared to be endorsed, they were also subverted in order to maintain marae autonomy. Some of the characteristics of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony, especially the threads of domination (through coercion), legitimation, appropriation and accommodation, were apparent in the ways that the State and the Marae Committee used Maori land and Maori community legislation in the management of the marae (1971; Gramsci, 1971/2001). Weber's analysis of bureaucracy allows for an heuristic examination of how these threads materialised in the legislation and the processes used by both the iwi authority and Marae Committee (Weber, 1947/1964; 1946/1968).

Although most marae were subject to land legislation, and, therefore, to some extent at least, to a bureaucratic management structure, the extent to which their communities interacted with the state generally, was variable. Twentieth century legislation concerning Maori land and Maori communities had a number of the characteristics of bureaucracy as outlined by Weber (1947/1964, pp. 337-339). Bureaucratic administration has therefore been imposed on Maori social organisation since 1900 and has been reinforced in successive legislation throughout the twentieth century.

According to Weber (1946/1968, p.66), bureaucratic authority (also called bureaucratic management) was underpinned by the notion of a fixed jurisdictional area ordered by laws or administrative regulations. This was enforced at the marae through the Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 and Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, which designated the marae as a land trust, set the official duties of its Trustees, legitimated (and limited) the Trustees' authority, and provided for the methodical continuation of this responsibility by assigning authority and duties to the office of Trustee (as opposed to the incumbent). The requirements of the legislation were in conflict with the traditional values and behaviours of marae communities (see Metge, 1976, p. 217). For instance, the legislation did not recognise the symbiotic relationship between the land, community and tipuna whare (ancestral houses) comprising a marae so there was no explicit statement in the legislation that reservation trusts referred to land administration only. A further consequence was that the community's kaitiaki (manager) role was not acknowledged. Rather, a Trustee Committee was established. However, in practice, the marae community curtailed the Trustees' influence and the Marae Committee commandeered their administrative regulations. Changes have been wrought through the gradual internalisation of bureaucratic procedures and the adoption of infrastructures set out in the legislation. The bureaucratic influences instigated by Maori land and community development legislation are described in the next section.

### *Land Legislation*

The Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 includes provisions for the creation of several types of Maori land trust, including reservations. Legislation about reservations did not include marae until the Maori Purposes Act 1973 amended the Maori Affairs Act 1953. Section 439 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 was replaced by section 338 of the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993. Reservation status was placed on blocks of land for a specific communal purpose and for the benefit of a specified group of people. Applicable Maori reservations were:

> a village site, marae, meeting place, recreation ground, sports ground, bathing place, church site, building site, burial ground, landing place, fishing ground, spring, well, catchment area or other source of water supply, timber reserve, or place of cultural, historical, or scenic interest, or for any other specified purpose (Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993, s. 338).

A new subsection in the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 stated that the Maori Land Court could set out the terms of the trust and that the reservation would be administered according to regulations (s.338(8)). The Ture Whenua Maori Act gave authority to manage the reservation to Trustees on behalf of the beneficiaries, which, in the case of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae, was the Ngati Mahanga tribe.

The Maori Reservations Regulations 1963 were issued to help implement the provisions of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 and were later replaced by The Maori Reservations Regulations 1994. The Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 were used in conjunction with the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993. The Regulations were a general purpose set of rules for all types of reservation and outlined the powers and responsibilities of the Trustees as well as their administrative procedures. In summary, these included their powers and duties, appointment procedures, meetings procedures, record-keeping requirements, and complaints procedures.

Both the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 and the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, and the ways in which they have been interpreted by the community, are discussed in more detail in following chapters.

### *Legislation Relating to Maori Community Development*

Whilst not land legislation, the Maori Community Development Act 1962 is worthy of mention because it has impacted on Maori communities, including marae. Previous legislation on which the Maori Community Development Act was based figured significantly in introducing bureaucratic structures to Maori communities. The Act established a four-tiered national structure of Maori Associations that has its genesis in the Maori Councils Act 1900. A similar strategy of institution-building was used in Papua New Guinea to try to overcome problems faced when local government in that country deteriorated. The Papua New Guinea Village Services Program, "aimed to establish a committee structure from village to national level" (Meleisea Schoeffel, 1996, p. 128). This Act appears to represent an attempt by the State to involve Maori communities in institution-building, the overall aim being the development of a political forum that could act as an intermediary between iwi and government, taking responsibility for the enforcement of a range of government policies.

### Maori Councils Act 1900

The Maori Councils Act 1900 attempted to provide a vehicle for establishing self-governing bodies that were pan-tribal Maori councils based on geography more than on iwi and hapu organisation. The Act aimed to promote health, cleanliness and sanitation in Maori communities as well as to regulate drinking and gambling. Maori districts were established under the Act and a Maori Council was set up for each district. *Komiti Marae,* translated in the Act as 'Village Committees,' appears to be the first reference to Marae Committees. Komiti Marae were elected from among every 'Maori settlement' within each district and were not a committee belonging to a single marae such as they are formed today. The Maori Councils could pass by-laws sensitive to local needs and the Komiti Marae administered and enforced those by-

laws. Their income stemmed from fines and dog taxes. The Act was replaced by the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act in 1945.

**Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945**

The Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 used a similar structure to that introduced in the Maori Councils Act 1900 but with different terminology. Maori districts became tribal districts. Within each tribal district was a Tribal Executive and Tribal Committee areas. Tribal Committees replaced Komiti Marae. According to Metge (1976, p. 207), Tribal Committee Areas usually comprised the territory of a hapu, while Tribal Executive Districts covered part, but not all, of the territory of a tribe. Tribal Committees were elected every two years by Maori residents in the Tribal Committee area and were intended to be representative of the tribes or tribal groups in the area. Membership of these committees was not restricted to local iwi or hapu members: any Maori living in the area could be elected. A Welfare Officer held a position on each Tribal Committee. Welfare Officers were public servants in the Native Department. They exercised powers delegated from their supervisor, called the Controller. The Tribal Executive comprised two delegates from each Tribal Committee and a Welfare Officer. The Controller had a superintendent and co-ordinating role over both the Tribal Executives and Tribal Committees. Both Tribal Executives and Tribal Committees appointed chairpersons and secretaries as their officers. In 1961, an amendment to the Act introduced the New Zealand Maori Council of Tribal Executives (Maori Social and Economic Advancement Amendment Act 1961).

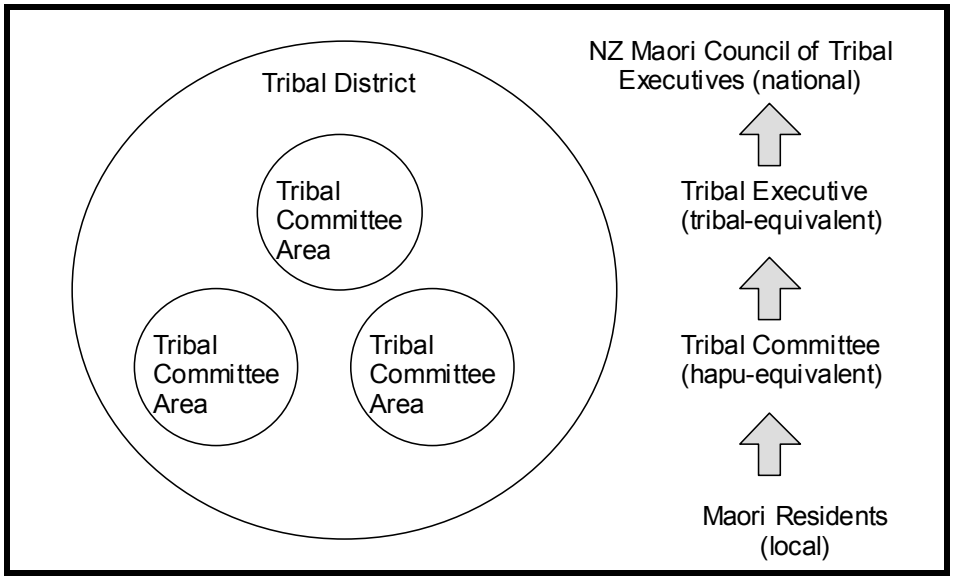


*Figure 4.1 Maori Council organisation structure under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945*

The Tribal Committees administered and enforced by-laws passed by the Tribal Executives. Tribal Committees could reserve shellfish beds and fishing grounds for the exclusive use of Maori, regulating and managing their use. In relation to Maori villages, Tribal Executives could make by-laws for their own district, each such Maori village being described as, " a kainga, village or pa the boundaries of which have been defined by a Tribal Committee and which has been declared to be a Maori village for the purposes of this Act" (Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, s.2). Both Tribal Executives and Tribal Committees could collaborate with relevant government departments on employment, education, housing and health.

The by-laws could relate to:

- the health of Maori,
- cleanliness and sanitation,
- preventing nuisance,
- preventing animals from trespassing on villages,
- protecting meeting houses if there were no Trustees,
- charging fees for the use of a meeting house for entertainment events,

- protecting recreation grounds set apart for the common use of Maori and controlling these grounds if there were no Trustees,
- regulating and charging fees for athletic and other gatherings,
- regulating and licensing billiard rooms in villages including charging fees,
- preventing gambling,
- regulating the sale of goods,
- quelling disturbances,
- regulating traffic, and
- protecting burial grounds.

In 1949, a clause was added that riotous behaviour and professing to have supernatural powers be deemed breaches of the by-laws (Maori Purposes Act 1949). Tribal Executives could authorise a person to enter and inspect any Maori village, pa or settlement. Penalties could be charged for breaching the by-laws.

Regulating social behaviour with regard to drunkenness was carried over from the Maori Councils Act 1900. People who took liquor into a Maori village or manufactured liquor whilst there were fined unless the liquor was for medicinal or religious purposes. Any Maori village suspected of harbouring liquor could be subjected to police inspection and any liquor found could be confiscated.

The Maori Social and Economic Act 1945 established the volunteer group, the Maori Wardens. They had a law and order role. They could stop publicans from selling liquor to any Maori person and if necessary fine licensees. They could evict Maori they deemed intoxicated or violent from licensed premises and if necessary fine them. The Tribal Executives could remunerate Maori Wardens for their services.

**Maori Welfare Act 1962**

The Maori Welfare Act 1962 repealed the Tohunga Suppression Act 1908 and retained the Maori Association structure set out in the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. Tribal Committees became Maori Committees and Tribal

Executives became Maori Executive Committees. The tier above was the District Maori Councils, charged with supervising the Maori Committees and Executive Committees, as well as the Maori Wardens. The top tier was the New Zealand Maori Council, the national body. There were approximately 400 Maori Committees and nine District Maori Councils in 1975 (Metge, 1976, p. 207). By 1999, the number of District Maori Councils had increased to 16 (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1999, p. 10). The number of Maori Executive Committees varied depending on the number of Maori Committees in their area. Instead of Welfare Officers, Community Officers employed by the Department of Maori Affairs were appointed to assist Maori in the areas of health, education, housing, vocational training and employment. The functions were essentially unchanged and were enforced by the Maori Wardens: preventing riotous and drunken behaviour,[38] preventing disorderly behaviour at Maori gatherings, retaining car keys and imposing penalties. In 1979, the Act was renamed the Maori Community Development Act 1962.

**Review of the Maori Community Development Act 1962**

In 1998, under instructions from the then Minister for Maori Affairs, Hon. Tau Henare, Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Maori Development) conducted an extensive consultative review of the Maori Community Development Act 1962. It found that the Act was not operating adequately. In fact, some of the provisions were being ignored. The New Zealand Maori Council structure was considered to be cumbersome and the role of the Maori Wardens had long ago changed from the original law and order role. Also, development initiatives within Maori communities had not been able to take advantage of the provisions in the Act. One example given was that of a Maori Association whose status as a legal entity was not recognised by a government department. The Association perforce had to form a charitable trust (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1999, p. 13).

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[38] Including evicting Maori from hotels.

Legislation relating to Maori affairs was generally considered to be ad hoc, operating in a largely unco-ordinated fashion. The Maori Community Development Act 1962 and Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 were cited as examples of a lack of appropriate co-ordination. Both Acts required separate committees where one would have been sufficient, particularly when the same people were likely to be members of both. The following comment was made with regard to marae, "the legislation says we have to have two committees, one to get marae funds, which we no longer get, and the other to run our marae. Bureaucracy gone mad with no idea how we do things in the real world" (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1999, p. 13).

Although a national Maori organisation was still considered to be a necessary aspect of the relationship between Maori and the Crown, the New Zealand Maori Council was seen as being unrepresentative of Maori communities and had limited ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Furthermore, it appeared that the support for the Council by Maori communities was less than it had been. Rather than negotiate through the Maori Council structure, a number of iwi had set up their own organisations to deal directly with the Crown. In addition, government funding was inadequate to support the expectation that the Council should perform at all levels. Thus, "without feathers a bird can't fly. If the Act will ensure feathers, then ok, if not, then government was wasting our time. The bird should be shot" (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1999, p. 22). The Maori Council structure was slowly being abandoned by both Maori and the Crown.

The Act aimed to facilitate the initiation of local community development as well as provide a self-governing structure that would culminate in a single national Maori organisation. However, the Maori Wardens had outgrown their role under the Act and now considered their original role to be insulting and paternalistic. They had their own Association and believed that their role should be determined by their local communities. Some of their functions included security arrangements, truancy programmes, point duty at hui, working within the justice system, and assisting people who were living on the streets.

Many of the people consulted for the review wanted to see marae more explicitly recognised as the main places from which development initiatives began. They also wanted to ensure that the diverse range of Maori communities was recognised, including for example, urban Maori authorities. It was believed that by basing the legislation on marae, existing Maori structures could be used (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1999, p. 19). Although Te Puni Kokiri made several recommendations in their report aimed at changing the provisions of the Act, successive governments have not initiated any further progress.

The legislation was ill-fitting and disregarded Maori cultural management practices in a way that served to superimpose a bureaucratic form of management as a substitute for hapu and iwi management. The State's aim to have one organisation represent all Maori voices was contrary to the localised representation of iwi and attempts through the Maori Community Development Act 1962 to socially engineer such centralised representation were considered to have proven fruitless over time. The legacy of this legislation has been a specific type of organisational structure that is replicated by the iwi authority and marae, as well as bureaucratic procedures that have been normalised. However, the Maori Council structure has continuing value for generic forms of Maori representation such as that for Maori in urban areas and organisations established to offer social or economic support services to Maori.

## From Social Territory to Indigenous Organisation: Te Papa-o-Rotu and the Iwi Authorities

The iwi authorities utilised a legal-rational form of bureaucratic administration when dealing with Te Papa-o-Rotu's Marae Committee that forced the marae into a choice between assimilating bureaucratic procedures or foregoing any involvement. Uphoff (1996) described a continuum along which different types of indigenous organising and indigenous organisations could be placed:

> Organizations range from those that are clearly 'indigenous', even primordial, with their origins going back indistinctly but certainly many generations, to organizations that are quite contemporary in their inspiration and modes of operation. The latter blend into the broader and more generic category of local organizations. . . . The first end of this continuum is social territory less understood and less appreciated. . . . In between these two ends of a continuum, but tending toward the latter end, are organizations that are distinctly modern but which are composed of and serve the interests of indigenous peoples. These can be considered as 'indigenous organizations' by virtue of their membership if not because of their origins, but I would prefer to limit the category of indigenous organizations to those that have autonomous if not necessarily ancient origins. (pp. vii-viii)

Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae and the various organisations that comprised the iwi authority for the Waikato confederation were at different points along the continuum but both were indigenous responses to legal-rational authority and bureaucratic administration.

The relationship between the marae and iwi authority was, at times, fraught with tensions over the authoritative parameters of the iwi authority, a negotiated space that became more significant after the raupatu claim was settled in 1995 linking the iwi authority more closely with marae in the territory. For example, the debate over marae access to the Tainui Maori Trust Board's benrol (discussed in *Chapter 3*) included an argument that marae be considered as branches of the iwi authority in the same manner as banks or government departments. Complicating matters further for the Waikato confederation of hapu (subtribes) was the close association between the iwi authority and the Kingitanga, the confederation's spiritual leader. These issues highlighted the predicament in which the marae was placed when involving itself in the development of an iwi authority that covered several hapu and iwi in the territory. E. T. Durie (1998, p.24) questioned whether a tribe must choose or find a balance between tribal management through iwi authorities or the traditional value of empowering communities, because for him, the issue was more a management one,

that is, whether to take a bottom up or top down approach or both, rather than an issue of supremacy between hapu and iwi.

The marae's management planning period from 1995 to 1997 set the stage for an assimilative relationship between the iwi authority and the marae more than an alliance for a united force.[39] In addition, the administrative processes used by the iwi authority served to reinforce and normalise bureaucratic administration. However, multiple destabilising administrative factors shaped the relationship during the period from 1997 to 1999, such as communication breakdowns between the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (WRLT) and the marae because of staff turnover at both places, annual policy changes in the WRLT's education grants and scholarships process, and so on. That is, the initial years of negotiated authoritative positions between the iwi authority and marae over where each stood in relation to the other was redefined by the practical realities of working with each other on a regular basis.

One of Weber's characteristics of bureaucracy was that a fully developed office demanded the full working capacity of its officials irrespective of whether the officials' obligatory time to the office was firmly delimited. The need for workaholic officials suggested in this trait was qualified by Weber when he asserted that this was only the product of a long development whereas the former normal state was reversed, with official business discharged as a secondary activity. The need for full-time workers was evident at the marae for short periods of intense activity rather than permanently, depending on the scale of operations, and official marae business was necessarily a secondary activity due to the resources available, particularly human and financial, which in turn restricted the development of offices. However, the need for fully developed offices was less apparent than the pressure placed on the marae to have them, particularly from the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (WRLT), whose administrative communication processes reflected a presumption of corresponding administrative processes at the marae. The bureaucratic processes used by the iwi

[39] The planning period is discussed in more detail in *Chapter 7*.

authorities have been discussed in the following chapters in terms of how they were incorporated by the Marae Committee.

## Appropriation and Accommodation: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Responses to Imposed Authority

Meleisea Schoeffel (1996) found that although traditional and modern systems co-existed in Pacific Island nations throughout the twentieth century, "modern principles of government were only partially assimilated into popular attitudes, beliefs and political processes" (p. 218). She refers to a lack of commitment to institution-building, "to the incremental development and refinement of efficient, impartial, legally-based systems of administration" (p. 218). Such was also the case at Te Papa-o-Rotu whereby the Marae Committee appropriated or accommodated some of the legislative conditions and resisted others. According to Kawharu (2001), "in contrast to statutory and policy frameworks, the marae still remains a primary context for a tribal group to enhance their rangatiratanga" (p. 3). The Marae Committee found ways of maintaining the marae's rangatiratanga while at the same time complying with legislative requirements in all its outward manifestations. The onus was on the Marae Committee to formulate such a compromise since the legislation had specific, fixed conditions that did not acknowledge pre-existing processes. Contemporary management practices at the marae have become a mix of modern bureaucracy and customary practices, both of which have been adapted for a more compatible fit.

At Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae, an alternative structure to trustee administration was devised whereby the Marae Committee continued to retain popular authority but it adopted procedures that followed the legal responsibilities of Trustees. The Trustees were seen as a separate management body from the Marae Committee with their own meetings and their own secretariat. They did not directly generate an income base so did not require any financial systems. Their primary function was seen as satisfying Court directives in relation to land matters rather than directing the use of the complex. They were given the nebulous responsibility for long-term planning or

policy-making - compared with the Marae Committee, who were given responsibility for day-to-day management - as a way of providing a management structure that would reflect the principle of hierarchy as implied in the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994. In practice, long term planning and policy-making would come from community wananga, and then be developed at Marae Committee hui. Trustees did not attend Marae Committee hui in their official capacity and did not have any formal function whilst there, but as community members they had the same right as everyone else to express their opinions and be part of decision-making.

Ostensibly, the Trustees had the kind of authority required by the legislation. The community accorded them this largely symbolic authority in recognition of the fact that they could be held legally responsible for any violation of the requirements of the legislation. In practice, however, whilst their right to have their say as individual members of the marae community was acknowledged, they were not permitted, as a body, to impose their will on the community. In general, community members accepted that they had a moral responsibility to protect the Trustees from conviction under the Regulations and, therefore, must act in a manner that was consistent with this responsibility.

Trustees at Te Papa-o-Rotu were keenly aware that the community more than the Court moulded their active role at the marae and the community members were just as keenly aware that the Court would make Trustees personally liable for wrongdoing, should such misconduct become known to the Court. Therefore, the Court was never told about *any* activities at the marae other than Trustee elections. Complaints were put directly to the community through hui. However, the Court maintained an omnipotent presence by providing any person from the hapu with the option to complain directly to the Court. This option was not used at Te Papa-o-Rotu but had been taken up on other marae (for example “Judge tells,” 2001; “Trustees sacked,” 2001). The community was not ready to call the police or take committees to Court when there was evidence of wrongdoing. Instead, the approach was to use traditional practices of discipline, such as to hui with the whanau to whom the

perpetrator belonged, or to use whakama (embarrassment) to shame the person and his or her whanau into making reparation. Individuals were forced to conclude that they had harmed their whanau as well as the marae. Word spread throughout the community and for the rest of their lives, individuals and their whanau could never be sure when and where the subject might re-appear.

It is difficult to usurp the authority of the Marae Committee because it is intertwined with the community and performs an essential service. Unlike the Marae Committee, the Trustee Committee's primary function is not linked to the central concerns of the community, but is recognised as being a regulatory function for the state. Whereas the Marae Committee role is community oriented, the Trustee Committee role is seen by the community to be land-related, something that does not include the activities of the community. That the Regulations obliquely extend to the community and its social organisation is recognised. However, the relevant regulations, such as requiring written permission from the Trustee Committee to use the marae and undergoing a process of written application, are ignored. The legislation pertaining to Maori reservations intrudes on the established administrative role of the Marae Committee.

Both committees carry out tasks that reinforce the authority of the other committee: they authorise activities on the marae, call meetings regarding administration, and appoint people to positions. Authorising activities gives the committee the power to determine what goes on at the marae. Calling meetings gives the committee the power to direct proceedings and decision-making at the meetings. Making appointments gives the committee authoritative power over those positions. So the question becomes, which committee does the community feel should have that kind of power? Te Papa-o-Rotu used specific mechanisms to assign this power to the Marae Committee. Any task-related procedures that trustees were required to follow were incorporated into the processes the Marae Committee used. If necessary, the Trustees could prove that the letter, if not the spirit, of the law was being followed.

A resistance to the erosion of rangatiratanga underscored the potential tensions between the Trustees and Marae Committee. The community was left with the unenviable task of trying to reconcile the competing powers of the two committees without overlooking any responsibilities that the State or the community might assign. The Marae Committee was an expression of rangatiratanga because it was born of the community and served to maintain community control, so its very existence alongside Trustees committees signalled resistance. According to Weber (1947/1964), "when those subject to bureaucratic control seek to escape the influence of the existing bureaucratic apparatus, this was [sic] normally possible only by creating an organization of their own which was equally subject to the process of bureaucratization" (p. 338).

However, the sophistication of management systems depended on the level of understanding of Marae Committee members more than that of the officials, and was hampered by the constantly changing committee membership. In addition, issues pertaining to personnel, such as a high turnover rate of officials, and the widely divergent range of expertise of potential and actual officials, ensured that administrative procedures remained as uncomplicated as possible. Officials who lacked particular skills required to fulfil their duties tended to gather to themselves a personal network of people from within their whanau, the marae community, or friends, who had the relevant skills. However, one skill that could not be easily compensated for, especially among Rangatahi, was that of manoeuvring within the Marae Committee's internal politicking. In contrast to its management systems, the internal politics of the Marae Committee was highly sophisticated and intense. The turnover rate of officials could indicate just how intense a Marae Committee's internal politics was, especially since people worked at the marae without remuneration as an incentive to remain. Unfortunately, one's skill in this area tended to develop only as a result of prolonged exposure.

The level of sophistication of a position and its procedures, as well as the effectiveness of the person holding that position, depended to a large degree on the

Marae Committee's knowledge of management systems and its political climate. Nevertheless, committees at the marae have had managers, small business owners, administrators and professionals amongst their members and although their technical experience was unmistakable, management systems continued to have limited sophistication. A common misconception was to blame the rudimentary systems used on the officials' lack of skill. However, competent technical experts were restricted in the use of their expertise to further develop administrative systems beyond their own term of office and their own specific position. These same experts might have felt that sophisticated management systems were unnecessary, had limited suitability at the marae, or would require too much effort for minimal benefit. Efficient use of resources and stable management systems were sought after, as was the more recent addition, accountability, but a change in management systems was a drawn out and difficult process involving the drive and energy of (usually) one or two officials and the consensual approval of the Marae Committee.

Bureaucratic administration at the marae was nowhere near the precision of Weber's ideal due to the marae community's proclivities being largely at odds with those required to achieve his ideal state (Weber, 1947/1964). Nor did the marae community need to achieve such a state since Weber was referring more to bureaucratic administration at societal level (of governments or large corporations) rather than the mundane community level. In addition, he discussed bureaucratic administration from a purely technical rather than cultural viewpoint. The advantage in comparing Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy with that operating at the marae was the relations of power revealed, most notably the contrasts and tensions between the Western cultural norms that underpin bureaucratic administration and the Maori cultural values that shape administrative activity at the marae. The marae's administrative system needs and the Maori solutions used became evident when the Marae Committee tried to resolve the tensions that developed, albeit as an *ad hoc* reaction. Alternative models of administration to bureaucratic administration will become more important for the marae in the future if it is to retain its cultural uniqueness and still meet the administrative demands placed on it. Bureaucratic

administration has never been considered seriously at the marae because there was never really a need. The scale of operations was small and could be made smaller or larger depending on resources and inclination.

According to Giddens (1971), "the formal rationality of action refers to the degree to which conduct is organised according to rationally calculable principles" (p. 183). Weber's notion of formal rationality was intuitively resisted at the marae and the indispensability of bureaucracy was accepted only in a limited sense. Rational control over human beings by way of bureaucratic administration was vehemently resisted and those who advocated such an approach eventually lost the Marae Committee's support. Bureaucracy was kept to a basic level and reliance on technical knowledge was kept to a minimum. Given a choice between bureaucracy and dilettantism, the Marae Committee favoured the latter. Modern technology was not readily adopted so bureaucratic administration could not become entrenched and therefore, indispensable through the need for a corresponding level of technical knowledge to operate and maintain the technology. There was strong intuitive resistance to the subjugation of Maori cultural values to Western cultural norms apparent in bureaucratic administration and perpetrated in state legislation. The marae did not need a calculable administration so bureaucracy was not crucial and remained small-scale. Bureaucracy was never fully established.

Stability through formal rationality was not considered as a favourable option probably because the Marae Committee was not prepared to abandon or minimalise its cultural values. The Marae Committee did not cede its authority to individuals and could not create permanent offices in the manner required in formal rational bureaucracy. Nor did the Marae Committee privilege something as impersonal as an 'office' over the person charged with carrying out the responsibilities for upholding that office. The dependence on technical knowledge and expertise so critical to Weber's ideal type of bureaucratic administration, if interpreted in cultural terms, would include Kaumatua as repositories of cultural knowledge and therefore, cultural experts, as well as experts in law, business or administration. If interpreted in the

way that Weber intended, then it could only be disregarded in favour of community understanding. In other words, it was more important that the community, through the Marae Committee, be able to understand the underlying rationale so it could make an informed decision about whether to support the corresponding actions. In effect, Weber's type of bureaucratic administration, even in less than ideal forms, could not work for long at the marae without a major shift in cultural values and beliefs, so bureaucratic functionability was limited.

Although this study and the manner in which it was researched has highlighted some serious concerns about the implications of using bureaucratic management styles, it cannot be assumed that what happened at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was a common occurrence at every marae. This study is very specific, restricted to a particular marae in a particular tribal territory. Further research is required to find out just how common the issues raised here are throughout the territory and in other tribal regions.

# Chapter 5

## Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Management Structure

This chapter discusses the levels of management authority as well as the administrative and decision-making processes used to appoint people to management positions. The management structure that the community used was a vehicle for administrative systems that accommodated some of the bureaucratic procedures imposed on marae through state legislation, met the demands from tribal authorities, yet kept the community in control. The full management structure has been set out in *Figure 5.1*. The tensions and contradictions involved in mixing formal and informal modes of organisation and using traditional and legal-rational authority play themselves out in complex ways, with the ultimate aim being to maintain community rangatiratanga (self-determination, control, authority) as much as possible.

The management structure that Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae used had a late nineteenth century colonial construction similar to that which Meleisea Schoeffel (1996) believed developed in the Pacific Islands during their colonisation periods:

> The organizational structure imposed by colonial societies was based on legal, bureaucratic principles in which jobs were defined by laws and regulations; the powers of an office belonged to the office, and not to the person who held it. This was unfamiliar to most Pacific island systems, where leadership was based on the person. (p. 127)

Such a colonial construct as bureaucracy competing with traditional charismatic leadership for community governance and management also appeared in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. This has since culminated in a modern outcome at Te Papa-o-Rotu: the development of two parallel but inter-connected committees, one based on legal authority, the other on traditional authority. The Trustees had legal authority to administer the marae through Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 (Maori Land Law Act 1993), whereas the marae community gave the Marae Committee

authority to manage marae affairs. Management and administrative activity was carried out by people appointed to positions by the community: the Trustees, the Marae Committee's sub-committees, and people representing the marae on external community organisations.

Each management group is described throughout the remainder of this chapter in terms of their demographic profiles and the processes for appointing position holders. The profiles highlight the characteristics of those involved in management activity and position holders were especially indicative of the characteristics of managerial leadership. The appointment processes introduce the circumstances in which such decisions were made as well as the factors that influenced decision-making on the selection of managerial and administrative workers. Demographic details include age group, gender, residence, primary occupation, and attendance at Marae Committee hui. The age group categories of Matua, Whaea, Pakeke, and Rangatahi are loosely based on age but the decisions about which category to assign each person to were largely intuitive. It would be more accurate to say that the categories are stages in life, based not only on knowledge of a person's physical age but also on maturity or youthfulness of persona. Matua (Father) and Whaea (Mother) are people aged from about their mid-50s and upwards. This age is perhaps best described as the group deserving respect. Most, but not all, are leaders in the community and are therefore referred to as Kaumatua (Elders). Some authors use the term 'Kaumatua' to refer to male elders only (see for example Winiata, 1967). However, Kaumatua are recognised by members of the whanau as leaders who may take part in hapu and iwi activities on behalf of the whanau (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Maori Development, 1992). These roles are not gender-specific and I therefore use the term 'Kaumatua' to refer to elders who are either men or women in preference to distinguishing between Kuia (women elders) and Koroua (male elders). Pakeke were people aged between their late-30s and late-50s. People in their 60s were rarely called Pakeke because non-recognition of their stage in life might have caused offence. Pakeke were perhaps best described as mature or experienced. Some were at the early stages of becoming leaders in the community and were sometimes called Kaumatua. On

occasion, people in their early-30s acted with such maturity that were it not for their youthful appearance, they would be called Pakeke. Rangatahi ranged in age from adolescence to mid-40s. Youthfulness, in physical appearance or persona, best describes this category, which is why it has such an open-ended upper range. A fourth category, that of Tamariki (Children) has not been included because they were rarely present.

Residential details provide evidence of the distances people had to travel to and from the marae to fulfil their commitment. Here, classification relates to the two most common categories - Whatawhata resident or Hamilton resident on the one hand, and resident in the Waikato region or beyond. The occupation categories of employed, unemployed, student, or retired, were ascertained in terms of the primary activity occupying the majority of a person's time, since people involved in management may have fitted a combination of these categories. For instance, some full-time tertiary students were working and *vice versa*. Two categories – family (that is, caregiver or homemaker), and volunteer (that is, people who spent most of their time in voluntary activity for community groups including the marae) - were later discarded because there were too many gaps in the information. Marae Committee hui attendance indicated the extent of a person's participation and involvement in overt management decision-making.

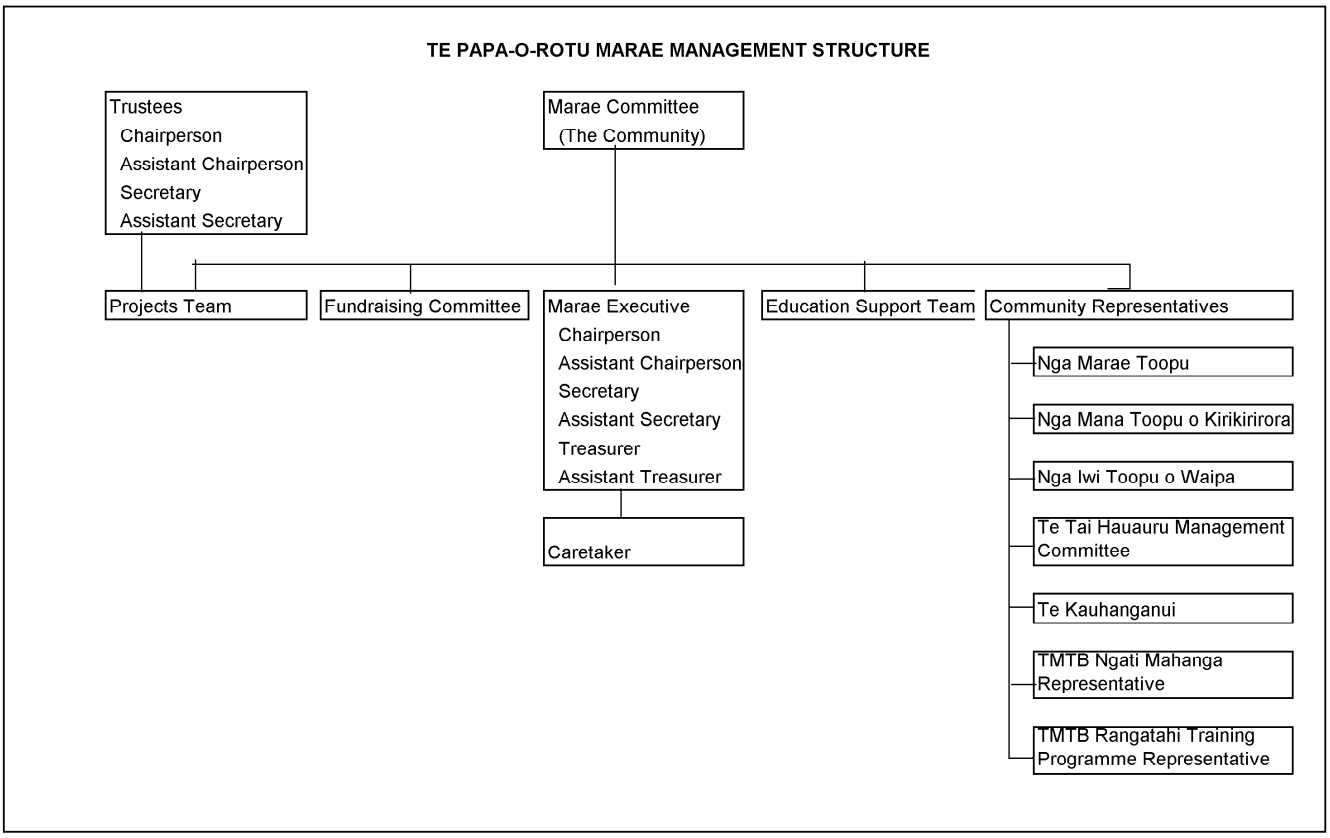


*Figure 5.1 Management Structure of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae*

## The Trustees

The Trustees were the only committee with legal authority to manage the marae. They were also required to use specified bureaucratic procedures. Their role at the marae was sometimes negotiated and renegotiated to suit community needs. However, overall, they were a shadow committee whose existence was simply to satisfy legal requirements. Their most important role, from the community's perspective, was as the vanguard of gatekeepers in formal relations between the marae and the rest of society, especially the legal system and government, in a manner similar to that of the paepae (frontline of elders) in the formal, ritualistic welcome for manuhiri (visitors). The Trustee Committee is discussed in this section in terms of their powers and responsibilities, their appointments and the processes used for electing them. Also included is a brief profile of the Trustees appointed during the period of this study.

### *Powers and Responsibilities*

According to the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, Trustees have a duty to act in good faith in exercising their powers and to administer the reservation in a manner that will promote its purposes, for the benefit of the beneficiaries, in accordance with Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993, the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, and any order of the Court. In this context, the beneficiaries are those specified by the owners who gifted the land block. As mentioned already, the land block was set aside for a marae and the beneficiaries were to be the entire Ngati Mahanga tribe, with Trustees administering the land on their behalf (see Appendix C). A chronicle of the relevant legislation that culminated in Te Ture Whenua Maori Act and the Maori Reservations Regulations along with some discussion of their bureaucratic influence has already been outlined in the previous chapter.

### *Chronicle of Appointments*

The Maori Reservations Regulations do not specify anything with regard to Trustee elections, referring instead to Trustee appointments. Nor are there any directives about the process for selecting Trustees. The only condition is that there has to be a minimum of two Trustees or a corporate body. It is not specifically stated that Trustees should belong to the reservation's community, which makes it possible for people from outside the community to be appointed. It is common practice for the Court to appoint the Trustees on the advice of the marae community, whose members choose the Trustees from amongst themselves and apply to the Court to ratify their decision. In extraordinary situations only has the Court exercised its authority to appoint Trustees without direction from the community (see for example "Trustees sacked," 2001). Once the Trustees have been appointed, they must publish a notice in the local district newspaper within seven days giving details of their appointment. Trustees are deemed to hold office from the date specified in the vesting order (Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, s.3(a)), which is usually the date of the Court hearing. Trustees can be re-appointed (s.3(h)).

*Table 5.1 New and Re-appointed Trustees 1945-1998*

| YEAR APPOINTED | OLD | NEW | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 | - | 12 | 12 |
| 1981 | 3 | 9 | 12 |
| 1984 | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| 1996 | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| 1998 | 4 | 4 | 8 |

There is likely to have been a delay between the time the marae community elected Trustees and the date that the Maori Land Court appointed them. This occurred with the Trustees appointed in 1996. The four new Trustees were actually elected by the community in 1994. It occurred again for the Trustees who were appointed in 1998 but were elected in 1997. The Maori Land Court process for ratifying the 1997 election results took five months from the date of the application in January. Time delays between election and appointment appear to have been a common occurrence

and could involve several years, so *Table 5.1* outlines the number of Trustees who were appointed by the Court between 1945 and 1998, as opposed to the dates they were elected by the community. A distinction has been made between existing Trustees at the time of the Court hearings and the Trustees who were newly appointed to their posts.

The first official appointment of 12 Trustees at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae, that is, those confirmed by the Maori Land Court, was made in 1945, when legal entity status was changed from a papakainga (private settlement) to a reservation. The second appointment of Trustees was made 36 years later on 9 June 1981. Nine of the original Trustees had passed away and, with only three remaining Trustees, the marae was close to the minimum number of Trustees allowed. A vesting order for new Trustees was made to bring the number of Trustees back up to 12 (D648).[40] Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's 1997 Annual Report includes additional information about who replaced whom as Trustees (D502).[41] Another vesting order was made in 1984 to replace two of the original Trustees (D615);[42] and again in 1996 when four new members were appointed and the last of the original Trustees had passed away (D622).[43] The most recent appointment of Trustees was recorded at the Maori Land Court in 1998 (D649).[44] All Trustees were members of the hapu (sub-tribe) and some were members of the landowner whanau as well. A chronicle of Trustee appointments is set out in Appendix A.

It appears that Trustees were not re-elected into their positions. Instead, Trustees retained their positions for their lifetime, after which the marae community would appoint a replacement. Maori Land Court records relating to Te Papa-o-Rotu show that it was common for vesting orders to read that new Trustees were being appointed

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[40] [trustee appointments 1981]. (1981, 22 February). 61Wai 118-119. Hamilton: Maori Land Court.
[41] Tri-annual report of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. (1997, December). Whatawhata. Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[42] Order vesting maori reservation in trustees, Parish of Karamu Lot 201B1. (1984, 5 June). Hamilton: Maori Land Court.
[43] 79 Waikato Minute Book Folio 56, Order vesting land in trustees. (1996, 17 January). Hamilton: Maori Land Court.
[44] [trustee appointments, 1998]. (1998, 5 May). 84Wai 235. Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

to replace Trustees who had deceased (see for example, D580; D614).[45] This continued to occur after fixed terms of three years were introduced in the Maori Reservations Regulations in 1994. For example, Maori Land Court records of the Trustees appointed in 1996 not only listed all of the Trustees, but also stated which Trustees were newly appointed and whom they were replacing (D622).[46] Although the regulation fixing terms was revoked in 2001 (Te Ture Whenua Maori Amendment Act 2001, s.19), it caused considerable consternation whilst it was in effect.

### *The Decision-making and Administrative Processes for Choosing Trustees*

A decision was made at the October 1997 Marae Committee hui to hold a Trustees' meeting to discuss elections for Trustees. The meeting was held during a wananga (discussion forum) on Friday 31 October. A quorum was not established (with only three of the 12 Trustees in attendance). Even so, the meeting went ahead. The Trustees' Chairman facilitated the meeting. However, no Minutes were taken. These are examples of the community finding room to work within legislated rules and regulations in a practical manner and were common practice.

### Planning Elections at Wananga

Proceedings for the 1997 Annual General Meeting were discussed at the wananga. It was felt that only the people who attended the AGM should be nominated for Trustees' positions and not people *in absentia,* although there was widespread agreement that one of the positions should be held for an existing Trustee who was one of the oldest Kaumatua in the community and a direct descendant of Pumipi Kingi Muriwhenua. He was extremely ill at the time and was not expected to attend the meeting. Several people expressed their determination to nominate him and there were no objections from those present.

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[45] Memorial schedule of trustees in 1945 and 1981. (n.d.). Block Order File Box 280. Hamilton: Maori Land Court; Schedule of ownership orders. (n.d.). Block Order File KW201. Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

[46] 79 Waikato Minute Book Folio 56, Order vesting land in trustees. (1996, 17 January). Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

One idea discussed was that of setting aside four positions for Kaumatua with the remaining eight being for 'workers,' but the suggestion gained little support. Another idea was that the Executive could be disbanded in its present form, being replaced by a committee made up of Trustees who managed day-to-day affairs. Alternatively, members of the existing Executive could be nominated for vacant Trustee positions. The Executive greeted both suggestions with noticeable reticence.

It was suggested that the number of Trustees should be reduced to seven because there would be difficulty in filling 12 positions. One Kaumatua thought there were only about 10 people who attended most of the Marae Committee hui and who actively participated in management affairs. Another argument was that fewer Trustee positions meant it would be easier to gain a quorum at Trustee meetings - an ongoing problem - and if the Executive had agreed to becoming Trustees, the quorum would have been assured. The eventual consensus was that the positions should be reduced to seven and the Trustees chosen from those present at the Annual General Meeting for all but one position.

There was lengthy discussion over the role that Trustees had played in management affairs up to that time and their sporadic participation caused considerable concern, especially since active participation by people in general was so low. One community member had been so disappointed that he had written to each of the Trustees in 1996 expressing his concerns and requesting that they attend the next Marae Committee hui (D616).[47] They attended but little was resolved or changed. The lack of an active role for Trustees was given as one - most likely the main - reason for a lack of participation because the Trustees did not have anything to do: most of the duties that the Trustees were responsible for, as outlined in the Maori Reservations Regulations, were already performed by the Marae Committee and Executive. However, a few voiced their suspicion that people may have taken Trustee positions for no other reason than that the positions were perceived as

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[47] Letter from Ngati Mahanga representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board to Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Trustees. (1996, 6 September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

authoritative or as having mana (status), therefore, the position holder would be perceived in the same light.

What was widely espoused at the wananga was that a new 'breed' of Trustees was required: people who were workers, who were able to participate and had the time for marae business, people who were willing to learn. This was an attempt to use legislative requirements in a manner that could benefit the marae community. It was proposed that on the day of the election a presentation be made outlining what would be expected of Trustees, giving nominees the opportunity to decide for themselves whether they were prepared to accept the responsibility involved. Those who were could then speak about what they wished to achieve whilst in the position.

Another proposal was made to create six portfolios of relevance to management activities and plans at the time: property maintenance; education; management (strategic planning etc.); social services (health, employment, welfare advisory); culture (tikanga, kawa, history etc); and community (representation, networks etc). By choosing one of the portfolios to work on, Trustees could be assured of an opportunity to play an active role in the committee to which that portfolio related. Furthermore, each Trustee could then report on his or her portfolio to the Trustee Committee, thus ensuring that all Trustees were kept informed of management activities.

The final matter discussed was the issue of finding some way of publicly acknowledging the dedication of previous Trustees and their whanau (families). Under the new Regulations, it was more difficult to appoint successive Trustees from within the same whanau to life-long positions. The idea of establishing 12 historical/honorary/kaitiaki (custodian) positions was mooted and gained strong support. The positions were to be created in honour of the first 12 Trustees and their whanau. Many of those whanau had since moved to Auckland (or elsewhere out of the Waikato) and were not therefore in a position to continue to contribute to the marae on a regular basis. It was thought that these positions would help to ensure

that they would continue to be identified as part of the hapu as well as acknowledging their contribution in the past and showing appreciation for the 'old order' Kaumatua. This was considered to be the highest compliment that could be paid. Each position would be assigned to the whanau of the first Trustees. Each whanau would choose a person from amongst them who would occupy the position and the person chosen would then retain the position for their lifetimes, after which the whanau could appoint another person to the position. There was much discussion about what these positions should be called. The term 'honorary' was suggested but was rejected strenuously on the grounds that, "in Pakeha terms it suggests the person nominated must be a direct descendant of the original Trustee. The seat should be for the entire whanau" (N169).[48] In the end, the term 'Kaitiakitanga' was agreed upon because it was felt to embody the notions of trusteeship and custodianship as well as those of caretaker, protector, warden and guardian. Kaumatua were to be advised of the Kaitiakitanga seats and asked to give a personal panui (notice) to each whanau telling them that the concept of Kaitiakitanga seats would be introduced at the AGM.

It was decided to hold the Annual General Meeting on Sunday, 14 December 1997 to elect Trustees and present the Trustees' Chairperson's report, Marae Committee Assistant Chairperson's report, and financial report for 1996/97. Although a public notice advertising Trustees' elections was not required, the Regulations *did* require that a notice advising of the time and place for the AGM be placed in the district newspaper and any other place that the Maori Land Court directed. As the Maori Land Court had not issued any directives relating to other locations, these were for the marae community to decide. Those attending the wananga determined that public notices would be placed in the regional newspaper (the *Waikato Times*) and, if possible, in the metropolitan newspaper (the *New Zealand Herald*). It was also decided that a notice would be posted on the *Marae* television programme's community noticeboard. They also decided to reduce the number of Trustee seats from 12 to seven, with one reserved for a Kaumatua, introduce 12 kaitiaki seats, and create six portfolios, with at least one trustee assigned to each portfolio.

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[48] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

The Trustees' Chairperson, Marae Executive Assistant Chairperson, and Treasurer agreed to meet on the Wednesday before the AGM to write their reports. The AGM would start at 9 a.m. with a karakia (prayer) and mihi (speech), and the reports would start at 10 a.m. The Marae Executive took responsibility for running the meeting and taking minutes. The Annual Report was to include a mihi, financial report, summary of the Trustees' legal responsibilities (which was to be prepared at the Trustees' meeting) and information about the portfolios. It would not include a Trustees' Chairperson's report because he wanted to avoid a situation in which those in attendance might become distracted reading the report and fail to listen to what he had to say. Reports were to be handed out separately after the speeches. The Chairperson was to speak about wairuatanga (spiritual responsibilities), explain the election process and kaitiaki seats, and let everyone know that nominees would be asked to stand and say what contribution they could make in terms of participation, commitment to the marae, legal responsibilities, and choice of portfolios. After the introduction, the Chairperson was to present his report verbally. This was to be followed by a Marae Committee report from the Assistant Chairperson of the Marae Executive and a financial report from the Treasurer. All current trustees were then to physically vacate their seats and the elections would be held. They hoped to close the meeting between noon and 2 p.m.

**Ratifying Decisions at Marae Committee Hui**

Proposals from the wananga regarding the Trustees' elections were outlined and endorsed at the Marae Committee hui held on the Sunday, 2 November. There were 20 people at the Marae Committee hui, including nine people who were at the wananga. The Marae Committee agreed with the proposed date for the AGM and endorsed the decisions taken at the Trustees' meeting. Four weeks before the AGM, the Marae Executive posted notices in the *Waikato Times*, and the *New Zealand Herald*. They also organised the AGM. The Trustees' Secretary verbally notified all outgoing Trustees.

**The 1997 Annual General Meeting and Trustees' Elections**

The AGM was held on Sunday, 14 December, with 17 people in attendance, including 11 who held management positions and six members of the marae community. Members of six of the seven management groups were at the AGM: four Trustees, four Marae Executive members, five on the Education Support Team, three on the Projects Team, four Community Representatives, and the Caretaker.

Of the people present, most (11) were Rangatahi, but there were also three Matua, one Whaea, and two Pakeke. Ten were women and seven were men. Eight lived in Whatawhata, seven in Hamilton, one lived elsewhere in the Waikato region, and one lived beyond Waikato. Nine were employed full-time, five were tertiary students, and three were retired. In general therefore, the majority were Rangatahi, women, employed full-time, and lived in Whatawhata.[49] This was consistent with the general profile of the Marae Committee (refer next section, *Table 5.3*).

Three pairs of trestle tables were joined together to form a long rectangle down the length of the top end of the dining hall with the 'top table' being made up of two trestle tables slightly separated from the other trestles and running parallel to the stage. The Chairperson of the Trustees sat at the top table with the members of the Marae Executive. The agenda was written on the whiteboard set up next to their table. As indicated in *Figure 5.2*, there were two resolutions on the Agenda: to reduce the number of Trustee positions from 12 to seven, and to adopt the financial statements. Although the Trustees' Chairperson chaired the meeting, the Marae Executive tabled the Annual Report, its Assistant Chairperson reported on the Marae Committee's plans, and its Treasurer reported on the Marae Committee's financial position. Since the outgoing Trustees' Secretary was not at the AGM, the Minutes were taken by the Marae Executive Secretary until a new Secretary for the Trustees was appointed.

[49] Refer Appendix H for tables of attendees at the Annual General Meeting.

| AGENDA |
| --- |
| Mihi |
| Karakia |
| Apologies |
| Trustee Chairperson's Report |
| Marae Executive Assistant Chairperson's Report |
| Treasurer's Report |
| Resolution to adopt the Financial Statements |
| Resolution to reduce the number of Trustee positions from 12 to 7 |
| Trustee Elections |
| Mihi |
| Karakia |

*Figure 5.2 Agenda for the 1997 Annual General Meeting*

The Trustee Chairperson opened the meeting with a mihi and karakia, then chaired the meeting. Although not required to do so, the Marae Executive drafted a written Annual Report entitled the *Tri-Annual Report of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae*. This was the first time such a written report had been presented by the Marae Executive. The contents of that report are outlined in *Figure 5.3*. It was stated in the report that, "although this is a Marae Trustees meeting, the Marae Committee is participating in support of its parent body by presenting a Marae Chairperson report and a Marae/Trustee Financial report." (p. 2). Apologies from two people for their absence were noted. One of them was a Trustee.

**CONTENTS OF 1997 ANNUAL REPORT**

Tauparapara
Foreword
Notice of Tri-Annual General Meeting
- Business
- Resolutions

History of Te Papa o Rotu
- The marae - its origins
- The marae - a Reservation
- The Trustees

Te Papa o Rotu Marae Committee Chairpersons Report
Strategic Plan of Te Papa o Rotu
- Six months
- Twelve months

Te Papa o Rotu Marae Committee Income and Expenditure for April 1996 - March 1997
Te Papa o Rotu Marae Committee Balance Sheet As At 31 March 1997
Treasurer's Report

*Figure 5.3 List of contents for the 1997 Annual Report*

The Trustees' Chairperson spoke briefly about the contents of the Annual Report, particularly the sections on who had been Trustees in the past, the history of the marae, and its relationship to the hapu (N6).[50] Then he made an impassioned speech about current concerns: the marae's responsibilities to the hapu; the low number of Kaumatua involved with the marae; the bi-monthly Trustee meetings that were invalid due to the lack of a quorum; the general non-performance of Trustees; the marae's anonymity in the region being so acute that even some Tainui Kaumatua were unaware of the marae; and the possibility that the marae could disappear in the next 50 years because so few people were actively involved. His speech shed light on the reasons why changes were being proposed.

The Chairperson explained about the Kaitiakitanga positions, suggested that there were possibilities for the Marae Executive to become Trustees thereby ensuring a

[50] Minutes of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae AGM. (1997, 14 December). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

quorum at meetings, and explained that Trustees could be made responsible for one of the portfolios. One of the outgoing Trustees supported the suggestion about portfolios and went on to say that Trustees could fill in for each other if community representation duties were required. He also suggested that Trustees hold their meetings an hour before Marae Committee hui, at 9 a.m.

In her presentation, the Marae Executive Assistant Chairperson paid tribute to the Executive Chairperson, who had passed away that year, and explained that the Marae Committee had decided to leave his position vacant until after his unveiling.[51] She then briefly outlined the contents of her written report. The Marae Committee had planned to alternate its monthly meetings with Marae Executive meetings so that the Executive could address some of the issues raised in general meetings. However, they had found that the same small group of people attended both meetings so had discontinued the practice in favour of monthly Marae Committee hui. She raised the concern that the paepae (public seat of elders) seemed deserted at times other than the poukai and that Kaumatua who belonged to Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae were occupying the paepae of their other marae. She spoke of the wananga that had been held since 1995 in response to the Tainui Maori Trust Board's intention of handing over some of its activities to marae by 1999-2000. She noted that bi-monthly wananga had become a regular occurrence but that these were attended by a small number of people only. She also indicated that the issues discussed had included the implications for the marae of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's plans, the hapu's history as told by Whaea and others, administration systems and accountability, and strategic plans for improving facilities and operations. With regard to the last of these, she pointed out the six-month and twelve-month objectives that were included in the Annual Report. She acknowledged the work and monthly reports to the Marae Committee, of people who were representing the marae on community organisations. She spoke of the increasing workload and the stress being borne by the dedicated few active

[51] A ceremony on the anniversary of a person's funeral to unveil the memorial stone on his or her grave.

participants and ended with a reminder of our obligations to the people of the marae and the hapu.

The Treasurer tabled the Income and Expenditure Statement and Balance Sheet for the last financial year to March 1997. She had prepared them with the help of a retired Accountant who had moved to Whatawhata and had offered his services. She was giving her last report as she had resigned from her position earlier that year. The marae's financial position was a healthy one with a modest but stable bank balance. The first resolution of the meeting - to accept the financial report - was passed, as was the second resolution that the Annual Report be accepted.

The next part of the meeting was the Trustees' elections. The Trustees' Chairperson introduced the question of whether the number of Trustee positions should be reduced and the reasons for the proposal. It was agreed that the number of Trustees be reduced to seven. However, this was later raised to 10 because two people were nominated *in absentia* and eight of the other 14 people nominated 'from the floor,' accepted. Five Trustees were reappointed including one *in absentia*. He and his whanau were approached some time after the meeting to ask if they would accept, which they did. One of the Kaumatua nominated someone else who was not at the meeting and proposed the nominee replace an outgoing Trustee from the same whanau. It was reiterated that the Kaitiakitanga seats would be inherited positions and that 'replacement' Trustees were not necessary any more, although people could be nominated if present at the meeting (N7).[52] However, the Kaumatua did not withdraw his nomination. When asked if the nominee had agreed to the nomination the Kaumatua said that the nominee had, but that the nominee had not been able to attend the meeting. He was then asked if he would get a written statement from the nominee accepting the position. He agreed to do so. It was agreed that if the nominee did accept the nomination, he would be appointed. It was revealed later that the nominee had not known about his nomination and was unable to take up the position,

[52] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae AGM. (1997, 14 December).

so the number of Trustees was reduced to nine. Although nominated, none on the Executive accepted positions.

**Inaugural Trustees' Meeting**

After the elections were complete, the new Trustees indicated that they wanted to choose their officers. They decided to hold a meeting immediately so the AGM went into a short recess. At that meeting, a Chairperson, Assistant Chairperson, Secretary and Assistant Secretary were chosen. The Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 specify that a Chairperson is required only. Nor did their role warrant so many officers. Therefore, the officers' positions were not a requirement but a choice by Trustees themselves. This appears to have been a mechanical action more than a conscientised response to a perceived need.

Once the Trustees' meeting was over, the new Chairperson and Secretary of the Trustees moved to the top table, sitting with the Assistant Chairperson and Treasurer of the Marae Executive. Prior to the recess, the Minutes of the AGM were taken by the Marae Executive Secretary. She moved from the top table once the new Secretary of the Trustees joined the top table, and he continued taking the Minutes. The AGM was then resumed. The Chairperson announced the new officers for the Trustees, then closed the meeting at 4.30 p.m. with a mihi to the new Trustees and a karakia. In the distant past, kai (a meal) was served after a hui but this had not been practiced at Te Papa-o-Rotu for some time because members of the Marae Committee decided that they did not want to spend marae money on themselves. Trestles and form chairs were stacked away by some of the people present while others talked about the day's events, before the hall was locked up and everyone walked the short distance to his or her car to drive home.

***Post-election Procedures***

The Trustees' Secretary was responsible for many of the post-election procedures. He and the Treasurer arranged for a public notice of the election results to be posted in the *Waikato Times* in January 1998. He submitted an application and fee to the

Maori Land Court in January and attended the Maori Land Court hearing in May, when the election results were ratified and the appointments confirmed.

**The New Trustees**

*Table 5.2 Outgoing Trustees by original year of appointment*

| YEAR APPOINTED | OUTGOING | RE-APPOINTED | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1981 | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| 1984 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 1996 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 1998 | - | - | 4 |

Eight Trustees were officially appointed by the Court: four were re-appointed and four were appointed for the first time (see *Table 5.2*). Six of the 12 outgoing Trustees were appointed in 1981 and, although two were re-elected at the AGM, only one was re-appointed by the Court. The second person resigned two months after being re-elected and prior to the Court hearing, so his name was deleted from the list of appointments. Two outgoing Trustees were originally elected in 1984 and one was re-elected. Of the four outgoing Trustees who had been elected in 1996, two were re-appointed. The other seven outgoing Trustees did not attend the AGM to stand for re-election. Three of the four Trustees appointed for the first time were part of the group in attendance who did not hold any management positions before the AGM. Since finding people willing to be appointed to management positions was unusual, the new appointees indicated support for the plans that Trustees become more proactive.

Two of the Trustees were re-appointed for reasons that had nothing to do with the new direction in which the Trustees were heading. One had been a Trustee since 1984 and was from the landowner whanau. He was one of the oldest men in the community, one of only a few left from his generation, and the last remaining brother from a family of distinguished community leaders. He had been a respected leader of the community until a debilitating illness forced him to retire from public life. Despite no longer being able to fulfil Trustee duties, he was nominated *in absentia*.

His nomination was perhaps an outward expression of the aroha (affection) and regard that people felt for him, perhaps even a way of paying tribute to him personally and to his whanau and of recognising his contribution to the community, perhaps a reluctance to take anything away from him. The people who re-elected him never explicitly stated their reasons but they were determined to re-elect him. He was unable to attend any Trustees' meetings or Marae Committee hui throughout the period of this study. The second Trustee was a Kaumatua who lived in Auckland. He had first been appointed in 1996 so had been a Trustee for a short time only and his presence at the AGM seemed to suggest that he wished to be re-elected. His re-election was important for maintaining connections with the whanau in Auckland. He was not expected to travel from Auckland to attend Trustees' meetings and, in fact, he managed to attend only two Marae Committee hui during the period of this research. The re-election of these two Kaumatua was an example of the accommodations made in integrating bureaucratic procedures with cultural principles.

The demographic details of the eight appointed Trustees are outlined in Appendix G and are mentioned here in summary. There was an even number of Kaumatua (three Matua and one Whaea) and Rangatahi. There were five men and three women. An equal number of Trustees lived in either Whatawhata or Hamilton, with one who lived elsewhere in the Waikato region, and one Trustee who lived beyond the Waikato region. The majority (4) were employed in full-time occupations. Three Trustees were retired and one was a full-time tertiary student. The Trustees were the management group that diverged most from the general profile of the Marae Committee, which is described later in *Table 5.3*. For instance, half of the Trustees were Kaumatua, whereas Kaumatua comprised less than a quarter of the Marae Committee. The majority of Trustees were men compared with a female majority in the Marae Committee. There was also proportionately more retired people who were Trustees: 38% of the Trustees compared with 13% of the Marae Committee.

As noted earlier, few of the 12 outgoing Trustees were actively involved in their posts. Furthermore, only three of them were involved in Marae Committee activities.

There was an expectation that the situation would improve after new Trustees were elected. Attendance at Marae Committee hui or positions on management groups (in addition to the Trustee Committee) indicated the extent to which Trustees were involved in Marae Committee activities. The majority of Trustees attended less than half of the Marae Committee hui held during their term. Five attended between 2 - 13 Marae Committee hui and one did not attend any hui. Therefore, the Trustees, as a committee, made only a small contribution toward management decision-making through Marae Committee hui. However, six of the eight Trustees were involved in Marae Committee activities through participation in management groups (see Appendix G). Four of the Marae Committee's six management groups were represented on the Trustee Committee, excluding the Marae Executive and the Fundraising Committee. Three Trustees were also Community Representatives, three were on the Education Support Team, two were on the Projects Team, and one was the Caretaker. The new Trustees were able to meet the Marae Committee's expectations of them through their involvement with the management groups.

Technically, standing down all outgoing Trustees and electing or re-electing a new contingent of Trustees was in line with the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994. The community used this process for the first time in 1997. This was due to the inclusion of a clause in the Regulations specifying a three-year term for Trustees. The community used the modification as an opportunity to change the Trustee Committee's characteristics to allow for Rangatahi to be appointed and add responsibilities that related to internal activities. The community then created the Kaitiakitanga positions in order to continue to honour particular whanau and allow positions to be held for a lifetime.

The election process highlights the ability of the community to make legal-rational and traditional community authority work productively side-by-side. Instances where this was evident was when initial plans for Trustees' elections were discussed at a Trustees' meeting while the AGM was discussed at the wananga and decisions

ratified at the Marae Committee hui, and when both the Marae Committee and Trustees sat side-by-side to preside over the AGM.

The profile of the Trustees shows that they are the management group that diverges most from the profile of the Marae Committee. This was due to the different roles assigned to each group. The Trustees were seen as a vanguard of gatekeepers, protecting the community from external influences. Such a role is usually assigned to the paepae or Kaumatua, especially Matua. On the other hand, the Marae Committee handled internal management and administration. The incumbents may have perceived the Trustees' responsibilities as relating primarily to external matters and if so, this would explain why they, as a committee, did not participate very deeply in the internal concerns of the Marae Committee.

## The Marae Committee

Marae Committees were an early twentieth century phenomenon that originated from the founding group or community that decided to build a marae complex (Salmond, 1976/1985, p. 62). Joan Metge (1976, p. 237) noted that the Marae Committee was set up specifically for a management purpose. The first task of building the marae became the main priority of the Marae Committee. Afterwards, maintenance of the complex was of paramount importance. However, the notion of a Marae Committee was most likely emulated from the organisational structure first promulgated in the Maori Councils Act 1900 because Marae Committees were a national phenomenon rather than being peculiar to an iwi or region. In addition, the Act referred specifically to *komiti marae.*[53] This may have been the first occasion on which the term was used. Certainly, the Act introduced bureaucratic structures into marae communities. Marae Committees, if they wished, could register themselves as part of the local Maori District Council. Where Trustee Committees were the only management body on marae, they sometimes referred to themselves as Marae Committees (see for example Te Momo, 1999).

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[53] "Komiti" is a transliteration for the word, Committee.

The Marae Committee was a modern structure that the community used to carry out management and administrative work. Norman Uphoff (1996) characterised indigenous organisation as informal:

> This means that they function according to shared understandings of common objectives, roles, expectations, responsibilities, sanctions, etc. rather than being determined by explicit, codified rules and regulations. Informal organization can be very contemporary, and thus it is not necessarily 'indigenous' but it is likely to have echoes of indigenous beliefs and values and will be stronger for this. (p. x)

### *Responsibilities*

The Marae Committee's core *de facto* function was to ensure that the community was able to use the marae complex and manage the marae's finances. The scope of management activities was once limited to housekeeping and property maintenance matters, as could be expected in the case of communal homes. This would have included building and equipment repairs, groundskeeping, maintaining supplies, caring for taonga (treasured artefacts), administering koha (donations), paying the bills, and so on. Most activity was steady and manageable, with short-lived periods of intense activity when, for example, building renovations were required. However, the community faced increasing pressure from external agencies (hapu, iwi (tribe), general community, and government) to broaden their range of management activities from strictly domestic matters to regional community issues, especially after settlement of the Tainui-Waikato Treaty of Waitangi claim. The iwi authorities were particularly demanding on the Marae Committee in their quest for accounting records of the funds they provided, information on management activities (especially development issues and administrative systems), and marae involvement on iwi organisations, iwi forums and in iwi authority activities (such as education initiatives). Administrative systems increased in complexity commensurate with the breadth of management activity.

The Marae Committee was the main community decision-making group by default because it met regularly and had an elected group of people responsible for acting on the decisions made. Most significantly, the community sanctioned the Marae Committee to carry out management affairs. It comprised several sub-committees and marae representatives. Community participation determined the scope of management activity and non-essential matters tended to build from the interests of the people and their capacity to take on more work. In the end, this was the deciding factor in relation to whether an issue was pursued.

### *Marae Committee Membership Composition*

There were two views - both of which were implied in the marae's 1997 Annual Report - on who the members of the Marae Committee were: one was that the Marae Committee was made up of everyone who attended the Marae Committee hui on a particular day. According to that view, the community retained the right to manage marae affairs directly.

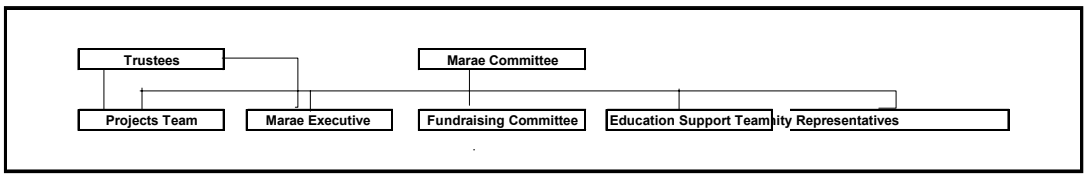


*Figure 5.4 Management structure when the Marae Committee is the community present at Marae Committee hui.*

In keeping with this viewpoint, the Marae Executive was regarded as the Marae Committee's elected officials, that is, a sub-committee, with administrative duties and authority. It was in their capacity as administrators that they became accountable to the Trustees as well as the Marae Committee. Members of other committees and people representing the marae in the wider, external community had the authority to make decisions and act on those decisions within their terms of reference, but all were directly accountable to those who attended monthly Marae Committee hui. This form

of flat-line management structure is represented in *Figure 5.4*. Ultimate responsibility remained with the Marae Committee.

The second view was that the Marae Committee and Marae Executive were the same group, and were directly responsible to the Trustees. The monthly Marae Committee hui were the mechanism by which the Executive was made accountable to the community and they had to report on their activities. They were the elected officials who carried out management and administrative tasks on behalf of the community. The Marae Executive was ultimately responsible for Marae Committee decisions and actions with consultation from the community. Other committees, along with community representatives, were sub-committees directly responsible to the Executive, yet, like the Executive, were made accountable to the people at the Marae Committee hui. These hierarchical levels of authority have been represented in *Figure 5.5*. Members of the Executive were expected to listen to the people present at Marae Committee hui, but to carry out directions and decisions at their own discretion. Those present were considered a resource that the Executive could consult or call upon to help to carry out tasks. The community was able to participate in decision-making but was not responsible for the decisions made.

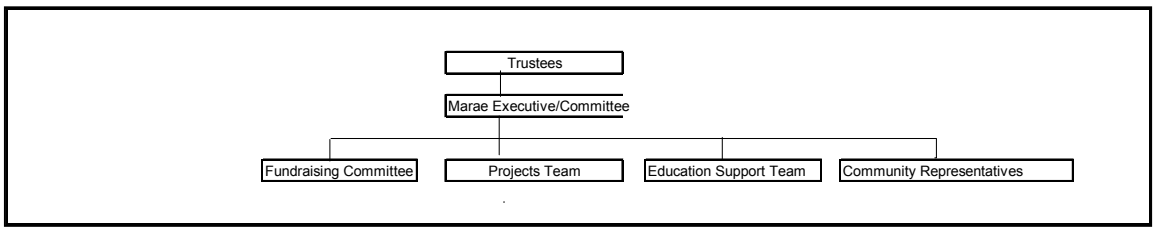


*Figure 5.5 Management structure when the Marae Committee and the Marae Executive are the same group*

The two different views worked harmoniously side-by-side in most situations but were sometimes debated vigorously to determine which view would prevail. One such situation arose in 1999 when positions were created for marae representatives to Te Kauhanganui. Two of the three representatives were concerned that they would be placed as a sub-committee to - that is, answerable to - the Marae Executive. They

believed instead that they were answerable to the beneficiaries registered with the Tainui Maori Trust Board as members of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae, most of who were not actively involved with marae management. Therefore, the representatives wanted to hold their own community hui whenever relevant in order to report to the beneficiaries and gauge their views, in much the same manner as Trustees did. Furthermore, they were grappling with very large issues that would take many hours to discuss in a hui. If these discussions were to take place in Marae Committee hui, then such hui would either be excessively long (dealing solely with Te Kauhanganui matters), or the issues would not be discussed comprehensively enough.

The counter-view was that the Marae Committee hui was a natural community forum that the delegates could use to gauge community views. By reporting at Marae Committee hui, the representatives were reporting to the marae community. Further hui could be called if necessary. Proponents of this viewpoint were concerned that delegates could attend Te Kauhanganui meetings without knowing the community's stance on issues and therefore might vote according to their own personal perspectives. The main concern was that personal opinions of Te Kauhanganui representatives may not align with the opinion of the collective and some wished to minimise the risk of committing the marae community to the directions of one or two people. The Tainui Maori Trust Board member said the representatives were a sub-committee of the Marae Committee because that was how he had reported on Trust Board activity (N134).[54] However, the delegates were not seen, by the Marae Executive at least, as a sub-committee and after this debate, they changed the relevant item on the Agenda at Marae Committee hui from 'sub-committee reports' to 'committee reports.' In practice, the standpoint that was dominant most often was that of the community as the Marae Committee, and this was apparent in the decision-making and administrative processes. The community also used the terms 'Marae Committee hui' and 'marae hui' interchangeably, implying that the Marae Committee and community were perceived as the same thing.

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[54] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

## Demographic Profile of the Marae Committee

*Table 5.3 Profile of members of the Marae Committee 1997-1999*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | | **Total** |
| 12 | 18 | 29 | 74 | | 133 |
| 9% | 14% | 22% | 56% | | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | **Unknown** | | | **Total** |
| 47 | 70 | 16 | | | 133 |
| 35% | 53% | 12% | | | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 32 | 44 | 9 | 6 | 42 | 133 |
| 24% | 33% | 7% | 5% | 32% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 51 | 4 | 20 | 17 | 41 | 133 |
| 38% | 3% | 15% | 13% | 31% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 12 | 65 | 46 | 10 | | 133 |
| 9% | 49% | 35% | 8% | | 100% |

There were 133 people involved in the Marae Committee from August 1997 to December 1999. Of these, 121 (91%) were members of the Marae Committee in the sense that they attended Marae Committee hui and therefore had an opportunity to take part in decision-making processes. Twelve (9%) did not attend Marae Committee hui but were engaged in Marae Committee activity in some other way. Of the latter group, 11 held management positions: six were Trustees before the December 1997 election, two were Trustees who were re-elected, two were inactive members of the 1997 Marae Executive, and one was seconded, for a short period of time, onto what became the Education Support Team. The twelfth person attended the AGM in 1997 but was not recorded as being involved in management activity after that.

*Table 5.3* profiles the members of the Marae Committee. Information was unavailable for as many as 43 (32%) Marae Committee members, other than their age

group and a record of their presence at Marae Committee hui. Nevertheless, there were very clear demographic indicators for the group. Of the 133 members, 74 (56%) were Rangatahi, 29 (22%) were Pakeke, 18 (14%) were Whaea, and 12 (9%) were Matua. Almost all of the Matua and Whaea were Kaumatua but not all of them were retired: 7 were known to be still working. There were 70 (53%) women and 47 (35%) men. Hamilton residents numbered 44 (33%), 32 (24%) lived in Whatawhata, 9 (7%) lived in other parts of the Waikato region, and 6 (5%) lived beyond the Waikato. In terms of employment, 51 (38%) were employed full-time, 20 (15%) were students, 17 (13%) were retired, and 4 (3%) were unemployed. Overall, the Marae Committee was mostly comprised of Rangatahi, of women, of people who worked full-time, and of people who had to travel distances to get to the marae, that is, people who lived outside of Whatawhata. At times, there was some variance between the two most common residential areas, Hamilton and Whatawhata, whereby the majority of members at any particular Marae Committee hui may have been from either one or the other of these places.

Details of the number of Marae Committee hui that members attended uncovered evidence only previously recognised anecdotally. Some members of the Marae Committee had noticed that there was a small group of what they called 'active members,' people who attended hui regularly and were involved over an extended period of time (N169).[55] For analytical purposes, these active members have been identified as being the people who attended the majority of hui, that is, who were at 14 or more of the hui held. As shown in *Table 5.3*, ten people fit this category. As the regulars at hui, active members' opinions held more weight by virtue of their historical knowledge of the management issues that the Marae Committee handled. In effect, they were an informal leadership of the Marae Committee.

[55] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

### *Community Participation in Marae Administration*

Since Te Papa-o-Rotu's community was socially defined through whakapapa (genealogy), it was no longer located in one geographical area, making it difficult to gain an accurate count of the number of people affiliated to the marae. The only measure of the marae's population size was therefore the Tainui Maori Trust Board's benrol. However, because registration on the benrol was voluntary, this measure is itself no more than indicative. Furthermore, some people were affiliated to more than one Tainui marae and could shift or rotate their primary affiliation – the marae they stipulated as their principal marae – at any time. Some people did this to share the distribution of iwi funds amongst their marae since marae were given grants from the iwi authority based on the number of beneficiaries registered under them. It is for this reason that there was a fall in the benrol number in 1998, as shown in *Table 5.4*. The Table compares the number of people registered on the benrol with the number of people on the Marae Committee, for each year of this study. Clearly, the people participating in marae management and administration were extremely low (at between 2% and 6%).

*Table 5.4 Number on Benrol and Marae Committee by year*

| YEAR | BENROL | M.C. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1997 | 1385 | 29 | 2% |
| 1998 | 1287 | 74 | 6% |
| 1999 | 1434 | 77 | 5% |

Although community participation was low, the dedication from those involved was exceedingly high and they went to great lengths to meet the demands of the work. Despite family and work commitments, and voluntary service to community organisations, committee members extended the scope of marae management interests beyond essential tasks toward an informed presence in hapu and iwi activity. Much of this was precipitated by strong and persistent pressure from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust. However, had Marae Committee members not been interested in iwi affairs, they would, no doubt, have chosen, in their own inimitable way, not to respond.

Of the 29 members of the Marae Committee in 1997, the largest group (13) attended just one hui, as shown in *Table 5.5*. The same occurred in 1998 and 1999, where more than half attended a single hui. Unfortunately, it was not possible to ascertain demographic details for the majority of these committee members: all that is documented in the records is the fact that they were present. Even though there were fewer hui in 1997, there was still a dramatic increase in the number of people attending Marae Committee hui by 1999.

*Table 5.5 Members of Marae Committee by year and number of hui attended*

| N HUI | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 13 | 39 | 41 |
| 2 | 6 | 7 | 9 |
| 3 | 2 | 8 | 5 |
| 4 | 8 | 3 | 7 |
| 5 | | 5 | 1 |
| 6 | | 4 | 5 |
| 7 | | 1 | 3 |
| 8 | | 2 | 0 |
| 9 | | 1 | 2 |
| 10 | | 3 | 3 |
| 11 | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | |
| **Total Members** | **29** | **74** | **77** |

### *Marae Committee Formal and Informal Appointments*

There were seven management groups working at the marae between August 1997 and December 1999 and they are listed in *Table 5.6*. All groups other than the Trustees were part of the Marae Committee. Resignations and subsequent replacements were the reason that appointments outnumbered positions on most of the management groups as shown in *Table 5.6*. The number of Trustees was fixed at 12 prior to the elections in 1997, but was then decreased to eight. Sixteen people were appointed as Trustees. The Marae Executive had also set its number of positions to six and 13 people were appointed in all. There were no fixed number of positions on

the Fundraising Committee and the three Committees that operated between 1997 and 1999 ranged from two to four members, up to a total of 10 people in all. Some of the community organisations to which the marae sent representatives allocated a specific number of delegates. For example, Te Kauhanganui allocated three positions per marae, Nga Marae Toopu allocated two positions, Nga Mana Toopu allowed for one person, and the Tainui Maori Trust Board Rangatahi Training Programme allowed for two people. In all, there were 10 Community Representatives. The Education Support Team had eight positions and nine people were appointed. The Projects Team had six positions and, since there were no resignations, the number of appointments totalled six. There was one Caretaker position and two people who held that position during the period of this study.

*Table 5.6 Management groups by number of positions and members*

| | MANAGEMENT GROUP | POSITIONS | MEMBERS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Trustees | 8 | 16 |
| 2 | Marae Executive | 6 | 13 |
| 3 | Fundraising Committee | 2-4 | 10 |
| 4 | Community Representatives | 12 | 10 |
| 5 | Education Support Team | 8 | 9 |
| 6 | Projects Team | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | Caretaker | 1 | 2 |

People were chosen for Trustee and Marae Executive positions by ‘election’ at the Annual General Meeting. Every adult member present at the meeting was entitled to voice their opinion, but they made a unified decision by consensus, rather than a majority vote. The Marae Executive used a similar selection process to the one followed by Trustees, such as holding elections at the AGM and appointing people for a three-year term. The difference was that the Marae Executive elections were not ratified by the Maori Land Court and the Marae Committee was not required to advertise the results. Nor did Marae Executive members retain their positions for a lifetime. Whenever a Marae Executive position became vacant, the Marae Committee were informed, an incumbent volunteered or was asked to take the position in the interim until the next AGM, where the incumbent’s position was

confirmed until the next election for a new Marae Executive was held. Te Kauhanganui Representatives were appointed for the first time in 1999 and Te Papa-o-Rotu chose to use a ballot process in order to prevent the possibility of validation objections at a later stage.

For all other management groups, people volunteered for or were asked to accept positions as they were created or vacated. There was no set number of positions per group. Announcements of vacant or created positions were made at Marae Committee hui and appointments were confirmed by the Marae Committee. There was no agreed length of term for any of these positions, only resignations and appointments. Some groups were created to carry out specific tasks or with a particular goal in mind. In 1997, one such group was referred to as a 'working party' and comprised three women who were asked to examine ways of improving administrative systems (N115).[56] Other special purpose groups, such as the Building Projects Team and Education Support Team, were created at the end of 1997 to put specific aspects of the marae's development plans into motion.

New incumbents were rarely trained for their positions so they had to be familiar with the duties from the outset or have the potential to learn them quickly. The 1997 Marae Executive had attempted to train new incumbents, but the new Executive had their own way of doing things and adjusted the relevant administrative systems accordingly. The first Caretaker needed to train the second Caretaker in administrative procedures only because the second Caretaker was already familiar with the other duties. The three Fundraising Committees all developed systems that suited their plans, culminating in three different processes for budgetting and, at times, they had heated arguments with the Marae Executive and Marae Committee. Special purpose groups created appropriate processes as they were formed. There was strong reliance on a core group of Marae Committee members to fill people in on what had occurred in the past.

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[56] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1997, November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

There were 45 people who held 51 management positions between them (refer Appendix G). Position holders made up 34% of the Marae Committee. The profile of the people who held positions reflected the profile of the Marae Committee. Of the 45 position holders, 25 (56%) were Rangatahi, 28 (62%) were women, an equal number of people lived in either Hamilton or Whatawhata, and 25 (56%) were employed full-time. There were 22 (49%) people who attended between 2 and 13 Marae Committee hui (up to half the hui), in contrast to the general Marae Committee profile, where the majority of people attended a single hui only. An additional 9 (20%) attended more than half of the Marae Committee hui and were the most informed on Marae Committee activities.

The Marae Committee incorporated six management committees and groups in all. There was no requirement that appointments to these committees and groups follow any formal bureaucratic process. However, selected bureaucratic procedures were incorporated into the appointments process for some of the committees, especially with regard to the Marae Executive and some of the Community Representatives. The internal manoeuvring for authority resulted in ambiguity at all levels except one, that of the community as the ultimate authority. A notable influence was the informal leadership of those who had been involved with the Marae Committee for a long time and had historical knowledge of Marae Committee processes. This group was made up of members from one or two whanau. The most visible leadership held management positions and can be called an executive leadership, that is, a leadership with technical managerial and administrative skill. Kaumatua were treated with respect because of their traditional leadership role.

Whereas the Marae Committee comprised Rangatahi and women, the Trustees were characterised by Kaumatua and men. This suggests an unintentional gender division of roles: the internal domestic affairs of the Marae Committee attracting the attention of women and the external focus of the Trustees appealing to men. The two management groups are also distinct because of the difference in the age group of the majority in each group. This is most likely attributable to the perceived leadership

roles with the Trustees linked to Kaumatua and the paepae and the Marae Committee nurturing an executive leadership.

The extent to which the community participated in management affairs was signalled by people's attendance at Marae Committee hui. Participation tended to be limited to those who lived locally, especially in Whatawhata and Hamilton, and affected the Marae Committee's capacity to attend to management affairs. Pressure on the Marae Committee to concern itself with external regional and national matters resulted in an increased number of Community Representative positions.

## The Marae Executive

The Chairperson's role was to chair Marae Committee hui and act as spokesperson for the Marae Committee, while the Secretary was responsible for minute taking, the correspondence, and for actioning any decisions that resulted from the hui. The Treasurer was responsible for administering the bank accounts, tabling monthly financial reports, and preparing annual statements. They each had assistants they could call upon to help or stand in for them when needed, but the assistants were rarely required to report directly to the Marae Committee. These basic responsibilities could be broadened if the position holder wished.

It was decided at the February 1998 Marae Committee hui to hold a meeting with the Marae Executive and some of the Trustees (Chairperson, Secretary and Trustees with the Management Portfolio) about adjusting the administration systems for the marae. The meeting was held two weeks later (on 22 February) in the dining hall and started at 10 a.m. The Marae Executive position descriptions were reviewed, along with several administrative procedures. Although the decisions made at this meeting were ratified at the April Marae Committee hui by formal motion, there were only six people in attendance at the Marae Committee hui, none of whom were Kaumatua. One of the Matua at the June Marae Committee hui (held after the AGM) heard about the decisions for the first time when the Minutes of the previous (April) hui were tabled. He objected so strongly to not being part of the decision-making that all

agreements were rescinded by formal motion and a process that had taken five months to complete to that stage was nullified. Kaumatua overturning previously made decisions because they had not been present at the time was not unknown and lent yet another aspect to the success or failure of decision-making processes.

In 1997, the Marae Committee introduced a three-year term for the Executive in line with the regulations for Trustees. Appointments to Executive positions were discussed as if they would be made or confirmed at the AGM, indicating that this had been a normal practice for some time.

### *The Decision-making and Administrative Process for Marae Executive Elections*

The elections for both Trustees and Marae Committee were discussed by 20 people at the Marae Committee hui in May 1997 (N112).[57] Also discussed was the possibility of holding both sets of elections at the same AGM. The Marae Committee elections may have been in relation to the Marae Executive, community representatives, and at least some of the other management positions. Whilst discussing the AGM at the Trustees' meeting on 31 October, the nine people present decided that the Trustees' elections would be held at the 1997 AGM and the Marae Executive elections would be held at the 1998 AGM. The decision was ratified at the Marae Committee hui on 2 November and the Marae Executive elections were discussed at Trustees' meetings from then on. The Trustees confirmed at their meeting in February 1998 that the Marae Executive elections would be held at the AGM. At their meeting in April, they asked the Marae Executive to post notices in the newspaper advertising the AGM.

### The 1998 Annual General Meeting

The 1998 AGM was advertised in the *Waikato Times* over the last two weeks of May. The AGM was held in the dining hall at 10 a.m. on Sunday 14 June. There were 26 people: 10 who held management positions and 16 members of the marae community (see Appendix H for a list of attendees). All seven management groups were

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[57] Fieldnotes, meeting with Community Officer of the Department Internal Affairs. (1998, 25 May).

represented at the AGM. The Marae Executive had four members in attendance, the Trustees had two members, the Fundraising Committee had two members, the Education Support Team had three members, and the Projects Team had four members. Two Community Representatives also attended, as did the Caretaker.

For most part, the demographic details for the attendees were the same as the general profile for the Marae Committee, that is, the majority were Rangatahi, women and worked full-time. However, whereas the majority of the Marae Committee lived in Hamilton, the majority at this AGM lived in Whatawhata.

The Assistant Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer sat at the top table with the agenda (*Figure 5.6*) written on the whiteboard placed adjacent to their table. The meeting was opened with a mihi and karakia and apologies from five people, including three Trustees, were accepted. A motion to accept the apologies was forwarded by a Rangatahi and seconded by a Pakeke.

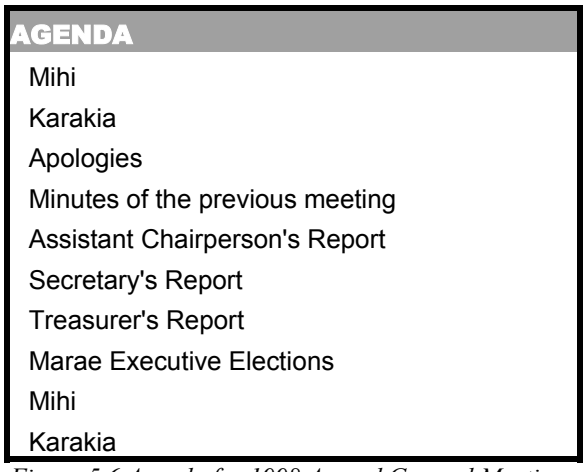


*Figure 5.6 Agenda for 1998 Annual General Meeting*

The Secretary read the Minutes of the last AGM and tabled copies. A motion to accept the Minutes was forwarded and seconded by two Rangatahi who had been at the 1997 AGM. The Annual Report from the last AGM was tabled again but this time the Secretary had added a written report. The Assistant Chairperson reiterated the points she had made in her written report and updated everyone on progress over

the previous six months. Although the 1996/97 Financial Statements were in the Annual Report, The Treasurer gave a verbal report on the Marae Committee's income and expenditure from April 1997 to March 1998. The Secretary had been appointed to the Marae Executive in 1994 and her report was primarily a review of the Marae Committee's activities and directions since then. A motion to accept the Marae Executive's reports was made by a Rangatahi and seconded by a Whaea.

**Marae Executive Appointments Process**

After members of the Marae Executive gave their reports, they called for nominations for each of the six Marae Executive positions available. The 'job descriptions' were written on the whiteboard with a verbal explanation that these were guidelines only and could be reviewed by the new Executive. No one put his or her own name forward. Instead, nominations were sought for each position and these nominations continued until a nominee accepted. This was usually followed by a formal motion (excluding a vote) and the position was filled.

Ten people were nominated in all. Four women were successively nominated as Chairperson, each of whom declined when their name was forwarded. The fifth person was nominated by a Rangatahi and after accepting nomination, a motion to accept him as Chairman was moved by another Rangatahi and seconded by a Whaea. The outgoing Assistant Chairperson was nominated for her position and accepted so a motion to confirm the appointment was moved and seconded by two Rangatahi. Two women were nominated for Secretary. The second accepted so her appointment was moved and seconded by two Rangatahi. The first person nominated for Assistant Secretary accepted so her appointment was moved and seconded by two Rangatahi.

A Whaea nominated her daughter as Treasurer. She agreed to the nomination so her appointment was moved by the Whaea and seconded by a Rangatahi. Although there was no legal reason against nominating a member of one's own nuclear family to a position, it was rarely done. It was believed by some that the move was a political tactic whose aim was to ensure that the mother's whanau remained in control of the

marae's finances, a perception that appears to have had some foundation in that the outgoing Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer were also her daughters. However, in a kin-based community such as this one, it is inevitable that members from the same whanau will sometimes end up serving on the same committee. Furthermore, members of the same nuclear family may sometimes serve on the same committee. Whatever the initial objectives, the consequences were unfortunate. Two months later, at the August Marae Committee hui, the new Treasurer questioned the book-keeping procedures of the previous Treasurer, her sister, and caused a highly public and distressing dispute with her parents and siblings (who were present at the hui) to the point where she felt compelled to resign.

Although nominations for other positions had closed as soon as someone accepted nomination, the Assistant Treasurer's position was an exception. There were two nominations for the position. The first, a woman, declined; the second, a man, was nominated by the new Secretary. He was silent when there was a pause in proceedings to give him the opportunity to accept or decline. His silence was taken to mean he accepted so a motion to accept his nomination was moved by the new Secretary and seconded by the new Assistant Secretary and he was entered on record as the Assistant Treasurer. When the Treasurer resigned two months later, he was expected to take over the position. Instead, he maintained his silence and did not attend Marae Committee hui. The Marae Committee perforce asked the Secretary to incorporate the Treasurer's duties into her own responsibilities and she reluctantly agreed. The man's wife then formally tendered his resignation on his behalf and the position remained vacant for a further twelve months. This was one of many instances of how the power of silence was used to resist pressure. There were several resignations after the 1998 election (see *Table 5.7*), particularly with regard to the Treasurer's position, and the only position to remain stable was the Chairperson's. However, all positions appeared to have been filled on Election Day.

Two Trustees were present at the AGM but neither was nominated for, nor sought, Executive positions. One of the reasons for this was that one of the Trustees, newly

appointed six months before and one of the Kaumatua, voiced strong objections to any suggestion of a merger between Trustees and the Executive. As far as she was concerned, the Trustees should not be a part of, and should be kept strictly separate from, other committees. Another Kaumatua supported her saying, "the real authority is the marae [committee]. They are the real authority, they are the body constituted to run the marae. If they [Trustees and Executive] sit together there will be a conflict of interest" (N120).[58] Although both the Trustees and Marae Committee had investigated some of the issues related to the management structure, particularly the relationship between the two committees, the question of whether Trustees should become Executive members was still unresolved. The Trustees were evenly divided on the issue. However, such strenuous objection from a Trustee, who was also a Kaumatua, led to the entire issue being shelved.

*Table 5.7 Marae Executive by position and term*

| POSITION | STARTED | FINISHED |
|---|---|---|
| Chairperson | Jun-98 | - |
| | | |
| Assistant Chairperson 1 | as at 1997 | Aug-98 |
| Assistant Chairperson 2 | Jul-99 | - |
| | | |
| Secretary 1 | as at 1997 | Jun-98 |
| Secretary 2 | Jun-98 | Oct-99 |
| | | |
| Assistant Secretary 1 | as at 1997 | Apr-98 |
| Assistant Secretary 2 | Jun-98 | - |
| | | |
| Treasurer 1 | as at 1997 | Jun-98 |
| Treasurer 2 | Jun-98 | Aug-98 |
| Treasurer 3 | Aug-98 | Oct-99 |
| Treasurer 4 | Dec-99 | - |
| | | |
| Assistant Treasurer 1 | Aug-97 | Jun-98 |
| Assistant Treasurer 2 | Jun-98 | Nov-98 |
| Assistant Treasurer 3 | Jul-99 | - |

[58] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, June). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

At previous Marae Executive elections, the outgoing members physically vacated their seats at the top table once the new Executive appointments were completed, and the new incumbents replaced them and took up their duties immediately. However, the 1997 Marae Executive recognised the pressure this placed on new incumbents and so they announced they would complete proceedings for the day and the new incumbents could start from the next Marae Committee hui. There were discussions about general marae affairs and the visitor made a presentation, then two Kaumatua gave a mihi to the old and new Marae Executive and the meeting was closed with karakia at 1.15 p.m., to be followed by the ordinary Marae Committee hui. Unlike the Trustees' elections, a public notice of the results was not posted in the newspaper.

### *Marae Executive Demographic Profile*

A total of 14 people held positions on the Executive during the period of this study.[59] Prior to 1997, Executive members tended to remain in their positions indefinitely or until replacements were found. In one case, a member had served on the Executive for nine years. By 1997, the Marae Executive comprised the Assistant Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, and Assistant Treasurer, all working women who lived in Whatawhata. All four maintained a presence in Marae Committee activities after their terms on the Marae Executive ended. The Chairperson had passed away in 1996 and the Assistant Chairperson took over the responsibilities until a new Executive was elected. The Assistant Secretary rarely attended Marae Committee hui in 1997 and was not at any of the hui during the period of this study. The Treasurer resigned from her position at the Marae Committee hui in May 1997 and the Assistant Treasurer was asked to take over. A new Assistant Treasurer was appointed at the same time. However, the Assistant Treasurer asked that the change be made at the next AGM and this did not occur. Therefore, the first Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer remained in their positions until the 1998 AGM.

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[59] A demographic table of the Executive can be found in Appendix G.

At the AGM in June 1998, the Assistant Chairperson was re-elected and new people were appointed to each of the other five positions. As shown in *Table 5.7*, the Assistant Chairperson's position was vacated soon after, in August 1998, and was not filled until the next AGM in July 1999. The Treasurer position was also vacated in August 1998 and the Treasurer's responsibilities were absorbed by the Secretary, who later resigned in October 1999. A new Treasurer was appointed two months later, in December 1999, but the Secretary position was still vacant by the end of this study. The Assistant Treasurer, appointed in June 1998, never took up his duties and formally resigned in November 1998. The position remained vacant until the next AGM in July 1999.

A profile of the Marae Executive members is shown in Appendix G and was generally the same as the Marae Committee profile in that the majority of members were Rangatahi, women, employed full-time, and Hamilton residents. However, the proportion of Rangatahi on the Marae Executive was much higher at 93% compared with 56% on the Marae Committee, and there were no Kaumatua. The proportion of women on the Marae Executive was also much higher at 86% compared with 53% on the Marae Committee. Although the majority on the Marae Executive were employed full-time, the proportion of tertiary students was double that of the Marae Committee. In addition, four of those who worked full-time had a tertiary education, therefore, 10 of the 14 members were tertiary educated. Tertiary students or graduates dominated positions on three other committees: the Education Support Team, Building Projects Team and Te Kauhanganui Representatives. The Executive members' attendance at Marae Committee hui (as outlined in Appendix G) does not adequately reflect the fact that members attended almost all of the hui during their terms.

### *1998 Marae Executive*

Only one member of the outgoing Executive accepted re-election but resigned after two months. All five of the new Executive were Rangatahi and only one, the Chairperson, was male. In contrast to the previous Executive whose members were

all Whatawhata residents, four of the five new members lived in Hamilton. The Assistant Chairperson was the only Marae Executive member to hold a management position prior to her re-election, so all but one of the Marae Executive positions were filled by community members rather than other Marae Committee position holders, thereby increasing the number of people actively involved in managing the marae. Because of their commitments to family and work or study, most of the new Executive concentrated on their Executive duties and did not become members of any other management groups. However, the Assistant Chairperson volunteered for the Education Support Team six months before her re-election and the Chairperson was seconded onto the Projects Team in mid-1999 as kitchen renovations got under way.

The new Executive arranged to meet two weeks before every Marae Committee hui, attended the hui, co-ordinated management activities, supported general hui at the marae as ringawera (organisers), supported hui and events arranged by other management committees, and played an important role at the poukai, though their role was imperceptible to visitors. Few of these tasks appeared in their job descriptions as official duties and, with the exception of scheduled monthly meetings, the previous Marae Executive had carried out their responsibilities in the same way. Official duties combined with unofficial obligations made them the busiest of all the committees.

To summarise, the process for Marae Executive elections was discussed at Trustees' meetings more than at Marae Committee hui. This appears to have arisen because the Executive appointments process was to be similar to the Trustees' appointments process and elections were to be held at the AGM. The mix of traditional and modern formality was obvious at the AGM. Dividing the space with tables and form chairs, distributing minutes and reports, using motions to garner approval, presenting job descriptions and other such formalities were combined with mihi, karakia, whanau allegiances, and Kaumatua authority.

The most noticeable characteristic of the Executive was that most of its members had a tertiary education. The fact that positions on the Executive were filled by community members rather than by people from other management groups suggests a very high interest in these positions by tertiary students and graduates. This may have been as a result of Kaumatua lobbying for tertiary students to get involved with their marae community. A feature of Marae Executive processes was that position holders were able to create, modify and expand on their positions without recourse to any supervisors. Therefore, position holders had to possess the requisite skill and be able to work independently. Frequent resignations and appointments to the Executive caused instability for that group in terms of carrying out their duties and using routine to develop appropriate administrative processes. Nevertheless, the Marae Executive was the most visible example of executive leadership in marae management.

**Fundraising Committee**

Fundraising committees were a long standing feature of the marae's operations whose numbers usually increased when a specific target was aimed for. Three committees, comprising 10 women in total, formed and disbanded between 1997 and 1999. The Marae Executive ran sporadic fundraising events over the same period, using Marae Committee resources such as people, networks, and funding. The last target prior to this study had been in 1995, its aim being to build the piruru (shelter) and hold the poukai anniversary. By 1997, the Fundraising Committee comprised two Whaea who baked rewena (potato dough) bread to sell at the Frankton market held in Hamilton every Saturday. They operated independently of the Marae Committee and used their own equipment and funds. They would hand over the money they had raised to the Marae Committee whenever the putea (fund or account) reached what they considered to be a 'reasonable' amount. They both resigned in January 1998 due to ill health and presented to the Marae Committee, one last cheque for more than $1000.

Two of the women who had helped design the layout for the first phase of a building project (kitchen renovations), volunteered to form a new Fundraising Committee with

the aim of raising funds to help meet the shortfall in costs for the project. The committee comprised four women, all experienced fundraisers who operated for four months from March to July 1998. One was a Whaea and three were Pakeke, all of them worked full-time, and all but one lived in Whatawhata. At the March Marae Committee hui, one of the Matua suggested that a Trustee, who happened to be his daughter, be added to the Fundraising Committee, but the Committee did not feel it was necessary. The principal team member liaised between the Fundraising Committee and Marae Committee. She was also the Secretary on the Marae Executive at the time. The Committee met weekly or fortnightly at the Whatawhata home of one of its members to plan and organise events. The principal team member reported to the Marae Committee to gain approval for the events and to secure seeding funds. After each event, they would all attend the next Marae Committee hui, where the principal team member stood and gave a progress report. Profit from the first event was used to fund the next. They held two successful events that received wide support, before disbanding in July. Only one member was to continue to maintain a presence at Marae Committee hui afterward.

Another Fundraising Committee of four women was organised in December 1998 and operated for five months. At the December Marae Committee hui, after requesting volunteers for a new Fundraising Committee from the floor and not receiving a response, the Chairperson nominated four women, all members of his whanau. Their purpose was to raise funds as part of the Marae Executive's fundraising activity. They were able to use the financial resources of the Marae Committee. One of the women was a Pakeke and the others were Rangatahi. Three lived in Hamilton and the fourth in Whatawhata. They used less transparent processes and little was reported at Marae Committee hui. Instead, they worked directly with the Marae Executive, especially the Chairperson. They met a few days before the March 1999 Marae Committee hui and sought approval for their first event, to be held two weeks later. They reported at the next Marae Committee hui that the financial report had been read out at the event. They held a second event in May with little advance warning and despite last minute efforts to advertise the event,

very few people attended. Both events were funded from the Activities cheque account, and both suffered losses that drained the profits from the previous committees. Although not formally disbanded, this committee did not hold any further events and no-one on the committee attended Marae Committee hui after the second event.

The Fundraising Committees created their own processes and procedures only some of which were designed to fit around Marae Executive processes and procedures. Appointments were informal with volunteers being sought and approved at Marae Committee hui. These Committees were an example of the dynamism of the marae community but also highlighted the pitfalls that could develop.

## Caretaker

A Caretaker was another longstanding position that was established intermittently and repeatedly became dormant. By late 1997, a Rangatahi man worked alongside the Marae Executive to carry out the Caretaker's work on an informal basis. He made sure the lawn was mowed, checked that everything was working properly before hui, contacted repairers or did the repairs himself, took bookings, collected koha from whanau after hui, secured the marae, and in general was the main point of contact between whanau using the marae for hui and the Marae Committee. An attempt to formalise his job description began at the Administration Meeting in February 1998 and administrative procedures were added so that his procedures for bookings, processing koha, taking inventories, and monitoring keys fit in with the Marae Executive's procedures. However, since the decisions from that meeting were revoked later (in June 1998), the Caretaker's job description was left in limbo. He reviewed his position in January 1999 with the intention of once again formalising his job description. His proposed job description was approved at the February Marae Committee hui but revoked at the March Marae Committee hui and was to be discussed with the Trustees who held the management portfolio. Nothing further was done after that but when the Caretaker resigned at the Marae Committee hui in July 1999, he was asked to give a description of the job's requirements. He gave a verbal

description and another man was nominated for, and agreed to take over, the position. Both men lived near the marae and each other but both worked full-time. The former and incoming Caretakers managed to get together so that the incoming Caretaker could be shown the work. However, he was still unsure of his duties by the next Marae Committee hui in August. This sparked heavy criticism of the former Caretaker and spontaneous debates about appropriate procedures before being put aside by the Assistant Chairperson, who was chairing the hui at the time. The former Caretaker walked the new Caretaker through the duties once again and the latter reported that he was now familiar with the job at the next Marae Committee hui in September.

For many years, the lawn was cut by one of the Matua who owned a ride-on lawnmower and the Marae Committee gave him a koha. When he became ill early in 1999, the Caretaker sought a replacement, initially by getting quotes from three lawnmowing firms. After a suggestion from a Rangatahi at the February Marae Committee hui that the Marae Committee look within the community, he approached people he thought might be interested, including members of the committees which were responsible for caretaking duties at the two Whatawhata urupa (cemeteries). One prospective contractor, the Ruamakamaka Urupa Committee, submitted a proposal (rather than a quote) to the Marae Executive. The Marae Committee then gave formal approval at its March hui for the Marae Executive to negotiate directly with the Urupa Committee. Although the Urupa Committee comprised members of the marae community, and although the urupa was a private one for whanau from the marae, the Marae Executive chose to treat the relationship formally by developing a written contract. The Urupa Committee were offered the job from month to month until the contract was signed.

At the April Marae Committee hui, the Marae Executive reported that they wanted to offer the Urupa Committee the contract for an initial probationary period. They were concerned about safety issues and whether it was more appropriate that the Trustees enter into the contract with the Urupa Committee. One of the Trustees present at the

hui stated that the Trustees would stand behind the Executive and believed the Executive would do the job right. Although the Trustee spoke as if on behalf of the Trustees, their last meeting had been two months earlier and up to that time they had demonstrated a preference for deciding on contracts on a case-by-case basis. The Marae Executive had written up the contract by June and the Assistant Secretary read it out at the Marae Committee hui. The Chairman recommended that a job description be attached to the contract. Other recommendations were that a minimum term and the number of cuts per month be stipulated. A revised contract was sent to the Urupa Committee, whose members accepted and signed it. Some of the Urupa Committee members attended the July Marae Committee hui to personally thank the Marae Committee for the contract. They were offered use of the marae when they mentioned that they had no formal base for their meetings. This process for selecting someone to mow the lawns is a prime example of the Marae Committee's move from an informal to formal mode of operating.

## Community Representatives

Whilst not a committee, there was a group of 10 people who represented the marae on a number of hapu and iwi organisations. *Table 5.8* lists the organisations and the number of representatives for each, a total of 12 positions (two of the 10 people were representatives on two separate organisations at the same time).

*Table 5.8 Community organisations with marae representatives*

| ORGANISATION | NO. |
|---|---|
| Tainui Maori Trust Board, Ngati Mahanga Representative | 1 |
| Tainui Maori Trust Board, Rangatahi Training Programme | 2 |
| Nga Marae Toopu | 2 |
| Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa | 1 |
| Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa | 1 |
| Te Kauhanganui | 3 |
| Te Tai Hauauru Management Committee | 2 |

The demographic profile for the representatives (refer Appendix G) differs from the Marae Committee's profile primarily because of the proportion of Kaumatua in the

group. Three of the four Matua and Whaea were Kaumatua and they were the busiest of the representatives. The fourth was a Pakeha man who had married a member of the marae community. He was referred to as a Matua because he was appointed as a representative on Nga Marae Toopu, typically a Kaumatua forum. The majority of representatives were men, compared with a female majority on the Marae Committee. The majority lived in Whatawhata, three resided in Hamilton, and one lived elsewhere within the Waikato region. Six were employed full-time and three were retired. Few of them managed to make it to Marae Committee hui regularly.

Almost all representatives were appointed prior to the period of this study. The exceptions were the two representatives on Te Tai Hauauru Management Committee, who were nominated by the Marae Executive Chairman in November and December 1998, and the three Te Kauhanganui Representatives, who were elected in March 1999. Only one person resigned: one of the representatives on Nga Marae Toopu. The term ended for the hapu representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board when he lost his seat in the Board's March 1998 election. The representatives attended meetings to hear about the latest issues and to discuss matters at a regional level. Representatives would then report to the Marae Committee hui and, if necessary, seek the community's views.

One of the Matua was so busy attending the various meetings that he spent as much as two weeks a month on the road without returning to his home. He was the representative for the marae on Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa and the Kaumatua representative on Te Kauhanganui.[60] He was also a Trustee and a member of the Education Support Team, as well as representing Te Kaharoa Marae, another Ngati Mahanga marae, on Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa. The Whaea was on both Nga Marae Toopu and Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa, as well as travelling with her husband to most of the poukai, and attending most tribal activities.[61] In addition, she

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[60] Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa was a consultation forum between the Waipa District Council and the tribes and hapu within the Council's territory.
[61] Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa was a Council of tribes whose customary territories fell within the Hamilton City boundaries.

was the Whaea on the Education Support Team and a member of one of the Fundraising Committees.

In July 1995, the Trust Board started a three-year programme to train Rangatahi, beginning with administration skills in the first 18 months, management in the following year, and iwi governance from December 1998 to the end of the programme. Marae were invited to nominate Rangatahi they considered would become future leaders of the marae with the intention that these Rangatahi would improve their skills, report to their marae community and play a key role in marae management. Te Papa-o-Rotu's Marae Committee put much of the information that had been disseminated through the training programme to practical use, but they did not develop Rangatahi training once the Trust Board's programme ended.

**Education Support Team**

The Education Support Team was formed at the November 1997 wananga to co-ordinate one of the Marae Committee's development projects. The group at the wananga wanted the team to be 'autonomous' of the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (N169).[62] To ensure such autonomy, Lands Trust employees or representatives were asked not to join the team. The Tainui Maori Trust Board member said that calling the group the 'Education Committee' could confuse applicants for iwi grants and scholarships, who might think the group was part of the Trust Board (N169).[63] He suggested the group find a name quickly. The group was never formally named but I referred to it as the Education Support Team in all reports to the Marae Committee.

Although there were only eight positions, nine people were appointed to the team (see *Table 5.9*). Five positions were deemed appropriate for the team by the group at the November wananga: two Kaumatua (a Matua and a Whaea), a marae representative, a representative for iwi grant and scholarship applicants, and one Trustee. At the Marae Committee hui the following day, the marae representative recommended that

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[62] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.
[63] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

the Kohanga Reo choose a representative to join the team as well and the Chairwoman of the Kohanga Reo offered her services. However, the marae representative asked that the Kohanga Reo select their team member rather than someone from the Kohanga Reo volunteering herself. The Kohanga Reo eventually appointed a representative in September 1998 (not the Chairwoman) but there was no involvement with the team other than the appointment.

*Table 5.9 Education Support Team by term*

| POSITION ON EDUCATION SUPPORT TEAM | | STARTED | FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Matua | Nov-97 | |
| 2 | Whaea | Nov-97 | |
| 3 | Marae Representative | Nov-97 | |
| 4 | Trustee Representative | Nov-97 | Jan-98 |
| 5 | Trustee Representative | Feb-98 | Feb-99 |
| 6 | Student Representative | Nov-97 | |
| 7 | Team Co-ordinator | Nov-97 | Nov-99 |
| 8 | Te Kohanga Reo Representative | Sep-98 | |
| 9 | Educator | Nov-97 | May-98 |

An educator joined the team at the education wananga two weeks after the team formed because discussions at wananga and Marae Committee hui to that point had indicated that the team would be expected to expand its role beyond iwi authority initiatives to wider whanau interests, and the educator could help in that area. She was from Ngati Porou, an East Coast iwi, and was married to a member of the marae community. A Rangatahi, she attended the November wananga and volunteered to join the team. She was asked to represent the applicants for the first 12 months, after which time the students could appoint a representative.

In an effort to reassure the Marae Committee about the research methodology of the study, field notes taken at the various hui were converted into reports tabled at Marae Committee hui. In October, I had offered to write the first letter to former recipients of iwi grants and scholarships, had written a report on the first education wananga held in November, and tabled that report at the Marae Committee hui in January.

Also, I had been asked to find funding for the first function held in February. The marae representative on the Education Support Team started to call me the team's Co-ordinator so I took on that role until November 1999. A Co-ordinator position was never created through any formal process.

There were two Trustees appointed to the team. The first was asked at the November wananga and agreed to be the Trustee representative until the marae's AGM the following month, when Trustee elections would be held. He was re-elected as Trustee and continued on the team. In January 1998, he resigned from both positions because he and his family were moving to the South Island. The Trustees decided at their February meeting that they would each be assigned a portfolio to work on during their three-year term, and one of the two Trustees given the education portfolio joined the team as Trustee representative. She was on the team for a year until she too had to move out of the region because of her job. Both Trustees reported on the progress of the Education Support project at Trustees' meetings, and presented the Trustees' views, if applicable, to the team.

The marae representative visited the Whaea (refer *Table 5.9*) at her home to ask if she would join the team and she agreed. The Matua was asked to join at the November wananga and he too agreed. They were the Kaumatua on the team and usually assumed the role of advising on tikanga (customs) and upholding cultural traditions. Both the Whaea and Matua joined the team whenever a hui or function was organised but rarely came to team meetings. For example, the Whaea presented Te Papa-o-Rotu's grant recipients at the 1999 Koroneihana and the Matua welcomed students and marae whanau at functions. However, the Whaea's health was deteriorating so she was called upon only when necessary. Sadly, the Matua passed away unexpectedly in 2000. The marae representative was also a Kaumatua but for most part, left matters of tikanga to the other Kaumatua on the team.

All but two team members (78%) were women (refer Appendix G). Matua and Whaea (Kaumatua) comprised 33% of the team and 11% were Pakeke but the

majority (56%) were Rangatahi. Most members of the team (44%) lived in Hamilton and another 11% had to travel some distance to the marae for team meetings and activities. A third (33%) lived in Whatawhata. The same proportion of people (33%) were either working or studying full-time and 22% were retired. Most of the team members attended fewer than half of the 26 Marae Committee hui, with 33% attending a majority of hui. Women and tertiary students were represented at a proportionately higher rate than on the Marae Committee generally (see Marae Committee profile, *Table 5.3*): 78% on the team were women compared with 53% on the Marae Committee, and 33% on the team were students compared with 15% on the Marae Committee. Team members also attended Marae Committee hui more frequently than the majority of Marae Committee members, with 67% attending two or more hui compared with 43% of the Marae Committee.

Most members of the Education Support Team held other management positions (see Appendix G). Four were Trustees, two were Community Representatives, two were also on the Projects Team, one was on the Fundraising Committee, and one was on the Marae Executive. No Caretakers (that is, the seventh management group as referred to in *Table 5.6*) were on the team.

### *Education Support Team Responsibilities*

The primary goal of the Education Support project was to build a relationship of mutual support between the Marae Committee and students within the marae community who were applying for Tainui Maori Trust Board education grants and scholarships. To this end, the Marae Committee initially formulated two objectives for the Education Support Team: to support students applying for grants and scholarships; and to make information about the marae available to students. A third objective, added in 1998, was for the Education Support Team to organise other education activities that the Marae Committee adopted.

The team's responsibilities are outlined in *Table 5.10*. The first five items were explicit statements that were made at wananga. The remaining three were decisions

made by the team in order to operationalise the objectives or to suit the usual practices of the Marae Committee. Decisions on how to proceed were left to the Education Support Team to determine, with input from the rest of the Marae Committee. For example, committees and representatives made reports at Marae Committee hui so it seemed appropriate that the Education Support Team should also report to the Marae Committee. It became clear as time wore on that members of the Marae Committee had indeed assumed that the Education Support Team would present reports at Marae Committee hui and became aggrieved whenever this did not occur. The Education Support Team's responsibilities are described more fully in *Chapter 7*.

*Table 5.10 Responsibilities of the Education Support Team*

| | EDUCATION SUPPORT TEAM RESPONSIBILITIES |
|---|---|
| 1 | Monitor WRLT funding for education initiatives |
| 2 | Endorse grant applications on behalf of the marae |
| 3 | Advocate for applicants |
| 4 | Treat applications, essays, and applicant information confidentially |
| 5 | Review project progress after first twelve months |
| 6 | Organise functions for students to meet the marae community |
| 7 | Produce newsletters and distribute to applicants |
| 8 | Report at Marae Committee hui |

### *Team Meetings*

Five team meetings were held from the project's creation to the end of 1999 (see *Table 5.11*). At least half of the team meetings that were scheduled in 1998 had to be rescheduled due to the difficulties in co-ordinating a suitable time with Kaumatua. In the end, the team decided to go ahead with meetings and let the Kaumatua know in case they were able to attend. The marae representative, student representative and Co-ordinator were at all of the team meetings and the second Trustee representative also attended all of the meetings held during her time on the team. There were no team meetings scheduled during the first Trustee representative's term. The Kohanga

Reo representative was appointed almost a year after the project began and did not attend any meetings. The educator did not attend any team meetings but was at all of the education hui during her term. By December 1999, the marae representative and student representative were the only remaining active members on the team.

*Table 5.11 Education Support Team meetings, members and agendas*

| DATE | PRESENT | AGENDA |
|---|---|---|
| **Jan-98** | Matua, Whaea, Marae representative, student representative, Co-ordinator | Preparations for informal dinner for students, grant application process |
| **Apr-98** | Matua, Whaea, Marae representative, student representative, Trustee, Co-ordinator | Endorsing grant applications, newsletter |
| **Oct-98** | Marae representative, student representative, Co-ordinator, Trustee | Planning marae wananga, budget, 1999 education hui, newsletter, grant application process |
| **Feb-99** | Marae representative, student representative, Co-ordinator, Trustee | Preparations for the education wananga |
| **Jul-99** | Marae representative, student representative, Co-ordinator | Wananga, primary school visit, budget, grants and scholarships, team members, PhD research report, Executive officer training, education support project review, weaving and carving module proposal |

All of the meetings were casual and informal and all but one were held at the marae. The January 1998 meeting was held in the prefab and all of the team members were there to discuss preparations for the informal dinner in February (refer *Table 5.11*). The team sat near the tangata whenua piruru (host's shelter, see site sketch of marae in *Chapter 1*) for the April 1998 meeting and processed applications. The October 1998 meeting was held to plan for the 1999 application process. The February 1999 meeting was held before the Marae Committee hui to prepare for the 1999 wananga for applicants. The July 1999 meeting was held in the garage of one of the team members and discussions were focused on the team's expanded role.

This team is an important example of attempted collaboration between the iwi authority and Marae Committee on a development project in which both parties had a vested interest. The Education Support Team was one of two teams created to action development projects that the Marae Committee organised, the other being the Building Project team.

### Building Projects Team

The Building Projects Team was formed as part of the Marae Committee's plan to renovate the marae complex. Once the plan had been developed, team members were first called for at the September 1997 Marae Committee hui. *Table 5.12* lists the six members on the team by the position they held at the time they volunteered as terms of reference only: their positions on the Marae Committee were not the reason that the first four members were appointed to, or volunteered for, the team. The team was a stable one that retained its members for most of the first phase of the project.

*Table 5.12 Building Projects Team by term*

| | TEAM MEMBER | STARTED | ENDED |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Caretaker | Dec-97 | Jul-99 |
| 2 | Treasurer | Dec-97 | |
| 3 | Co-ordinator | Sep-97 | |
| 4 | Whaea | Jan-98 | |
| 5 | Trustee | Feb-99 | Dec-99 |
| 6 | Marae Executive Chairman | Feb-99 | |

At the August 1997 Marae Committee hui, I offered to help seek funding for the Marae Committee's plans for renovating the complex and, in effect, became the first member on the Projects Team. The Treasurer and Caretaker were working on repairs around the complex and decided to join the team at the December Marae Committee hui, so the repairs they were working on were incorporated into the team's responsibilities. At the January 1998 Marae Committee hui, the Treasurer challenged the Whaea, her mother, to join the team because she (the mother) had objected to some aspects of the project. The Whaea accepted. The Trustee and Marae Executive

Chairman joined the team in February 1999, when the Projects Team, Trustees, and Marae Executive met together to confirm procedures after an application for government funding for the project was signed by the Trustees. The Trustee was another of the Whaea's daughters.

Although the demographic profile for this team (refer Appendix G) is similar to the Marae Committee's in that the majority were Rangatahi, women, employed full-time, and Hamilton residents, the team's details for each classification were proportionately higher. Of the six members, 83% were Rangatahi, 67% were women, and 83% were working full-time. Team meetings were held at my home and, unlike most of the other management groups, the three members who lived in Whatawhata travelled to Hamilton for meetings. The other three members lived in Hamilton. Information regarding the residence and occupation of team members relates to their situation for the majority of the time that they were on the team. However, three members changed residence between Hamilton and Whatawhata and two were unemployed for brief periods during their term. Five attended more than half of the Marae Committee hui. This is a significant factor because the five people were half the number of Marae Committee members to attend Marae Committee hui at this level of frequency (see *Table 5.3*). This means that members of the Project Team were extremely well informed members of the Marae Committee's activities. This also contrasts sharply with the membership of the Marae Executive, Community Representatives, and Education Support Team, where attendance at this level averaged 33%. Another noticeable difference between this team and other management groups was the stability of its membership. In other words, the majority of members on the Projects team were part of the informal leadership of the Marae Committee.

### *Project Team's Responsibilities*

A list of objectives for the Projects Team was tabled and approved at the Marae Committee hui in October 1997. The objectives were developed for an application for government funding and were based on discussions that took place at the wananga and Marae Committee hui, but the objectives were never endorsed through the usual

consensus decision-making process. In other words, the objectives were approved for inclusion in the funding application but did not garner Marae Committee support or commitment.

What the Marae Committee did approve was that the team be set up to co-ordinate each phase of the project and seek funding. Hiring a project manager to oversee construction was also approved since there was no one on the team with the time available to oversee this themselves. Reporting at Marae Committee hui was an implicit responsibility. The medium to long-term objectives had to be put through the usual, lengthy decision-making process of the Marae Committee and required ongoing discussion in order to gain Marae Committee commitment. This was not completed by the end of the study. Urgent repairs that were to be done in the first 12 months were listed in the 1997 Annual Report and their completion became the Project Team's responsibility.

*Table 5.13 Projects Team's Responsibilities*

| | PROJECTS TEAM RESPONSIBILITIES |
|---|---|
| 1 | Co-ordinate the building renovation project |
| 2 | Seek funding |
| 3 | Hire a project manager to oversee construction |
| 4 | Report to the Marae Committee |
| 5 | Develop a medium to long term plan for maintaining the complex |
| 6 | Develop a database on building industry firms |
| 7 | Network with other marae to share information |

## Te Kohanga Reo

*Te Kohanga Reo o Whatawhata* was based on-site at the marae but was managed independently of the Trustees and Marae Committee, and operated its own facilities, utilities and other amenities. It was accountable to a national trust organisation and had its own management structure. It was funded by fees from parents, contributions from its parent body, and government childcare subsidies. The Kohanga Reo operated during week days but closed for tangi or to join any hui that were held whilst they

were normally in session. The kaiawhina (caregivers) sometimes gave reports at Marae Committee hui to keep everyone up to date and collaborated with the Marae Committee on issues relating to the land, such as fencing, billboard displays or parking. The Kohanga Reo offered its services to children in the Whatawhata area rather than solely to Ngati Mahanga whanau. Its maximum roll was 20 and it operated close to that number throughout the time of this research. In 1997, the Tainui Maori Trust Board distributed grants to marae-based Kohanga Reo (as opposed to Kohanga Reo situated in the wider community) and signalled its intention to continue to support Kohanga Reo financially. Development of the relationship between marae management and the Kohanga Reo was not explored to any significant extent but the Trust Board distributed the Kohanga Reo grants through marae rather than directly to the Kohanga Reo so the marae decided to give the responsibility for monitoring Kohanga Reo funding to the Education Support Team.

## Changes in Authority and Leadership

### *An Evolving Authority Structure*

Marae management at Te Papa-o-Rotu functioned in a manner similar to Uphoff 's informal organisation, in particular, according to shared understandings rather than explicit, codified rules and regulations (Uphoff, 1996). However, shared understandings were progressively being supplemented and, at times, even replaced, by more explicit rules. A management structure with the Marae Committee at the apex was legitimated by the marae community and recognised by the iwi authorities. On the other hand, the Trustees were the only committee that was legally constituted.

Tensions between traditional and legal authority were handled by assimilating legal requirements into community practices. The resultant mix signalled a modern adaptation that still maintained the rangatiratanga of the marae. Since the Marae Executive handled the administration for the Marae Committee and since much of it coincided with the administrative work that the Trustees were required to do, the marae's management structure evolved in a way that kept the Trustees and Marae Committee separate, with the Marae Executive operating as a bridge between the two.

Giving the Trustees the role of long term planning or policy-making with the Marae Committee responsible for day-to-day management was a way of giving the perception that the committees were organised hierarchically. Long term planning and policy-making was community defined in practice and was not something that had to be done on a daily basis, but Trustees could be given the responsibility for organising community involvement and for putting plans and policies in place. The need for legitimation of the Marae Committee from outside agencies was not very important for the Marae Committee's way of operating. This was only likely to be relevant should the marae become more involved long-term with the activities of the wider community other than its iwi associations.

### *Leadership in Marae Management*

Another adaptation that developed within the domain of management and administration was leadership. Kaumatua were 23% of the Marae Committee and 37% of all people who held management positions. There were Kaumatua in every management group except the Marae Executive and the Caretakers. They were most prominent amongst the groups that linked in some way to the public, that is, the Trustees, where they comprised 50%, and the Community Representatives, where Kaumatua made up 40%. Their influence in management and administration was subtle and implicit. For example, their participation as members of management groups lent credibility to those groups, or their opinions in Marae Committee hui often shaped the directions taken without being overtly coercive. They exerted their influence most in management processes, such as in decision-making, levels of authority, or dispute resolution. They were also the principal authority in internal and external matters relating to tradition and history, tikanga and kawa, where they served as a watchdog group for related internal matters and advisers for related external matters. They were less vocal about administrative systems.

However, the majority of people who held management positions and attended Marae Committee hui were Rangatahi. They comprised 56% of the Marae Committee and 56% of the people who held management positions. They held at least half of the

positions in every management group. They were most prominent amongst the Marae Executive, where they made up 93%, and the Projects Team, where they comprised 83%. These two management groups had responsibilities that required knowledge of bureaucratic procedures, especially financial management and accountability. Rangatahi influence was directly related to the official positions they held, more so than the fact that they were the dominant age group. As such, their influence was most evident in the type of administrative systems used and procedures adopted. In effect, they could be defined as an executive leadership. There was no conflict in a shared leadership of Kaumatua and Rangatahi because they took the lead in different areas.

The 10 people who attended the majority of Marae Committee hui acted as a powerful informal leadership. The most vociferous speakers at hui were amongst this group. Apart from their regular attendance at Marae Committee hui, nine of the 10 people held at least one management position (see *Table 5.14*). Members of this group were on every management group except the Fundraising Committee. They were most prominent amongst the groups with the heaviest burden of responsibility. Half of them had been members of the Marae Executive at some stage, and five of them were on the six-member Projects Team. Eight were Rangatahi and two were Kaumatua. Seven were women, seven were Whatawhata residents, and six were employed. Five of them belonged to the same nuclear family. In addition, seven of the eight Rangatahi were university educated. Members of this core group were frequently called upon as advisers by other members of the Marae Committee, the Kaumatua and other position holders, primarily because of their in-depth knowledge of management activities. They also took a keen and active interest in the direction in which the Marae Committee headed. Because of their demonstrated level of commitment, their knowledge of administrative systems, the management groups they chose to get involved with most, their local residence, their education, and their occupations, the Rangatahi within this group seemed to be an informal leadership of, and role models for, their own age group, mediating between tradition and innovation.

*Table 5.14 Core group of Marae Committee by positions held*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Tainui Maori Trust Board Member |
| 2 | Trustee/Education Support Team Member/Projects Team Member |
| 3 | Assistant Chairperson/Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 4 | Trustee/Rangatahi Training Programme/Caretaker/Projects Team Member |
| 5 | Treasurer/Rangatahi Training Programme/Projects Team Member |
| 6 | Projects Team/Education Support Team Co-ordinator |
| 7 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 8 | Assistant Secretary |
| 9 | Chairperson/Projects Team Member |
| 10 | Rangatahi D |

Women played a significant role in marae management and administration. More than half (53%) of the Marae Committee were women and they were 62% of those who held management positions. They outnumbered men on more than half of the management groups. Women were most prominent in the groups that handled internal matters or issues of relevance to whanau. They comprised 100% of the Fundraising Committee, 86% of the Marae Executive, 78% of the Education Support Team, and 67% of the Projects Team. They were a minority amongst the groups that were entrusted with external affairs, that is, the Community Representatives and Trustees. The Caretakers were the only all-male group. Most of the women (59%) were Rangatahi (see *Table 5.15*). More than a quarter of the women in management were Whaea and they seemed to step forward to fill the role of Kaumatua. Therefore, women were represented across all levels of leadership and authority.

*Table 5.15 Women in management by age group*

| AGE GROUP | % IN MANAGEMENT |
|---|---|
| Whaea | 26% |
| Pakeke | 16% |
| Rangatahi | 59% |
| **Total** | **100%** |

### *Appointment Processes*

The combination of formal and informal processes for appointing people took on a certain pattern. Common to both was the lack of pecuniary gain and the reliance on voluntary support. There was no competition for positions because the first person to volunteer was accepted. However, more often than not, a person was nominated for the position by others. Secondary procedures, such as establishing terms of office or even stipulating the duties for a position, were often absent in the informal process. These features were incorporated into the formal process used for electing Trustees and the Marae Executive. The main factor to shape their appointment process was that elections were held at Annual General Meetings. Wananga were used in the process and the decisions made were confirmed at the Marae Committee hui. The Marae Executive organised the AGM rather than the Trustees, but related discussions were more often held at Trustees' meetings rather than Marae Committee hui. Further procedures were required for the appointment of Trustees, in particular, the Maori Land Court ratified the results of the election and a public notice was required.

The election for Te Kauhanganui Representatives would probably have followed the same formal process were it not for the Marae Committee's concern about the likelihood of the results of the election being invalidated if challenged by beneficiaries, candidates, the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (WRLT), or the Courts. Another potential problem was that the election process at any other marae could be challenged and the ensuing debates could impact negatively on Te Papa-o-Rotu's election results. Therefore, a ballot process was used in an effort to avoid such

complications. There were several conditions to consider that were new to the Marae Committee's processes. The WRLT set a deadline for submission of representatives' names that was several months ahead of the Marae Committee's AGM. The WRLT stipulated eligibility criteria for voters: they had to be at least 18 years of age and registered on the benrol. Since the Marae Committee did not have access to the benrol information, staff from WRLT had to be present on Election Day to check the details of every person who entered the whare (dining hall). The WRLT did not stipulate any other conditions and the types of election process used were decided by the Marae Executive and a few members of the Marae Committee.

## Conclusion

The degree of sophistication of management systems depended on the depth of Marae Committee members' understanding more than on that of the officials, and was hampered by the constantly changing committee membership. In addition, issues pertaining to personnel, such as a high turnover rate of officials, and the widely divergent range of expertise of potential and actual officials, ensured that administrative procedures remained as uncomplicated as possible. Officials who lacked particular skills required to fulfil their duties tended to gather to themselves, a personal network of people from within their whanau, the marae community, or friends, who had the relevant skills. However, one skill they may have lacked, especially Rangatahi, was that of manoeuvring within the Marae Committee's internal politicking. In contrast to its management systems, the internal politics of the Marae Committee was highly sophisticated and intense. The turnover rate of officials could indicate just how intense a Marae Committee's internal politics was, especially since people worked at the marae without remuneration as an incentive to remain. Unfortunately, one's skill in this area tended to develop only after prolonged exposure. The level of sophistication of a position and its procedures, as well as the effectiveness of the person holding that position, depended to a large degree on the Marae Committee's knowledge of management systems and the political climate.

The evolution of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's community organising from informal to formal structures bears the imprint of a colonial legacy to which Meleisea-Schoeffel (1996, p. 127) referred, that is, of legal-rational authority and bureaucracy imposed on indigenous Pacific societies and in competition with traditional, charismatic authority. Furthermore, bureaucracy is an embedded phenomenon of the modern society of which Te Papa-o-Rotu is a part. However, the assimilation of one mode upon the other has been slow, with the community showing a preference for parallel modes that inter-connect as needed. Their commitment, as I believe this chapter shows, has been to accommodate the sometimes conflicting needs of culture and bureaucracy in order to maintain and strengthen their own rangatiratanga.

Since the community itself has been the primary agent for incorporating bureaucratic procedures, it has done so by adapting those procedures to fit with tikanga and kawa. Consequently, inconsistencies and tensions were sure to arise. During the period of this study, there was a clear sense of a structure in transition toward hierarchical levels of authority. A hierarchy of offices provided clear purpose while undermining the power of the community to be directly responsible for marae affairs. Bureaucratic procedures offered stability and efficiency yet relied on specialised knowledge and introduced a new stratum of leadership. Bureaucracy was adjusted to allow for compassionate considerations, such as in the appointment of Trustees because of their importance to the community rather than their ability to fulfil their Trustee responsibilities. Acknowledgement of historical events that helped shaped the modern form of marae management was introduced using a combination of informal consideration and formal structure, such as in the case of the Kaitiakitanga positions, established to acknowledge the service of whanau of former Trustees. Attempts to integrate modern and traditional structures by linking the Trustees committee with the leadership on the paepae had instead, created a vanguard of gatekeepers to oversee relations between the marae and mainstream society. There were no definitive solutions available for the myriad of issues that developed from this transition but the Marae Committee appeared to be making slow in-roads toward some form of reconciliation between traditional values and practices, and modern social structures. The most obvious solutions were the parallel authorities of Trustees and Marae

Committee, and the dual leadership of Kaumatua and Rangatahi. However, it seems clear that tensions are an inherent part of the use of two modes of operating.

Communities have the ultimate option of letting their marae go dormant, a drastic expression of rangatiratanga and a choice that the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu strenuously sought to avoid. The small group of people who played a part in managing the marae went to extraordinary lengths to support something to which they had committed. However, increased stress on individuals was driving them, probably unintentionally, to risk themselves personally - families were neglected, academic study suffered, some risked their health to dangerous levels, and some risked their positions at their places of employment - as they endeavoured to meet the demands placed on them. Even when activities were prioritised to domestic and iwi authority matters only, the workload remained substantial because the number of people actively involved was so low. Few people could afford to concentrate full-time on unpaid work at the marae, though the workload for some positions warranted full-time workers. The only possibilities were to reduce the workload or increase the number of workers. Repeated attempts were made to do either or both of these.

# Chapter 6

## Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's Main Administrative Settings

This chapter discusses the settings that the community used for managerial and administrative activity. A description of the settings and their proceedings is particularly useful for highlighting cultural interactions and managerial decision-making processes. Such processes showed how the community went about incorporating bureaucratic administration without relinquishing rangatiratanga (control, authority, self-determination).

The Marae Committee used three main communal settings for management activity - wananga, hui and Annual General Meetings - and their proceedings were a mix of traditional Maori cultural practices and modern bureaucratic administration. The Trustees' administrative procedures were regulated by the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, whereas the Marae Committee's administrative procedures were determined by the community. The Trustees' administrative procedures required that they hold Ordinary and Annual General Meetings in the style of legal-rational bureaucratic administration. Even so, the Trustees adopted some traditional Maori cultural practices in their proceedings. The Marae Committee, on the other hand, had an informal style of organising itself but adopted some bureaucratic procedures. All main management activity was conducted at the marae intermittently. In general, Marae Committee hui were held monthly, while wananga and Trustees' meetings were held whenever a need was determined. The Marae Committee's administrative settings, the Trustees' administrative regulations, and the processes used in management activity are all described in this chapter.

### Wananga

Hui wananga were an important feature of administrative and management processes because they were the type of hui that were most often used for planning for the future. Wananga were held every few months from late-1995 to late-1997, and most of them were community forums whose aim was to try to form strategies for

developing the marae's social, economic and cultural position, that is, were about marae management planning. These wananga began as the Tainui Maori Trust Board finalised its negotiations with the Crown over settlement of its claim for compensation for land wrongfully confiscated in the 1860s (discussed in *Chapter three*).

Three wananga were held in 1997, two of which were held shortly after field research for this study began. The first wananga, held in July, related to the history of the marae. The last two wananga, held in September and November, were concerned with management planning. Discussions at these wananga formed the basis for later management activity and so are frequently referred to in this thesis. They are discussed in this chapter in relation to attendance, the proceedings, and the topics discussed. Three themes recurred throughout the wananga (D628, D629, D630):[64] that of formalising management structures and processes, expanding marae activity into social issues, and getting involved in the development activities of the Tainui Maori Trust Board. The overall impression was that the marae community wanted to preserve and maintain its property, and be relevant and useful to its whanau. Since most of the wananga between 1995 and 1997 related to management and tribal development plans, the majority of people in attendance throughout were members of the Marae Committee who held management positions. There were two wananga in 1998 and one in 1999 but since none of them related to management affairs, they have not been included here.

### *General Proceedings*

Requests to hold wananga were made at Marae Committee hui. If the Marae Committee approved, a date was set and the Marae Executive made the arrangements. Wananga were held over a weekend and were organised to precede the Marae Committee hui for that month. The main cost involved related to the provision of

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[64] Marae Executive record of wananga held 22 - 24 March, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Management structure charts from wananga held March 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Marae Executive record of wananga held 7 - 9 June, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

food. Because only a small number of people attended the wananga in 1997, the total cost was relatively low - approximately $20 per person. Any administrative costs tended to be absorbed into the Marae Executive's budget or by Executive members personally. The Executive members prepared the menu, shopped for groceries, and did the book-keeping. An account of the expenditure was included in the Treasurer's report at Marae Committee hui.

The 1997 wananga were held in the dining hall except for a single evening on which the whare nui (meeting house) was used. Kaumatua performed the mihi (introductory or concluding speech) and karakia (prayer) in Maori at the start and end of each day. The rest of the wananga was conducted primarily in English. Although less formal than Marae Committee hui, the wananga relating to management affairs tended to be organised along similar lines, with an agenda and a facilitator. No one attended wananga in any official capacity and no one was officially required to attend, but most members of the Marae Executive were present because they organised the wananga, and many of the people who held management positions would also attend.

A member of the Marae Executive wrote the agenda on the whiteboard. She opened the discussions with a short explanation, then wrote notes on an extra large, industrial-sized roll of wallpaper as discussions progressed. A few of the Rangatahi and Pakeke moved between the kitchen and dining hall, trying to stay involved with discussions whilst preparing meals. There was a break during wananga for a mid-day and evening meal although work continued through morning and afternoon tea. These wananga were intense and ran late into the night.

There were 17 people who attended both the September and November wananga in 1997. *Table 6.1* lists those present by the number of management positions they held as at the end of 1997, the total number of positions they held between 1997 and 1999, and the number of Marae Committee hui they attended between 1997 and 1999. Management positions were held by 13 people at the end of 1997 and six of them had increased the number of positions they held by the end of 1999. Four people did not

hold any positions at the end of 1997: two of them were staff at Te Kohanga Reo and the other two accepted appointments at a later date.

Of the 17 people at the wananga, 14 attended Marae Committee hui each year between 1997 and 1999. Eight people attended more than half the 26 Marae Committee hui and four of them were at almost all of the Marae Committee hui. Eight others appeared at fewer than half of the Marae Committee hui. One attendee left the district within a few months of the wananga and did not attend any Marae Committee hui.

*Table 6.1 People at the 1997 wananga by number of positions held and Marae Committee hui attended*

| | PERSON | POSITIONS AS AT 1997 | TOTAL POSITIONS | TOTAL HUI |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Matua A | 3 | 4 | 9 |
| 2 | Matua B | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| 3 | Matua H | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| 4 | Pakeke A | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| 5 | Pakeke B | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 6 | Pakeke C | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| 7 | Rangatahi A | 2 | 2 | 25 |
| 8 | Rangatahi B | 2 | 4 | 18 |
| 9 | Rangatahi C | 1 | 2 | 15 |
| 10 | Rangatahi D | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| 11 | Rangatahi E | 2 | 2 | 24 |
| 12 | Rangatahi F | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 13 | Rangatahi G | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| 14 | Rangatahi H | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| 15 | Rangatahi I | 1 | 1 | 17 |
| 16 | Whaea A | 4 | 4 | 12 |
| 17 | Whaea B | 2 | 3 | 23 |

This indicates that the majority of people who attended the 1997 wananga were already deeply involved in the management and administration of the marae. They continued to be involved, and some increased their involvement, throughout the

period of this study. Only three – the two Kohanga Reo staff members and the person who left the district – were to reduce their involvement or remain uninvolved.

Most members of this group were very knowledgeable about past agreements and procedures and, in the absence of formalised procedures, were able to function as the human equivalent of a policy and procedures manual at Marae Committee hui. Referring to members of this group was a useful alternative to trawling through the Minutes of Marae Committee hui. In particular, the eight people at the wananga who also attended more than half of the Marae Committee hui were the most informed about Marae Committee activities, and often volunteered information at Marae Committee hui or were called upon to describe, explain or clarify any relevant precedents. The most vociferous speakers at both wananga were Matua B, Whaea B, and Rangatahi C. Pakeke C, Rangatahi D and Rangatahi F never spoke at the wananga. Everyone else made pertinent contributions to discussions.

### *Matauranga Maori Process in Discussions*

Wananga had become the principal means by which information, experience, skill and knowledge were shared amongst adults at the marae, and the whanau appeared to define a whare wananga as a place of knowledge sharing and collective learning. It is this sense of community education and benefit that underpins most development plans for the marae and wananga were the cornerstone of marae planning processes. One of the many aspirations for the marae was that its traditional role as a formal whare wananga be revitalised.

Matauranga Maori is such an holistic concept that it is difficult to define in English. It is generally translated as ‘Maori education’ or defined as ‘traditional Maori knowledge.’ What we know, how we know it, how we validate and develop our knowledge, how we have traditionally transmitted or disseminated our knowledge, what counts as traditional knowledge, why traditional knowledge is a taonga (treasured resource), and whether knowledge is a commodity, are all notions embraced within the concept of Matauranga Maori. Williams (2001, p. 26) advocated

for Matauranga Maori as a taonga. According to Durie (2002, p. 14), matauranga Maori differs from Maori development research methodologies in that the latter leans toward empiricism for validation.

A modern manifestation of matauranga Maori at the marae was its use as a framework that underpinned community knowledge-building. The use of matauranga Maori was most noticeable at wananga and followed the key phases of a research process. The matauranga Maori process used is outlined in *Figure 6.1* and shows the iterative process of community knowledge building, beginning with the existing knowledge base of individual community members, that is, with what individuals already know. What individuals learn builds upon their personal knowledge base. Individuals come together to share their knowledge with others in their community and the comprehensiveness, thoroughness, or depth of their personal learning directly impacts on the quality of shared knowledge. The community processes and evaluates that shared knowledge until a consensus is reached. Valid knowledge is that which survives the community evaluation phase. Then the community communicates that shared knowledge to others outside the community or reiterates it to other members in the community. Since community members communicate this new knowledge outward, it becomes the new base level of individuals' existing knowledge and the matauranga Maori process builds up, this time, from an advanced base position in a spiral of knowledge building.

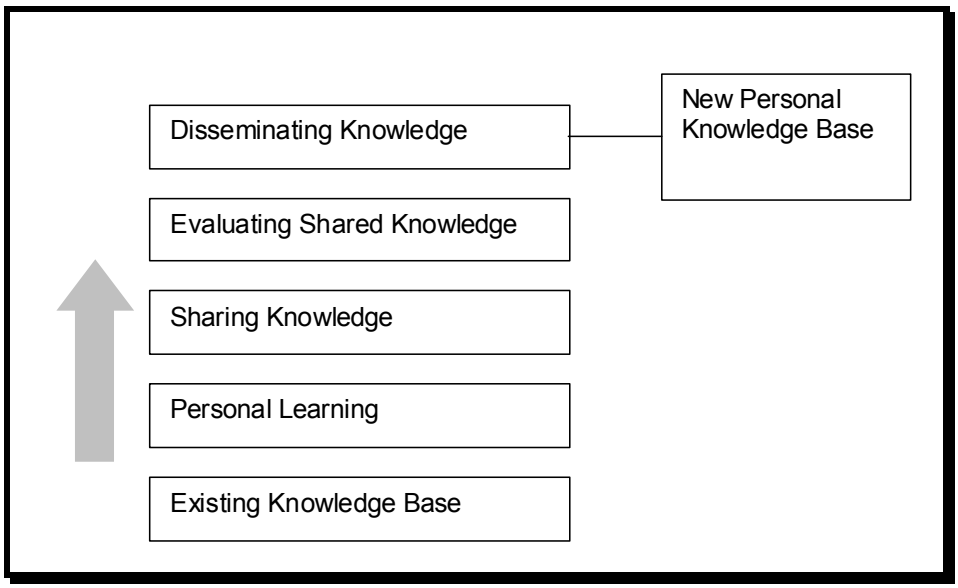


*Figure 6.1 Matauranga Maori Framework Used In Wananga*

Although the proceedings for wananga at Te Papa-o-Rotu followed some bureaucratic procedures, matauranga Maori underpinned the discussions. The matauranga Maori framework also operated during Marae Committee hui but was not as obvious.

### *September 1997 Wananga*

The September 1997 wananga ran from early evening on Friday 12 September until the early hours of the following morning, and began again at about 10 that morning, running until the early hours of Sunday morning. It was followed by the Marae Committee hui, which started at 10.15 on the Sunday morning. Matua A opened and closed the wananga each day with a mihi and a karakia. Rangatahi C facilitated discussions and recorded them on rolls of wallpaper, while Rangatahi I typed her notes on a word processor she brought to the wananga.

Almost the entire wananga was given over to discussions about the strategic directions of the Tainui Maori Trust Board and how the marae should respond to them. The first four topics listed in *Table 6.2* were discussed on Friday and the remainder on Saturday. Discussion of the Trust Board's education grants and

scholarships application process formed the foundation of the Education Support project. Decisions that resulted from the workshops relating to renovation needs formed the basis of the building project plan. Particular concerns expressed were that the Trust Board would not only become more demanding on marae, but that the Board would use marae grants as a coercive tool to influence marae. Also under discussion was how the marae would resource activities designed to meet the Trust Board's requirements (N170).[65] Two items that were on the agenda – the organisation structure of Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa and the marae's budgets – were not discussed due to lack of time.

*Table 6.2 Topics discussed at the wananga in September*

| | TOPIC |
|---|---|
| 1 | Tainui Maori Trust Board beneficiary roll |
| 2 | Tainui Maori Trust Board: what we expect from them |
| 3 | Tainui Maori Trust Board education grants and scholarships |
| 4 | Tainui Maori Trust Board sports funding |
| 5 | Tainui Maori Trust Board marae distribution |
| 6 | Te Wherowhero title |
| 7 | Workshops to assess renovation needs |
| 8 | Marae and charitable trust status |
| 9 | Tainui Maori Trust Board runanga options |

Fourteen people attended the wananga: three Matua, two Whaea, two Pakeke, and seven Rangatahi (refer *Table 6.3*). Nine were women and five were men. 11 lived in Whatawhata, two in Hamilton, and one elsewhere in the Waikato region. Nine people were employed, two were tertiary students, and three were retired. That is, the majority of people present were Rangatahi, women, Whatawhata residents, and employed full-time. This was consistent with the general profile of the Marae Committee except for their residential details: 79% were Whatawhata residents compared with 24% on the Marae Committee.

[65] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

*Table 6.3 Profile of people at the September wananga*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 14 |
| 21% | 14% | 14% | 50% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 9 | | | 0 | 14 |
| 36% | 64% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 11 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| 79% | 14% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 9 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 14 |
| 64% | 0% | 14% | 21% | 0% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 0 | 6 | 8 | | 14 |
| 0% | 0% | 43% | 57% | 0% | 100% |

At the time of the wananga, nine people in attendance held management positions: two were Trustees, four were on the Marae Executive, and three were Community Representatives. Five were community members who did not hold any management-related positions. However, four of them were to accept appointments within six months.

Ten of the 14 people at the wananga attended the Marae Committee hui that followed. They comprised most of the Marae Committee membership, with only two others in attendance. Therefore, there was little need to repeat discussions from the wananga in detail and suggestions, recommendations, or decisions made at the wananga, were quickly confirmed at the Marae Committee hui.

## *October/November 1997 Wananga*

*Table 6.4 People at the November wananga and Marae Committee hui*

| | ATTENDEES 31 OCTOBER | MC HUI |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Matua A | |
| 2 | Matua B | ✓ |
| 3 | Pakeke A | ✓ |
| 4 | Pakeke B | |
| 5 | Rangatahi A | ✓ |
| 6 | Rangatahi B | |
| 7 | Rangatahi C | ✓ |
| 8 | Rangatahi D | ✓ |
| 9 | Rangatahi E | ✓ |
| | JOINED WANANGA 1 NOVEMBER | |
| 10 | Pakeke C | ✓ |
| 11 | Rangatahi F | ✓ |
| 12 | Rangatahi G | ✓ |
| 13 | Whaea B | ✓ |

The wananga began at 6 p.m. on Friday 31 October, and ended approximately 3 o'clock on Saturday morning. Then everyone went home to rest and returned to the dining hall at 9 a.m. Saturday to continue until about 2 o'clock on Sunday morning. The Marae Committee hui for that month started at 10 a.m. on Sunday. Thirteen people attended the wananga over the weekend (refer *Table 6.4*). Nine people were present on the Friday evening and seven returned on Saturday, to be joined by a further four people.

*Table 6.5 Profile of attendees at the November wananga*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 13 |
| 15% | 8% | 23% | 54% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 4 | 9 | | | 0 | 13 |
| 31% | 69% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 9 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 69% | 23% | 8% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 9 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 13 |
| 69% | 0% | 15% | 15% | 0% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 1 | 0 | 5 | 7 | | 13 |
| 8% | 0% | 38% | 54% | | 100% |

At the time of the wananga, three in attendance were Trustees, three were on the Marae Executive, and one was a Community Representative. The remaining six were interested members of the community. Four of them were eventually to accept management positions and two were staff members of Te Kohanga Reo. Ten of the attendees had also attended the wananga in September. For this reason, much of the demographic information for both wananga is the same. The majority (7) were Rangatahi. There were also two Matua, one Whaea, and three Pakeke. Nine were women and four were men. Nine lived in Whatawhata, three in Hamilton, and one lived in another town in the Waikato region. Nine were employed, two were students and two were retired. As was the case at the September wananga, the majority of people present were Rangatahi, women, Whatawhata residents, and employed full-

time. The proportion of Whatawhata residents was also much higher than those on the Marae Committee.

The first part of the Friday night was reserved for a Trustees' meeting, which was held in the whare nui. Mattresses on which people could sit or recline were arranged around the corner to the right of the front entrance. Although an insufficient number of Trustees were present to constitute a quorum, the meeting went ahead. The meeting was informal, with the Trustees' Chairperson facilitating proceedings. He opened the meeting with a mihi and karakia. The Trustees' Secretary was not present and none of the other Trustees took minutes. Nine people were present including three Trustees, three members of the Marae Executive, and two who held other management-related positions. The other person present was not involved in management in an official capacity at the time but attended as an interested member of the community.

After the Trustees' meeting, a charter for the marae and charitable trust status were discussed *(Figure 6.2)*. In the early hours of the morning, the Trustees' Chairman said a mihi and karakia to close the wananga for the night, while some of the Rangatahi prepared a snack and cup of tea in the dining hall. The Chairman said grace and everyone ate together and cleared up afterwards, then headed home. One of the Matua who lived a distance away from the marae set up a bed for himself on the stage in the dining hall so that he did not have to travel home only to make the return trip a few hours later. However, he changed his mind and did travel home that night.

| DISCUSSIONS ON 31 OCTOBER 1997 |
| --- |
| Trustees' meeting |
| participation |
| legal responsibilities |
| kaitiaki positions |
| portfolios |
| AGM |
| elections |
| reduced number of seats |
| Charter |
| Charitable Trust status |

*Figure 6.2 Topics at the wananga on Friday 31 October 1997*

Seven of the nine people who were at the wananga on Friday night returned on Saturday, and four others joined them (*Table 6.4*). The wananga was held in the dining hall, with the whiteboard and wallpaper arranged across the middle of the hall and trestle tables and form chairs arranged into three sides of a square shape, facing the whiteboard. Matua A started the wananga with a mihi and a karakia. Rangatahi C facilitated the wananga and documented the discussions on the rolls of wallpaper.

Most of the day was spent discussing the marae's involvement in the Tainui Maori Trust Board's education grants and scholarships application process *(Figure 6.3)*. The subsequent decisions made formed the basis of the marae's Education Support project. Building renovations – the strategic directions, goals, objectives and an implementation plan - were discussed for the rest of the day and late into the night. Decisions made during strategic planning were later incorporated into the Marae Executive's Annual Report tabled at the December Annual General Meeting, and formed the basis of the marae's building projects plan.

**DISCUSSIONS ON 1 NOVEMBER 1997**

Tainui Maori Trust Board Education
- marae perspective
- how marae can support recipients
- essays
- support group/body
- hui with recipients

Strategic Planning
- overall aims and objectives
- six months objectives to June 98
- twelve months objectives from June 98
- building project plan

*Figure 6.3 Topics at the wananga on Saturday 1 November 1997*

Ten of the 13 people at the wananga went to the Marae Committee hui immediately following (refer *Table 6.4*). They were an influential minority when it came to ratifying decisions made at the wananga.

Although a traditional forum for community discussions, wananga related to management affairs incorporated modern processes and procedures such as for example, sitting around the table to discuss matters rather than around the whare, or holding workshops. These processes and procedures set a business-like formality to discussions that reflected just how serious the community were about the issues and how concentrated their efforts were likely to be. The organisational preferences of the majority Rangatahi group may also have been an influence because the processes and procedures shaping the forum were active ones leading to some type of corresponding action, whether it be ratifying discussions at the next Marae Committee hui or gathering further information. However, the community was represented in small numbers only, albeit by people who were experienced and knowledgeable about all aspects of the marae's management.

## Marae Committee Hui

Marae Committee hui were the primary settings for management and administrative activity. They were also where the mix of cultural practices and bureaucratic administration was most evident. They were attended in small numbers. Some of the processes and procedures used were informal ones, others were formal, and yet others were in transit from informal to formal.

Marae Committee hui were held almost every month from August 1997 to December 1999, totalling 26 hui (see *Table 6.6*). Ordinary hui were held immediately after AGMs every year except 1997. There were seven ordinary hui altogether in 1997, but three were held prior to the commencement of the field research and have not been included in *Table 6.6*. The hui for May 1998 was cancelled due to a tangi at the marae. The hui for January 1999 was not held because it was felt to be too soon after the Christmas holidays. The smallest hui took place two days after the poukai in April 1998, when there were six people present. The largest hui was in February 1999 when 36 people attended because of the level of interest in plans for kitchen renovations.

*Table 6.6 Each Marae Committee hui by number of people in attendance*

| NUMBER | YEAR | MARAE COMMITTEE HUI | ATTENDANCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | **1997** | August | 12 |
| **2** | | September | 12 |
| **3** | | October | 20 |
| **4** | | November | 20 |
| **5** | **1998** | January | 13 |
| **6** | | February | 14 |
| **7** | | March | 20 |
| **8** | | April | 6 |
| **9** | | June | 26 |
| **10** | | July | 26 |
| **11** | | August | 19 |
| **12** | | September | 26 |
| **13** | | October | 20 |
| **14** | | November | 13 |
| **15** | | December | 28 |
| **16** | **1999** | February | 36 |
| **17** | | March | 17 |
| **18** | | April | 18 |
| **19** | | May | 23 |
| **20** | | June | 14 |
| **21** | | July | 17 |
| **22** | | August | 25 |
| **23** | | September | 15 |
| **24** | | October | 16 |
| **25** | | November | 12 |
| **26** | | December | 24 |

### *Hui Proceedings*

The time and date for Marae Committee hui were never advertised because they were fixed at 10 a.m. on the second Sunday of each month. Throughout the spring of 1997, hui were held on the mahau (porch) of the whare nui but when autumn arrived in 1998, the hui were moved into the whare kai (dining hall), which became the usual meeting place from then on. On rare occasions, Marae Committee hui would be held

at the Kohanga Reo or at the home of one of the local residents. This happened when the marae was being used for another hui. Responsibility for preparing the dining hall for meetings fell to whoever was on hand at the time. Someone from the Executive would arrive just before 10 a.m. and people travelling from Hamilton or elsewhere in the region were usually the next to arrive, with local residents drifting in after that. Most people arrived by car except for the families who lived next door or down the road. Throughout the study, trestle tables and form chairs were commonly arranged in a large rectangle covering roughly a third of the hall either near the stage or at the opposite end, near the door closest to the driveway. There was always a top table slightly separated from the rest of the seating. People rarely brought their children and teenagers along to the hui and the proceedings were usually quiet and very intense, with the odd angry outburst.

The Executive would sit at a table facing the other people in attendance, with a whiteboard placed on an easel next to them. An agenda was usually written on the whiteboard and where there were any minutes or reports, copies would be distributed. The hui would then be formally opened with a mihi and a karakia in te reo Maori. After that, the hui proceeded in English. Apologies for absence were normally called for as a formality. However, there were occasions when it was requested that apologies be recorded, particularly when the absentee held an official position and was expected to make a report at the meeting. Only in unusual circumstances was a vote sought for motions or to ratify decisions because a consensus was usually reached in the discussions that took place beforehand. The minutes of the previous meeting would be read out and matters arising from the minutes were normally discussed at some length, allowing people to give an update on the issues raised, but these discussions rarely related to problems with the way minutes had been recorded.

Although the Executive had been directed in 1996 to type the minutes and distribute copies, the Secretary at that time could not type and did not have access to a computer, word processor, or photocopier. Instead, a group process based on the resources, skill, and goodwill of people, was used to meet the directive. The

Secretary wrote the minutes in longhand. She then became a 'runner' in order to get the minutes completed in the required form. She would take her longhand notes to a person who owned a computer, who would type the minutes and print a copy. This involved several trips and phone calls between Whatawhata and Hamilton. Once they were completed, the Secretary would pick up the typed minutes and take them to the person who had access to a photocopier. After that task was done, she would pick up the copied minutes in readiness for the next meeting. The whole process took about two weeks. She would sometimes use the same process to have correspondence edited and typed. Two meetings after this process began, the Marae Committee decided that she could arrange to open a photocopying account at the primary school near her home so that she could do the copying with less inconvenience.

The Secretary of the 1998 Marae Executive could type and had her own computer so the group process became redundant. When she became Secretary/Treasurer three months later, the Assistant Secretary, who also had access to a computer, became minute taker. Both were university students so a suitable place on-campus was found for them to open a photocopying account. The Secretary/Treasurer added typed copies of the financial report to the minutes.

Apart from bills, the Marae Committee received most of its correspondence from the Tainui Maori Trust Board, the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust or other iwi organisations. These concerned a range of social, political and financial matters relevant to Tainui. On occasion, there would be approaches from government agencies, local government authorities, social services, or community organisations requesting support for a new initiative. The Marae Committee would discuss the correspondence and direct the Marae Executive in what to write in reply.

**AGENDA**

Hui Start Time
Karakia Timatanga
Apologies
Minutes of the last meeting
Matters arising from the Minutes
Correspondence
Treasurer's Report
Committee Reports
- Tainui Maori Trust Board Representative
- Rangatahi Training Representative
- Nga Marae Toopu Representative
- Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa Representative
- Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa Representative
- Te Kauhanganui Representatives
- Education Support Team
- Projects Team

General Business
Mihi Whakamutunga
Karakia Whakamutunga
Hui Closed

*Figure 6.4 Typical Agenda for Marae Committee hui*

The Executive administered four bank accounts for the marae: a general cheque account called the 'Marae Committee Account' for day-to-day transactions, a term deposit account, an 'Activities Account' for fundraising transactions, and the poukai cheque account. Two signatures were required for each cheque. The Treasurer was able to construct her own book-keeping procedures and was a cheque signatory. The Chairperson was the second cheque signatory. Although not a member of the Marae Executive, one of the Kaumatua, Whaea A, was a cheque signatory as well. When the 1998 Marae Executive was appointed, Whaea A asked to be released from her responsibility as cheque signatory and so the Chairperson and Treasurer became cheque signatories.

Prior to the 1998 Marae Executive elections, the Treasurer gave verbal reports of the Marae Committee's financial position. Invoices received every month, such as those for utilities, were discussed only if there was a sudden large increase. Other expenses

were fully explained. Although the marae had its own water supply (rain water collected in tanks), water was bought regularly from a local supplier to ensure adequate supply at hui. Other regular expenses included electricity, laundry costs for bed linen, rubbish collection, and lawn mowing. Irregular or infrequent expenses included annual subscription fees to community organisations, koha, administration, and repairs. Reports would also be provided for fundraising events whenever applicable, consisting of a simple 'cash in, less expenses, equals profit' equation.

The Secretary/Treasurer appointed in August 1998 introduced and distributed typed Treasurer's reports. The reports were headed 'summary of account balances' and listed each account, the account number, opening balances, total of the month's deposits (called income), total of the month's payments (called expenditure), with closing balances completing the summary for each account. Rather than speak to the summary, the Secretary/Treasurer would bring to the Marae Committee's attention, a folder of invoices and the cashbook she placed on the table. She encouraged people to look through them if they wished. A list of the invoices to be paid would be read aloud and a motion to pay the invoices would be seconded. In April 1999, Rangatahi E expressed a desire to see items of income and expenditure detailed in the summary so the Secretary/Treasurer referred to the cashbook on the table. The summaries retained the format outlined above until the resignation of the Secretary/Treasurer in October 1999.

Deposits were irregular and their source and purpose were always reported. The marae's largest source of income was the WRLT's marae grant. Interest received on the accounts was a negligible source of income. Most deposits were koha (donations) from whanau who held hui at the marae. The Marae Committee had for many years set a specific amount for the koha from whanau hui, calling it a 'hireage fee' to cover the utilities and linen costs incurred in holding a hui. Most whanau paid the fee willingly, some paid as much as they could of it, and rarely did whanau refuse to pay anything at all. Outside groups were advised of this amount if they asked but there was no fixed fee for koha from manuwhiri (visitors). Koha from manuwhiri was

considered to be a token of the regard and respect that they had for the marae. On one occasion, the koha from manuwhiri was not money but payment in kind. Rangatahi I was present at the August 1998 Marae Committee hui and spoke about a cultural performing arts group that had been established as a way of teaching at-risk teenagers about their cultural heritage (N122).[66] The group was booked to perform at the local primary school and had asked Rangatahi I if they could stay at the marae. Rangatahi I asked that the fee be waived in their case since they were on a fundraising expedition. This was agreed. In return, the group performed at the poukai two years later. On another occasion, the koha from a school comprised $1 for each person (JA158).[67]

Until 1999, the financial year was aligned to the standard tax year, from April to March. In April 1999, the Secretary/Treasurer decided that the financial year should run from June to May, in line with the time that the marae grant was distributed at the Koroneihana in May. This was made possible because the marae did not engage in income earning activity that required tax to be paid. Therefore, the Marae Committee did not require written authorisation from the Inland Revenue Department to change its financial year. The budget for general operating costs was set each year, with most of the income expected to come from fundraising and koha. Marae grants from WRLT were set aside for renovation projects.

Although the Secretary/Treasurer could conduct her secretarial duties independently, she required help for her Treasurer's duties, particularly with regard to reports to WRLT, budgets, the annual financial report, and accounting systems. She sought advice from the WRLT on what they wanted but reported that she found their response unco-operative and perplexing. She sought computer training in specific software from the Chairperson, who was employed as a tutor in such matters, to no avail. She relied heavily on the Assistant Secretary for support and advice, and she discussed matters with one or two people who regularly attended Marae Committee

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[66] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, August). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[67] Fieldnotes, primary school visit and budget. (1999, 19 July). Journal A/158.

hui. Of all the positions, the Treasurer position required specific technical knowledge. Unfortunately, the 1998 Secretary/Treasurer was unable to access the help she required from others. Nor did she form a small group to carry out the work collectively. An Assistant Treasurer was appointed late-1999, but she required training, a task assigned to the Secretary/Treasurer. The Secretary/Treasurer struggled with the position for 14 months before her resignation.

The committees and community representatives made their reports once the Treasurer's report was completed. *Figure 6.4* shows the different organisations and committees for which reports were made. Committee Reports were usually dealt with quickly, and any issues that people wanted to discuss in more detail were normally added to the list of General Business items. The 1997 Marae Executive made a determined effort to ease pressure on the reporters and to stabilise the duration of Marae Committee hui. To this end, the Marae Executive requested that the reporters be allowed to present their reports without interruption from those present.

General Business, the final item on the agenda, normally took up most of the time at hui. Although attempts were made to finish Marae Committee hui at 2 p.m., they could sometimes be drawn out until 5 p.m. because there was a great deal to discuss under the heading of 'General Business.' Once discussions were finished, the hui would be closed with a mihi and a karakia. Some of those present would then take responsibility for clearing away trestles and form chairs and locking up the hall.

Marae Committee hui could be surprising for the uninitiated. They followed neither a singularly cultural nor bureaucratic format. They tended more toward formal and public meetings but were punctuated with cultural practices. Their formal aspect was reinforced through the use of routinised formalities such as the Marae Executive presiding over the hui, the division of space with tables and form chairs, as well as set start times, agendas, minutes, and reports. Some procedures were noticeably in transit from informal to formal such as the transition from verbal to written reports, or the reference to koha as hireage fees. It was at Marae Committee hui that the need

for the Executive to be skilled administrators became apparent. Still, informal processes such as Executive members networking to gather to themselves, people with appropriate skills to help, or the way that correspondence was handled, were also noticeable.

### *General Proceedings for Other Management Groups*

In contrast to the Marae Executive, the processes used by other management groups were more informal than formal. The Fundraising Committee and Projects Team met at the home of one of its members as often as was needed to discuss relevant matters. At Marae Committee hui, Marae Committee members reported on their decisions and activities or action plans. This sometimes included options and their implications so that the Marae Committee could choose the preferred option, which then usually meant they had approval to act. They were expected to report on progress as the preferred action developed and some of the community members insisted on being a part of the decision-making throughout, voicing their opinions at Marae Committee hui. The Fundraising Committee and Projects Team usually took heed of Marae Committee opinion while carrying out tasks and often-times changed direction to suit Marae Committee preferences. The Education Support Team used the same process but met at the marae. The Caretaker was not part of a committee other than the Marae Committee but he kept regular contact with Marae Executive members, especially the Treasurer, and reported every month at Marae Committee hui.

Community Representatives attended the meetings of the group to which they were assigned. Nga Marae Toopu and the Tainui Maori Trust Board held their meetings every two months, Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa and Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa met monthly, and the Rangatahi Training Programme hui and Te Kauhanganui meetings were held quarterly. Te Tai Hauauru Management Committee was dormant most of the time but the Chairman contacted people from Te Papa-o-Rotu, and through them, let the Marae Committee know when a meeting was being held. All Community Representatives reported on their organisations' activities at Marae Committee hui

and, if necessary, sought the Marae Committee's opinion on which position to take on issues.

Other reports were often made at Marae Committee hui regarding organisations with whom people volunteered or had a personal interest. Some of the organisations included the Maori Wardens, the Safer Communities Council (a joint endeavour by the Police, social services and iwi groups to improve safety within Hamilton city), the Lake Cameron Care Group (formed to re-establish wetlands flora and fauna around the lake), Whatawhata primary school, and Rakaumanga School (a total immersion Maori language school in Huntly).

## Annual General Meetings

Annual General Meetings were the only settings that were required by statute. As with Marae Committee hui, Annual General Meetings could surprise the uninitiated. AGMs were not formal affairs as might be expected. There were similar to Marae Committee hui but with extra formal procedures. This section describes the 1999 AGM only. Since Trustees' elections were held at the December 1997 Annual General Meeting, and Marae Executive elections at the June 1998 AGM, the discussions relating to those meetings were reviewed more fully in the previous chapter.

### *The 1999 AGM*

The 1999 AGM was the first anniversary of the Marae Executive so it was the first AGM they had organised. Discussions about the AGM began at the June Marae Committee hui. The date for the AGM was set for 11 July. Committees and Teams were asked to prepare their budgets or the Marae Executive would allocate an expense threshold for them.

The Marae Executive drafted a notice that it placed in the *Waikato Times* and the marae's newsletter. The notice advertised the venue and date with the time set at "10 a.m. prompt" even though hui rarely started punctually. The notice announced that

nominations would be taken for the Assistant Chairperson and Assistant Treasurer positions, and asked that everyone, "bring a plate" (N10).[68] This was an unexpected request, more common for mainstream church or social gatherings. The Marae Committee did not provide meals for managerial meetings. Nor had it asked people to provide a meal for such meetings in previous years. The cashbook recorded a small amount spent on groceries for the day.

The AGM began at 10 a.m. and lasted for less than an hour. The AGM was followed by the Marae Committee hui for that month. I arrived at 11.30 a.m. after the Marae Committee hui had begun. The Marae Committee was, at that point, dealing with correspondence. The people present at the Marae Committee hui were also present at the AGM. However, there may have been others at the AGM who left when the Marae Committee hui started. There were 17 people at the Marae Committee hui, 10 of whom held management positions (*Table 6.7*). Apart from the remaining three members of the Marae Executive (Chairperson, Secretary/Treasurer and Assistant Secretary), the attendees included the new Assistant Chairperson and Assistant Treasurer, who were appointed at the AGM. The remaining five position holders included the Caretaker, two who were Trustees, three who were on the Education Support Team, and four who were on the Projects Team.

[68] "Bring a plate" is a colloquialism for taking along food for a shared meal. Draft notice of the 1999 AGM posted in the Waikato Times. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

*Table 6.7 People present at the Marae Committee hui, July 1999*

| | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Chairman/Projects Team Member |
| 2 | Assistant Chairperson |
| 3 | Secretary/Treasurer |
| 4 | Assistant Secretary |
| 5 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 6 | Caretaker |
| 7 | Trustee/Education Support Team Marae Representative/Projects Team Member |
| 8 | Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 9 | Education Support Team/Projects Team Co-ordinator |
| 10 | Trustee/Projects Team Member |
| 11 | Matua B |
| 12 | Whaea H |
| 13 | Pakeke C |
| 14 | Rangatahi I |
| 15 | Rangatahi W |
| 16 | Rangatahi AA |
| 17 | Rangatahi BS |

Of the 17 people, there was one Matua, two Whaea, one Pakeke, and 13 Rangatahi (*Table 6.8*). The majority (12) were women and four were men. Ten people lived in Whatawhata and six in Hamilton. Six were employed, five were tertiary students, two were retired, and one was unemployed. Overall, the general profile of the group at the Marae Committee hui and therefore, most likely at the AGM as well, was that of Rangatahi, of women, of Whatawhata residents, and of full-time employed or tertiary students.

*Table 6.8 Profile of people at the Marae Committee hui, July 1999*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 0 | 17 |
| 6% | 12% | 6% | 76% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 4 | 12 | | | 1 | 17 |
| 24% | 71% | | | 6% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 10 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| 59% | 35% | 0% | 0% | 6% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 6 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 17 |
| 35% | 6% | 29% | 12% | 18% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 1 | 8 | 8 | | 17 |
| 0% | 6% | 47% | 47% | | 100% |

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted. No Annual Report was tabled at the AGM but annual reports from the Education Support Team and Projects Team were tabled at the Marae Committee hui. Financial statements for the year, that is, the Income and Expenditure Statement and Balance Sheet, were not tabled either but the Treasurer had prepared reports of each bank account for the new financial year, from June 1998 to May 1999. She also presented a budget for the following year covering the usual domestic costs that the Marae Executive dealt with but excluding the projects that the Marae Committee had implemented. The Treasurer's reports reflected a simple knowledge of book-keeping and a genuine attempt to give a timely, informative report on the Marae Committee's financial position.

## Trustees' Administrative Regulations

The Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 charge Trustees with the three elements of bureaucratic authority that Weber (1946/1968, p. 66) set out as his first characteristic of modern officialdom. They had predetermined official duties, their conduct was governed by rules, and the Maori Land Court legitimated their appointments. There were eight regulated areas for Trustees (see *Table 6.9*).

*Table 6.9 Administrative regulations for Trustees*

| | MAORI RESERVATION REGULATIONS 1994 |
|---|---|
| **1** | Trustee powers and duties |
| **2** | Trustee appointments |
| **3** | Meetings |
| **4** | Activities authorisation |
| **5** | Charter |
| **6** | Records and accounts |
| **7** | Permanent notices |
| **8** | Complaints |

### *Regulations for Trustee Meetings*

According to the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, Trustees must convene their first meeting within 30 days of their appointment, when they must appoint a chairperson (s.17(a), 17(e)). Apart from this, Trustees can decide on the number and type of other positions to create. They can decide when and where to hold their meetings and for how long, unless the Maori Land Court directs that a particular meeting be held. They can, if they wish, publish a notice of ordinary meetings in the local district newspaper 14 days beforehand or display the notice at the reservation. The meetings were to be conducted in a manner in which the Chairperson directed and he or she had a deliberative and a casting vote. A quorum of half the number of Trustees was required at the meeting and decisions were made by a majority vote of the Trustees present. Proceedings for all Trustee meetings, including Annual General Meetings, had to be recorded in a Minute book. They could also call meetings in relation to the administration of the reservation, and appoint or employ advisers to help with administration.

Trustees were required to hold an annual meeting that was open to all beneficiaries, and to publish a notice 21 days beforehand (s.19(1)-(2)(a)). The meeting had to be chaired by a Trustee or their nominee and conducted in a manner directed by the Chairperson. Trustees were required to outline the state of the reservation including their own activities for the previous 12 months as well as report on proposals for the reservation's administration for the next 12 months, with those in attendance being given the opportunity to express their views. Trustees were not limited in the other matters they could address at the meeting and were not obliged to prepare or distribute written reports or material.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1998 Trustees appointed an Assistant Chairperson, Secretary and Assistant Secretary as well as the required Chairperson. Trustees at Te Papa-o-Rotu advertised their ordinary meetings at Marae Committee hui. They held separate meetings from Marae Committee hui and most of the regulations pertaining to Trustees were upheld in their own meetings. The community generally recognised that only the Trustees were required to be present and only they could vote on an issue. Although community members could attend if they wished, there were few community members at these meetings compared with Marae Committee hui. Apart from their inaugural meeting held during the 1997 AGM, the Trustees held four meetings to the end of 1999: in February 1998, April 1998, February 1999, and December 1999 (*Table 6.10*). The quorum of four Trustees was reached for all meetings.

The new Trustees held their second meeting in the prefabricated building at 9 a.m. on Sunday 22 February 1998 to discuss the portfolios and a charter for the marae. The prefab was a long building with large wooden framed windows at five foot intervals. The walls and floor inside were covered with rimu wood panels and there was a small, open-spaced wood panelled kitchenette at the southern end. The building was small compared to the meeting house and dining hall, and had a very intimate feel to it. One of the Whaea would wistfully recall her childhood in the days when the

prefab was her classroom, which would place the age of the prefab at around 55 years.

*Table 6.10 Trustees' meetings, number present, and agendas*

| MEETING | PRESENT | AGENDA |
|---|---|---|
| Feb-98 | 5 Trustees | Portfolios for Trustees |
| | 2 Management | Marae charter |
| | 2 Community | Trustee resignation |
| Apr-98 | 6 Trustees | Trustees role in marae management |
| | 6 Management | Portfolios |
| | 3 Community | |
| Feb-99 | 5 Trustees | Building renovation project |
| | 2 Projects Team | |
| | 2 Executive | |
| Dec-99 | 5 Trustees | Building renovation project |
| | 3 Projects Team | |
| | 2 Community | |

The Trustees had given notice of the meeting two weeks before at the Marae Committee hui. Five of the Trustees were at the meeting as well as the Marae Executive Assistant Chairperson, one other person who held a management position, and two people from the community. Two Trustees extended their apologies. A discussion about the charter quickly revealed that more information was required and they resolved to seek guidelines before continuing.

The Chairperson opened the meeting with a mihi and karakia, and the rest of the meeting was conducted in English. The Trustees decided that two of them should be associated with each portfolio so that they could share any commitments and ensure that a Trustee presence was maintained on each of the relevant committees. Two women, one of whom was already on the Education Support Team, chose the education portfolio. There was a lively conversation about the decision of a local high school to make te reo Maori (Maori language) a compulsory subject for third form/year nine Maori students. In an article in the *Waikato Times*, the school's new Principal had indicated that the marae was in support of the decision even though he

had had no communication with the marae on the matter. The school was the one to which most families in Whatawhata sent their teenagers. The two assigned Trustees agreed to talk with the Principal about his new policy and their concerns about including marae in statements to the media. The main issue for them was that only Maori students had been targeted and not the whole student body of third formers.

The Trustees supported the decision made at the wananga in November 1997 to create six portfolios. The portfolios were property maintenance, education, management, social, cultural, and community. Two of the Trustees were already on the newly formed Projects Team in their capacity as Marae Committee members and a third (who was absent from the meeting) was later to represent the Trustees on the Projects Team. The re-elected Trustees and the Kaumatua in attendance brought the new Trustees up-to-date with the existing conditions of buildings and reminded them of their responsibility to ensure safety for all marae users. Two Trustees were already on the Education Support Team as Marae Committee members and a third was chosen to represent Trustees on the Team. Although the Trustees did not specifically assign people to the community portfolio, they could be said to have been involved indirectly. One Trustee was on the paepae (public seat of elders), represented the marae on several community organisations, and was the Matua on the Education Support Team so he chose not to associate himself with any particular portfolio. However, his activities were such that he could be said to have been involved indirectly in the community portfolio. Another of the Trustees was also a Community Representative at the time and a third was to become a Community Representative the following year. Two of the Trustees (both men) chose the management portfolio and one of their first tasks was to investigate the possibility of Trustees taking on Marae Executive positions at the next AGM, when Executive appointments would be held.

Trustees were not assigned to the two remaining social and culture portfolios. The Trustees believed that the social portfolio would, by its very nature, inevitably be a very large portfolio and therefore suggested that it could be split into several separate

portfolios, each of which would relate to a particular issue. They decided to consider what they wanted to achieve during their term of office, then choose which pou (portfolios) to concentrate on. In the meantime, they would continue with their existing links to the other management groups. One of the new Trustees expressed a desire that the number of Trustees return to 12 because the number was important to Maori. There was no further explanation and no-one asked her to explain. However, those in attendance were no doubt aware of several precedents to support her claim. For instance, the Ringatu Church hold a ra (church hui) on the 12th of the month, the Executive Committee of Te Kauhanganui is called Tekau ma rua,[69] and of course, Te Papa-o-Rotu had always had 12 Trustees. Before closing with karakia, the Trustees decided to hold future meetings on the last Sunday of every month and to let the Maori Land Court know the result of the elections.

Plans for the Trustees to involve themselves more with the internal concerns of the Marae Committee were successfully implemented throughout the period of the study. It was never explicitly stated that Trustees should also be frequent attendees at Marae Committee hui so their participation in this regard remained low for many of the Trustees.

The third meeting of the Trustees was originally announced at the March 1998 Marae Committee hui and scheduled for the end of the month, but the Trustees rescheduled their meeting to April because a tangi (funeral) arrived at the marae on the proposed date. Fifteen people were in attendance: six Trustees, three Marae Executive members, and three others who held management positions. Three members of the community – spouses of some of those in management – were also present.

The Trustees were asked whether they would authorise credit accounts for the Marae Committee to use and decided against doing so. This was, however, an example of how the Marae Committee used the Trustees' legal status. They were also advised that the Projects Team had approached the Department of Internal Affairs for

[69] Tekau ma rua translated means 12.

information about government funding for marae renovations. They asked that a notice of the next AGM be added to the newsletter. The Secretary updated the Trustees about progress on their application with the Maori Land Court to confirm Trustee appointments. They decided that the Marae Committee was the appropriate group to call a hui to discuss whether the marae should change its legal title from Te Ture Whenua Act to Te Wherowhero Title. The association of Trustees with particular portfolios was confirmed and one of the Trustees suggested that a Finance Committee be established.

The main subject discussed was that of the roles, responsibilities and administrative duties of Trustees, the aim being to find some way of ensuring that they were involved in the administrative operations of the marae. They discussed whether the Trustees should merge with the Marae Executive. The reasons for doing so were three-fold: to cover more positions using the existing number of people involved in management, to reduce the amount of time spent in meetings, and to make Trustees directly accountable to the community through Marae Committee hui. Although the Trustees discussed the matter, they did not go as far as to decide to seek nomination for Marae Executive positions. An alternative option that was discussed was that the Trustees be given the authority to make appointments to Marae Executive positions. Some of the Trustees supported the idea that the Trustees should determine policy, with the Marae Committee taking responsibility for day-to-day domestic matters. There was no decision on how to proceed so the Chairman closed the meeting with a mihi and karakia.

The Projects Team requested a meeting with the Trustees and Marae Executive to confirm administrative processes for the Building Projects Plan and to authorise an application for government funding. The meeting was held in February 1999. The last meeting was arranged in December 1999 with four of the Trustees and the Projects Team in attendance, to settle a dispute within the Projects Team in relation to kitchen renovations.

### *Other Regulations and Practices*

Under the Maori Reservations Regulations, the Trustees' written authorisation was required if anyone wished to use any building; promote or hold hui, meetings, large gatherings, sports events, competitions, concerts; or use the reservation for any other activity or event. The only exception was tangihanga (funerals). Applications had to be made in writing and were to include the applicant's name and address, activity to be held, area of land and the buildings to be used, date and duration of the activity, number of people expected to attend, and the arrangements for admission to, and control of, the activity. Trustees could request more information if they wished and were then to meet to decide whether to grant or decline the application. They could issue permits in relation to any activity. They were not required to explain the reasons for their decision unless the Court directed that they should.

Te Papa-o-Rotu did not comply with this Regulation, choosing instead to authorise activities through the Marae Committee. Written requests were received only from groups who were not part of the community. A primary school once wanted to visit so they first made personal contact with someone they knew came from the marae and then wrote to the Marae Committee, not the Trustees. The letter was tabled at a Marae Committee hui, where there seemed to be an assumption that the school would be accommodated because discussions revolved around booking dates, organising Kaumatua and ringawera (organisers), and deciding on a menu rather than on approving the visit. The school was told through personal communication from their community member contact, followed by a short letter of reply from the Marae Committee. Requests to use the marae were never declined but bookings were prioritised with the poukai as the most important, then tangi. Administrative hui and meetings had the lowest priority so they were rescheduled or moved whenever there was a clash in bookings.

The Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 introduced the rule that Trustees were, in consultation with beneficiaries, to draw up a charter.[70] There was no date specified for completion of the charter. The following provisions for the charter were recommended although the beneficiaries decided on what the charter would actually contain: the name and general description of the marae, a list of beneficiaries, a process for nominating and selecting Trustees, the principles that Trustees would have regard for, an accountability process for Trustees, a conflict resolution process, recognition of existing committees (without delegating the office of Trustee), a process for Trustees to appoint committees for day-to day administration, procedures for altering the charter, provision for keeping and inspecting the charter, and any other provisions beneficiaries may require.

Te Papa-o-Rotu did not have a charter and did not draft one throughout the period of this study. A charter was discussed at the two wananga in 1997 and at two Trustees' meetings. A charter was also part of discussions regarding the building renovation project. One of the 1997 Marae Executive members continued to work intermittently on a charter after her term ended and intended to hold a wananga once she had something to present to the marae.

The Trustees were also required to keep separate, accurate, up-to-date records and accounts. They were required to maintain a separate bank account, authorise at least two signatories to operate the account, and produce their records to the Court if required. Any deeds or other instruments had to be authorised by a resolution of the Trustees and could be signed either by a majority of Trustees or by all of them. An instrument signed by a majority of Trustees bound them all (Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, s.15, 18). Te Papa-o-Rotu's Trustees did not conduct any activities that directly generated income so they did not have a Treasurer or any financial records. They kept records relating to their meetings, the few pieces of correspondence they received, and copies of the permits they issued for the

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[70] The term "beneficiaries" refers to the marae community stipulated in the *New Zealand Gazette.* In tTe Papa-o-Rotu's case, the beneficiaries are all of Ngati Mahanga.

consumption of alcohol on the marae. They did not issue any other types of permit, such as authorisation for using the marae.

Since the Trustee Committee was a legally constituted body, the Marae Committee approached the Trustees whenever official documents, such as applications for funding or credit, required signed authorisation. The Trustees then met to decide whether they would support the application and, in particular, the accompanying administrative processes that the Marae Committee would use. In 1998, the Marae Committee approached the Trustees with a request to sign applications for credit with local building supplies and food stores. Some of the Trustees were aware that the administrative processes for both the companies involved and the Marae Committee were inadequate and allowed for non-authorised people from the marae community to access the credit accounts. Therefore, the request did not gain support from the majority of Trustees. With regard to decision-making, the Trustees preferred to arrive at a consensus but would make decisions by majority vote if called upon to do so. In this case, the reasons for the objections were persuasive enough to raise doubt amongst supporters of the applications. Rather than the harsh finality of a written statement declining the request, the Trustees simply let members of the Marae Committee – especially the Executive – know that they did not agree with the request and why. Since there was no formal rejection, resubmitting another request at a later date remained a possibility. The Trustees were also approached when government funding was sought for building renovations in 1999 and this was the main subject of their last two meetings. They authorised the application for funding once they were satisfied that appropriate administrative procedures were in place.

Displaying permanent notices on reservation grounds was an option for Trustees, rather than a requirement. The Regulations suggested that the billboards or signs display the reservation name, Trustees' names and addresses, a statement that the Trustees were responsible for administering the reservation, a statement that any public activity must be authorised by the Trustees, details of the types of activity that

required authorisation, what was required to apply for authorisation, and the address to which applications for authorisation should be sent.

Te Papa-o-Rotu had a framed sheet of paper hanging on a kitchen wall which listed the names of the Trustees: that was the extent of their public notice. However, a large billboard appeared at the gate entrance early in 1999 (N127).[71] The billboard was a message to use car seatbelts and was written in both English and Maori. It looked very out of place on this rural marae. No-one knew who owned the billboard or who had given authorisation for it to be situated on the marae. One of the Whaea pointed it out at the next Marae Committee hui and said that the wording was incorrect (the wrong dialect) and wanted it changed. The Secretary managed to find the local government office responsible and after some debate with them, they agreed to change the wording but since there was a Kohanga Reo on marae grounds, they insisted that the billboard should stay. This incident revealed just how easily the authority of the Trustees and the Marae Committee could be ignored.

Any beneficiary could complain directly to the Court about administration of their reservation, with any complaints being subject to investigation. Any person who acted in contravention of the Act, Regulations or order of Court committed an offence and could be convicted of a fine of up to $10 (Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, s.21-23). The fine was so low that it seems the intention was to emphasise the threat of conviction rather than discourage through financial penalty. As Foucault stated, the threat of punishment helps in the enforcement and internalisation of particular moral values and codes of conduct (Smart, 1985, p. 24). This Regulation was not activated at Te Papa-o-Rotu during the period of this study.

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[71] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

## A Fusion of Traditional Hui and Modern Meetings

### *Hui Proceedings*

It is difficult to clearly determine tikanga (customs) and kawa (protocols) with regard to Marae Committee hui because the customs and procedures are based on individuals' understanding of, and adherence to, what they consider to be the usual practices at the hui. When defining the concept of culture, Harrison (2001) pointed out that, "although groups of people seem to share some common learned characteristics ('customary ways of thinking and acting'), each individual in the group demonstrates his or her individual ways of believing and behaving" (p. 75).

Traditional hui were usually conducted in the whare nui, where people sat or lay down on mattresses placed around the walls of the whare. Someone, usually a Matua, stood to herald the start by saying a mihi and a karakia, then opened discussions by explaining the kaupapa (purpose) and *take* (issues). The discussion circulated the meeting house by moving clockwise, starting from the first speaker closest to the door and moving further into the whare. Each person had an opportunity to stand and speak, and the discussions continued in this manner until the talking was over. One of the Matua closed the hui with a mihi and a karakia and there was a shared meal at the end of the hui. The principles of respect and courtesy underpinned the kawa (traditional protocol). This included such things as respect for elders, inclusive participation, open collective discussions, respect for the opinion of others, and community control by way of collective decision-making.

Marae Committee hui at Te Papa-o-Rotu were demonstrably different from the traditional type of hui. The traditional practices that persisted were the mihi and karakia, that people usually stood to speak, and that decisions were made by consensus. Most of the Marae Committee hui were held in the whare kai. At Te Papa-o-Rotu, both the whare nui and the whare kai are tipuna whare (ancestral houses). According to Matua A, this meant that hui could be held in either whare

(N169).[72] Marae Committee hui were controlled primarily by elected officials, the majority of whom were Rangatahi women. Although this contrasted with Kaumatua as the leadership, it did not conflict with the position or status of Kaumatua within the community. Marae Committee hui were run according to an agenda and were documented. They were conducted mostly in English as a way of ensuring that all community members were able to participate in deliberations and decision-making. Kaumatua spoke in te reo Maori when they discussed sensitive issues, recalled historical or traditional events, argued amongst themselves, or reprimanded people. In the absence of customs of respect and courtesy, people behaved in a self-restrained manner for most part, but there were occasional incidents of intense outspokenness.

At times, procedures that were normal in the sense of a meeting were unusual in terms of a hui. For example, whereas a vote is a normal procedure at meetings it clashes with the hui procedure of consensus decision-making, therefore votes are not called for. However, the use of a voting process has now become a possibility for the Marae Committee even if it was to happen in extraordinary situations only. The situation is reversed for meetings and conferences of Maori organisations where votes are the normal order of proceedings but unanimity is highly prized (Salmond, 1976/1985, p. 209), so decisions by vote over consensus decisions may be inevitable for Marae Committee hui as people return from such conferences and meetings to the marae. Salmond (1976/1985, p. 209) stated that committee procedures were bent or discarded so that anyone could voice their opinions. In other words, whenever underlying principles clashed, such as that which occurred between procedures for meetings and procedures for hui, it was the former that stalled and the latter that prevailed.

It was uncommon for hui and wananga to be called to discuss a single topic, although this did occur on rare occasions. Instead, a range of issues were tackled at each hui or wananga and they were, therefore, lengthy affairs. Hui lasted for most of the day and wananga continued late into the night. The scale of activity was impressive

[72] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

considering that, for most part, the work was carried out by a small number of people. Few children were taken to the hui. A Pakeke attending his first Marae Committee hui at Te Papa-o-Rotu commented on the quiet intensity of the hui (JA57).[73]

According to Salmond (1976/1985, pp. 208-209), such meetings only marginally qualified as hui - and only then because they used rituals of welcome. However, the way in which the terms 'hui' and 'meeting' were used interchangeably to describe Marae Committee hui indicated that the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae did not make such a distinction. Marae Committee hui were the glue that bonded the various management groups together and it was through these hui that management operations were defined and management direction was determined. The transition between traditional and modern practice was most evident in the way Marae Committee hui integrated formal meetings and administrative procedures, particularly those that Trustees were required to follow.

### *Decision-making Processes at Hui*

There was no formal signal that a decision had been made at hui. Instead, there was a confidence in shared, implicit understanding. One person would make a proposition, others would stand to support the proposition and perhaps suggest additional points, until a composite had built up and discussions seemed complete. Where there was disagreement on some aspect of a proposal, discussions would centre on how such disagreement could be resolved or, if there was vigorous disagreement, discussions would be abandoned. Once discussions were complete, the decision seemed to have been made. Where no discussion followed a proposal, this could, depending on context, mean either that it was being accepted without qualification or that it was being ignored. In the absence of procedural signposts such as motions or voting, it was difficult to determine whether those present had the same understanding of the agreements reached. Also, the set of actions and resource allocations that usually accompany a decision were rarely stated.

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[73] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1999, 9 May). Journal A/57.

Whenever a task was suggested at Marae Committee hui, it seemed to be taken for granted that the Marae Executive would action it. However, wananga were informal hui and not formal meetings. It followed from the informal nature of these wananga that instructions could not be directed at any person present who may also have held an official position at the marae. Therefore, there was a heavy reliance on voluntary support. Only where actions followed decisions was it possible to be reasonably sure that a particular decision had been made and was being supported.

### *Administrative Processes Evident at Hui*

In the early period of this study, administrative processes and procedures were rarely formalised in writing. Instead, there was a reliance on a shared understanding of procedures. This was most likely due to the relative stability of Marae Committee position holders, who would hold their positions or alternated between positions for a cumulative term that spanned many years. The situation slowly changed after the 1998 election of members of the Marae Executive, only one of whom had been on the Executive previously.

People had a high degree of independence and were able to exercise considerable initiative in carrying out their duties. Administrative procedures were either constructed by the person holding the position or, in many cases, re-formed around the person to suit their availability and level of technical expertise. Procedures could be altered dramatically or collapse altogether whenever there was a change of official. Systems of procedures were not seen as independent from the official so much as the set of necessary conditions that a person required to fulfil a role or number of roles adequately. Should a role no longer be required, its system of procedures would collapse with it, releasing resources that would be used elsewhere. For example, once the objectives for the Fundraising Committee were achieved, it disbanded or became dormant, and reactivated at a later time when the need arose, hence the creation of three separate Fundraising Committees between 1997 and 1999. Direct and public

accountability to the Marae Committee served as the only regulatory procedure but it was an extremely formidable one.

## Conclusion

A common feature in each of the three main decision-making settings was the principle of empowering community decision-making. This principle underpinned much of the community's preferred processes and meant that the community had the power to decide on, or approve, every aspect of marae management and administration, great or small. At times, seemingly innocuous administrative procedures were hotly debated. This was most evident in the procedures for managing the marae's finances, but also extended to the type and form of reporting, communication with external agencies, and resource allocation (both large and small).

Repetitious discussions, treating every issue as if approaching it for the first time, did have its positive qualities however. Although frustration may have grown for the people who had heard the same thing continuously over a long period of time, an issue may have captured the interest of people hearing it for the first time and they may have decided to stay with the Marae Committee for longer. In addition, the people were always moving forward together. Some of the problems that arose for the Education Support Team and Projects Team can be attributed to the lack of knowledge of those projects by the 1998 Marae Executive and others on the Marae Committee. No one ever repeated the goals and objectives of the projects once they were implemented and without that knowledge, confusion and obstructionism were apparent as well as a demonstrable lack of support. Both teams left the people behind so their job became much more difficult. Although cumbersome in practice, the principle of community decision-making was such a strong conviction amongst community members that tedium and repetitive practices were minor and tolerable issues.

Much of the information discussed at hui and wananga at the marae was derived from a variety of sources, some of which could be unreliable. These sources included personal opinions, speculations aired at other hui, and rumours. Reports from people attending various hui in the course of their jobs or community activities, friendly chats with people with foreknowledge because of their occupations, formal written documentation, written correspondence, whaikorero (formal speeches), and other formal announcements at hui such as poukai, were included as well. Anecdotes were a legitimate form of information dissemination in the oral traditions of the people. Although the discussions have been reported here in full, the accuracy of the information discussed was sometimes questionable. All sources were given equal credence initially and this invariably led to a fairly detailed picture of a particular issue, could highlight discrepancies and revealed incorrect information. The main point is that the marae took everything seriously, especially when it came to the iwi authorities, and this was a powerful influence on their planning and decision-making.

The administrative settings and processes described in this chapter were the Marae Committee's attempt to accommodate some of the bureaucratic procedures imposed on marae through state legislation, meet the demands from iwi authorities, and keep the community in control. The Trustees' administrative regulations were accommodated into community hui and wananga resulting in decisions to which Marae Committee members made a commitment. Hui procedures like karakia and mihi were incorporated into Annual General Meetings that retained the kawa of the marae. The solutions to tensions between traditional and modern processes indicated the dynamism of community decision-making and the evolution of cultural practices, always with the aim of maintaining community rangatiratanga.

# Chapter 7

## Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Management Planning

This chapter details the Marae Committee's development plans after the Tainui Maori Trust Board's claim for compensation from the Crown was settled in 1995. Settlement of the claim was expected to herald in a new era for the Tainui confederation of hapu (sub-tribes). Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Committee had worked on a management plan since 1995 on the recommendation of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, and planning sessions in wananga were initially forums for deciding on the marae community's level of involvement in some of the Trust Board's post-settlement development plans. As planning progressed, strategic directions for the marae were formulated. These not only included involvement in the Trust Board's development plans, but also planning that related specifically to marae development. All management and administrative activity was centred on the Marae Committee. The Marae Committee's operational processes were utilised for internal community purposes and therefore were not designed to accommodate the needs of external agencies. Many of the plans discussed in this chapter had not been implemented by the end of the research period. This was either because the Marae Committee lacked the time and/or resources required, or because changes in the membership of the Mare Committee delayed the implementation of plans.

Discussions at the 1996 wananga included the formation of a new tribal authority (eventually named *Te Kauhanganui*), the WRLT annual grant to marae (called a dividend at the time), the Tainui Maori Trust Board's benrol, and administration of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's education grants and scholarships (D628, D630).[74] The Marae Committee determined that its own primary development objectives would be upgrading the complex, improving the marae's management structure

[74] Marae Executive record of wananga held 22 - 24 March, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Marae Executive record of wananga held 7 - 9 June, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

(D629),[75] and the possibility of creating a register (or beneficiary roll) of people affiliated to the marae. There were also preliminary discussions about making the marae more relevant to the social, cultural and economic needs of its community. The planning phase was not completed before some of the plans were implemented from late 1997.

Development initiatives instigated at the marae were directly influenced by recommendations from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. The Board had asked the marae to develop a marae profile, a concept plan and development plan (D630).[76] This was a tall order for the small group of people comprising the Marae Committee at the time. The Trust Board was developing a strategic plan for the new tribal authority from 1996 and its requests for information about Tainui marae increased in volume. It appeared that the Board initially expected the marae to already have adequate formal financial and administrative systems in place to meet increasing demands for information.

### Plans for a New Tribal Authority

Seven different possibilities were mooted in relation to replacing the Tainui Maori Trust Board with a new organisation (Tainui Maori Trust Board, 1997). Four of these survived initial discussions within the iwi confederation (N170).[77] They all related to the extent of participation by the hapu who agreed to the Raupatu settlement, the fourth involving the most extensive hapu participation. The first of these was similar in structure to the Trust Board, comprising 15 members, each representing hapu within a geographical territory. The second option involved each of the 33 hapu in selecting a representative to sit on the Board of the new authority. The third option involved 61 representatives, one from each marae. The last option was that the new

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[75] Management structure charts from wananga held March 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[76] Marae Executive record of wananga held 7 - 9 June, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[77] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

authority should comprise 183 members, three representing each marae: a Kaumatua, a Rangatahi, and a marae representative.

Although a democratic election process was envisaged in the case of each of the four possible structures, it was unclear how this might operate in the case of the fourth option. The Trust Board favoured postal ballots for the election process. The main concern was how to give all people registered on the benrol an opportunity to vote for their representative(s). People who were not on the benrol had to register first before they could vote.

One of the rangatahi, Rangatahi H, proposed an election process that would incorporate all options in a tiered organisation structure (N113, N170).[78] Rather than one election to choose the members of the new authority, he proposed a three-stage election process that integrated each of the Trust Board's options in a bottom-up style similar to the process used in the case of Maori Councils. Each marae could choose three representatives (in line with the Trust Board's 183-member option). The marae would then choose one of these three to represent the marae at hapu level (in line with the 61-member option). Elections could take place at the marae's AGM. Marae representatives from the same hapu could then decide which of them would represent their hapu at the iwi level (with two others as supporters). This approach was in line with the 33-member option. One person could then become an official member of the new Runanga (in line with the 15-member option). The structure would have a triangular shape as it ascended from marae to hapu to iwi to Runanga (see *Figure 7.1*).

[78] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1997, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

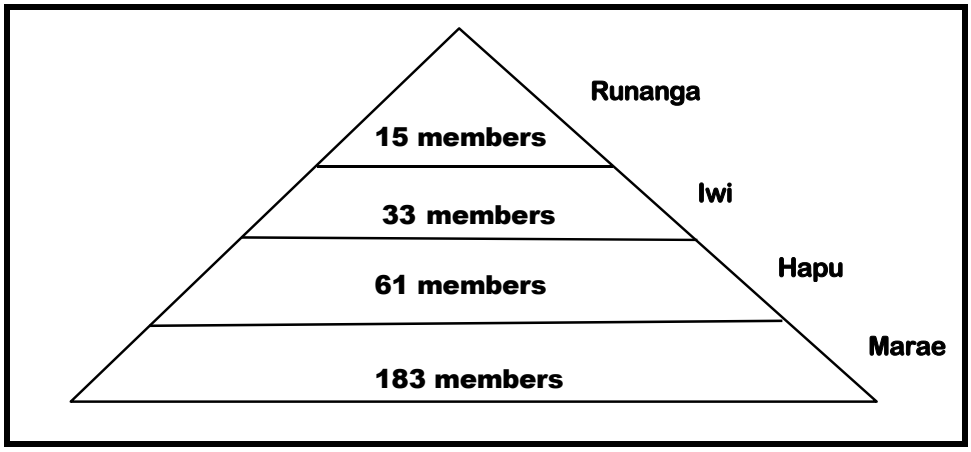


*Figure 7.1 Proposed alternative iwi authority structure*

Rangatahi H believed that the purpose of the new authority was to act as a watchdog for the companies. People on the authority would therefore need skills and knowledge of commercial practices. He felt all cultural decisions should be referred back to the marae.

Rangatahi at the wananga drew attention to several issues that had a direct bearing on the marae. At that stage, it was unclear who would look after distribution of settlement funds: the companies or the Runanga. The marae needed to be prepared for the possibility that the Runanga representative might not be from Te Papa-o-Rotu and therefore might not understand what the marae's aims and objectives. It could not be assumed that the Runanga would work with rangatahi groups and Nga Marae Toopu, the influential Kaumatua forum. Te Papa-o-Rotu, as the principal Ngati Mahanga marae, needed to know what its obligations would be.

Each of the proposed structures was problematic to the extent that the large number of people involved might actually inhibit decision-making as might the differing agendas of representatives from different marae. The proposal made by Rangatahi H was strongly supported at both the wananga and the Marae Committee hui. Kaumatua were particularly interested and asked him to prepare a paper outlining his suggestions and to present it at the next monthly meeting of the Trust Board. They

also offered to go with him as a support group. Although he did prepare a paper, he was unable to find a way of having it included on the Board's agenda and was, therefore, unable to secure a hearing for his recommendations. Te Papa-o-Rotu's Marae Committee was unaware that the Tainui Maori Trust Board had formed a Runanga Working Party to address such issues (1997).

## WRLT Grants to Marae

As mentioned in *Chapter 3*, WRLT was required to give part of its distributable income to the marae and the marae had to use the funds for charitable purposes that benefited its community (Tainui Maori Trust Board, 1995). Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Committee wanted to direct the marae grant towards initiatives that would help address the social, economic and cultural needs of the community, as well as towards establishing an efficient and effective means of processing Tainui Maori Trust Board demands. Initial suggestions during wananga held in 1996 included establishing an information and liaison service and a whare hauora (health clinic) base, creating employment opportunities, building relationships with relevant groups in health, welfare, education and resource management and providing resources in these areas should none exist, supporting individuals' schooling, and supporting relevant educational institutions (D628, D629).[79] The Tainui Maori Trust Board, on the other hand, recommended that the marae grants be used toward renovating marae buildings and improving administrative processes. These were also incorporated in the Marae Committee's plans. In spite of all of this, the annual grants were actually set aside for renovations, with the Marae Committee absorbing the cost of other plans.

## Tainui Maori Trust Board Beneficiary Roll

Early in 1997, members of the Marae Committee had become aware that the new iwi authority might be unable to use the Tainui Maori Trust Board's benrol without permission. That benrol was, therefore, under consideration at the September 1997

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[79] Marae Executive record of wananga held 22 - 24 March, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Management structure charts from wananga held March 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

wananga (N170).[80] The Trust Board was considering possible ways in which both the new iwi authority and marae could access the benrol and had pointed out to the Privacy Commissioner that since banks and government departments could share confidential information with their branches and regional offices, an iwi authority should be able to share information with its hapu. They were also considering asking beneficiaries for permission for marae to have a copy of their details at the same time. If, however, it proved impossible to find a way of sharing information about the Trust Board's benrol, marae would have to set up their own rolls without Trust Board help.

### *Marae Beneficiary Roll*

The possibility of introducing a register of people who belonged to Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was a regular topic at the 1996 wananga (D628).[81] Marae representatives had raised the idea of a beneficiary roll for each marae at the Trust Board's rangatahi training programme hui when they had expressed a particular interest in knowing whether the Board's own benrol could be used by marae. The Trust Board's position was that each marae would have to decide whether it wanted a benrol. Since there had been no intention of sharing information at the time that its benrol had been established, individuals had not been asked to authorise the use of their personal information by other organisations.

The value for the Marae Committee of a marae beneficiary roll was twofold: firstly, the information from the roll could help when making decisions about how best to use the marae grants received from the Trust Board and secondly, the roll could be used to canvass for people to help out at the marae. The kumara vine had also suggested that the Board might calculate grant dividends based on the number of beneficiaries registered for each marae. This was later to prove correct as the calculations included a base amount for each marae, a grant for being a poukai marae,

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[80] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.
[81] Marae Executive record of wananga held 22 - 24 March, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

and an equity share of a standard rate multiplied by the number of beneficiaries registered for each marae (D630),[82] as shown in *Table 7.1*.

*Table 7.1 Example of calculations for the marae grants*

| | **Example only** |
|---|---|
| Base amount for each marae | $ 2,000.00 |
| Grant for being a poukai marae | $ 2,000.00 |
| Equity share: 1,500 beneficiaries x $10 each | $15,000.00 |
| Total marae grant | $19,000.00 |

The possibility of establishing a marae beneficiary roll was a contentious issue. There were those who raised concerns about the 'formalisation' of one's sense of belonging (D628).[83] Furthermore, although it was possible for the same person to belong to several different marae, it was necessary for the purposes of the Tust Board's benrol that each person should register under one marae, the one he or she regarded as the principal one. The Marae Committee explored the possible advantages associated with establishing a benrol. These included the desire to know who they were accountable to regarding iwi grants for the marae, and using the register for employment, whakapapa (genealogy) and networking purposes. A 'beneficiary' was defined as any person who could whakapapa (show kinship) to the marae. A supplementary roll could be created for spouses and adopted children who could not whakapapa to the marae but were part of a beneficiary's whanau. There was much discussion but little decided about how best to cater for people who did not live locally. Since verifying registration was seen as verifying whakapapa, it was decided that Kaumatua should take responsibility for verification. Administering the roll was expected to be costly, especially in terms of maintaining an up-to-date record. It was suggested that the Development Committee be made responsible for it. At the

[82] Marae Executive record of wananga held 7 - 9 June, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[83] Marae Executive record of wananga held 22 - 24 March, 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

September 1997 wananga, the Marae Committee decided that the cost of administering a benrol was prohibitive and the idea was shelved (N170).[84]

## Marae Committee Development Plans for the Marae

Marae Committee development ideas for the marae concentrated on compartmentalising marae functions and operations. Those involved with the marae's on-going development showed a deep commitment and dedication to the marae's survival. There was also a strong commitment to developing marae operations further. The small group of people who attended the wananga between 1995 and 1997 defined the purpose of the marae as being, 'mo nga uri o Ngati Mahanga' (for the descendants of the Ngati Mahanga tribe), a phrase quoted from Maori Land Court transcripts of hearings with the owners of the land block who gifted the land for a marae (D502).[85] The main themes evident in the 1996 wananga that related specifically to the marae's management and administration were that of formalising management structures and processes, and planning for expansion into social development for the community. At the November 1997 wananga, two main goals were established, the first of which was to help restore, retain and maintain as much tikanga (traditional custom) as possible: as Matua A put it, "to service the purpose to the people" (N169).[86] He spoke about how the marae should always be here as a place to come home to, so it had to be maintained. The people at the wananga discussed stabilising the existing state of affairs before moving forward. They felt they needed to straighten things out so that future generations would not have to go back over the same issues they were going over. They discussed ways of ensuring that everything was there for people who came in, that is, that the marae's facilities were maintained at an operational standard so that they could awhi (take care of) whanau and manuwhiri.

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[84] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.
[85] Tri-annual report of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae. (1997, December). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[86] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

The second goal was the development of the Marae Committee's capabilities to enhance the social wellbeing of their people. In relation to this, consideration was given to ways of attracting their own people back to the marae. The management structure charts compiled in 1996 indicate that the creation of a new Development Committee to work alongside the Marae Committee was being planned (D629).[87] This idea was a direct imitation of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's plans to develop two arms of operation: one responsible for commercial activity, and the other for tribal community activity. The Marae Committee translated these as the Development Committee and Marae Committee respectively. The Development Committee was to be made responsible to the Marae Executive. The committee's purpose was to meet the needs of the marae's beneficiaries. The community's use of the term 'beneficiary' could be confusing. There were two different ways in which the term was used: to refer to all of the people affiliated to the marae, and to refer to the people affiliated to the marae who were also registered on the Trust Board's benrol stating that Te Papa-o-Rotu was their principal marae.

The management structure charts were updated and presented at the September 1997 wananga in preparation for government funding applications (D652).[88] Two primary areas of operation were identified as kaitiakitanga (custodianship) and whanaungatanga (community relations). Kaitiakitanga operations were divided into property (land, facilities, equipment, and development in terms of maintenance and utilisation); and cultural custodianship (environment, history, whakapapa, tikanga, reo, wairuatanga, arts, taonga). Whanaungatanga was divided into internal relations (kaumatua, pakeke, rangatahi, tamariki, whanau, ringawera, Marae Committee, Trustees); external relations (hapu, iwi, Maori, general community); and community liaison (education, information, and public relations in terms of networking, advocacy and fundraising).

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[87] Management structure charts from wananga held March 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[88] Management structure charts presented at September 1997 wananga. (1997, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

The Development Committee's areas of responsibility were expected to be community services and commercial properties. Community services would cover health, welfare, education, and resource management. Commercial properties would comprise land purchases and business investments. Members were interested in all levels of formal education, from pre-school to tertiary. Informal education concentrated on tikanga and wananga in terms of in-service training, and government funded community education programmes in life skills and parenting skills. Included under the subject of education were plans for information and advisory services in the areas of housing, law, welfare, and justice. Liaison with the Citizens Advice Bureau, the establishment of a Centre for young mothers, fundraising for sports clubs, and funding for existing voluntary workers in the community were also included. Members also gave consideration to the provision of financial support, transport, whanau support, material resources, and skills. Education seemed to be an area they were willing to invest in financially. They saw education as a resource, that is, high educational attainment not only benefited the tamariki (children), but also the iwi more generally. It was hoped that more people would come home and be a resource for their people.

Involvement in the health sector was viewed in terms of government funded initiatives. They were considering the possibility of establishing a whare hauora that would benefit tamariki and kaumatua in particular. A whare hakinahakina (health and fitness centre) was also mooted. Health education was included in terms of training community members to be medical staff, and offering a health education service. Liaison was in the form of becoming an agent for the St John's Ambulance Service.

Plans for the Development Committee were at an early stage and did not progress beyond this. A Development Committee was never actually created. However, the plans show the community's interests and concerns at the time. For instance, their interest in resource management included kaitiakitanga of the rivers, mountains, waahi tapu (sacred sites), and fisheries; relations with the government; traditional

knowledge about conservation; and networking within the region. Such interests were actively pursued by individuals at the marae.

### *Management Structure Review*

A fundamental structural change was planned for the Marae Committee. The structure charts developed in 1996 show a hierarchy with the Trustees at the apex, the Marae Executive subordinate to them, and the Marae Committee subordinate to the Marae Executive (D629).[89] This indicated a shift in authority, from the Marae Committee to the Trustees. There was a suggestion that the Marae Committee be primarily responsible for the maintenance and development of the facilities; community functions; community representation on local hapu, iwi and Maori organisations; and for fundraising. The Marae Executive were to be responsible for administering the raupatu settlement fund and any other income. These plans included a change to fundraising activity, with the Marae Executive taking primary responsibility and direct control.

The marae organisation charts were a mix of authority, function and duty lists, with the emphasis being on authority and the need to have authoritative figureheads at every level. There was a preoccupation with detail. They seemed to grapple with a need to have direct control over that detail. Small ringawera and administration issues occupied much of the Marae Committee's time.

Members of the Marae Committee were planning to expand activities. Their aim was to become involved with more community organisations, such as the Maori District Council and the Ngati Mahanga Trust (an organisation being mooted at the time). Another intention was to create a formal group for rangatahi and tamariki. They also proposed to create section head positions for each main area: groundskeeping, facilities maintenance, the kitchen, and the whare nui (meeting house). Some of the Marae Committee members could become community workers who would liaise with

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[89] Management structure charts from wananga held March 1996. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

the Department of Justice and the section heads, then plan and supervise any work projects. Whereas section heads could be selected at any time, marae representatives were to be chosen at Annual General Meetings. Each section head and marae representative was expected to report to the Marae Executive rather than the Marae Committee. In spite of these stated intentions, almost all of the work for the section areas later became part of the Caretaker's job description.

**Legal Entity and Charitable Trust Status**

Although the land upon which Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae sat had legal entity status as a Maori reservation, and, as such, meant that the marae had Trustees, there were no other legal entities associated with the marae. At the September 1997 wananga, a lack of a legal entity recognisable to funding providers was seen as the main threat to the success of funding applications since the agencies contacted did not understand or recognise Maori land trust entity status (N170).[90] The only exception was the Lotteries Grants Board, a statutory body that distributed part of the profits from the sale of national lottery tickets to (amongst other things) community development projects. So, in order to become eligible to apply for community funding from these organisations, Te Papa-o-Rotu considered creating an incorporated charitable trust.

The Marae Committee had investigated this issue several times in the past and had always reached a point of contention that it could not overcome. Members of the Marae Committee believed that when a charitable trust wound up, its assets had to be given to another charitable trust. The Marae Committee would not jeopardise ownership of the marae's land and facilities, but would consider changing its legal entity status to charitable trust status if this issue could be resolved. The Marae Committee discussed charitable trust status in terms of a replacement entity status to its reservation status. This was an extremely difficult direction to take given the complexity of land trusts. In fact, the Charitable Trust Act states that assets of a

[90] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

charitable trust are to be disbursed as the Supreme Court directs (Charitable Trust Act 1957, s.27).

An alternative consideration was to create an incorporated charitable trust that would be a part of the marae's management structure, but have its own legal entity status. The assets of this new organisation would not include pre-existing marae assets. If wound up, the Court could be petitioned to give the surplus assets to the Marae Trustees of the land trust and, given that marae reservations were created for charitable purposes, it seemed likely that such a petition would be given favourable consideration. However, it was decided at the November 1997 wananga to put the notion of obtaining charitable trust status or creating a charitable trust on hold until after the Charter was drafted and had been operating for 12 months (N169).[91] As far as funding was concerned, Matua B suggested that iwi level organisations, such as the Tainui Maori Trust Board or Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa, could be approached to see if they would serve as umbrella organisations.

**Marae Charter**

When people became aware that the Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 required marae to have a Charter, the design of one for Te Papa-o-Rotu became an ongoing topic of discussion. This issue was discussed separately by both the Marae Committee and the 1998 Trustee Committee. It was decided at the November 1997 wananga to contact a lawyer from Ngati Mahanga to help draft the Charter (N169).[92] One of the objectives for the first six months after the 1997 AGM was to draft a Charter, a second objective being to review that draft Charter after twelve months. However, at their meeting in February 1998 (N162),[93] the Trustees decided to seek guidelines before discussing the matter further. They were not to return to this issue during the period of the study, although Rangatahi C continued to develop a draft Charter. In September 1998, she requested that a hui be organised to discuss issues

[91] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.
[92] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.
[93] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Trustees meeting. (1998, 22 February).

relating to the drafting (N123).[94] That hui was not convened. Nevertheless, in October 1999, she advised that the draft Charter was complete and requested that a hui be organised to discuss it (N134).[95]

### *Marae Renovation Plans*

Maintaining the marae complex was the primary development priority during the period of this study. This was considered to be a critical aspect of the community's ability as kaitiaki to uphold its mana in providing hospitality and continuity. Present generations are responsible for making sure that the marae is still there for their children and grandchildren to use. Therefore, should the community be unable to maintain the marae effectively, this would constitute a major problem. Reducing the gap between what is considered ideal and what is possible at any point in time is a major preoccupation. It is, after all, one of the primary areas of responsibility of a marae community. Closing this gap was, and is, the only long-term development project at the marae and is one to which generation after generation commit. Since "rangatiratanga (customary authority) is the necessary over-arching framework within which kaitiakitanga operates " (Kawharu, 2001, p. 9), maintaining the complex is an expression of rangatiratanga. The significance of maintaining the marae complex cannot be underestimated and it is the single most popular reason why people return to the marae to help. This explains why the number of people who attended the Marae Committee hui in February 1999 was higher than at any other Marae Committee hui. It was at this hui that renovation plans were presented. Marae renovation projects are therefore a powerful drawing card.

Planning for marae renovations accelerated sharply in 1997, when funding avenues for renovation projects were explored. In August 1997, the Marae Committee determined that its first priority was to renovate the kitchen and dining hall (N92).[96] The group who attended the September 1997 wananga split into workshops to assess

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[94] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[95] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[96] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1997, August).

the maintenance needs for different sections of the complex.[97] When everyone returned to the dining hall from their respective sites on the complex, each group aired their ideas, which were then discussed by all.

Three women who were ringawera with practical knowledge of what was required, made up the workshop group responsible for planning kitchen renovations (N170).[98] Taking into account hygiene regulations, cultural protocols (such as separate facilities for different activities) and existing safety issues (relating to overcrowding in the kitchen), they drew up a layout sketch plan for what they considered to be the ideal kitchen for the marae. This plan played a critical role in the final design process.

A second group assessed the needs for the piruru and landscaping. They found that the piruru rooftops needed repairing, that more weather protection (such as, for example, rollup awnings) was needed, that a designated car park was required, as was a play area away from the marae atea. Furthermore, a system for draining surface water from the lawn area needed to be installed and the lighting needed improving although the power box was inadequate to service existing lighting and the water pump. The fences needed to be straightened so that they lined up with the land survey pegs. In fact, it was thought that the marae was encroaching on neighbouring land and that, therefore, it might be necessary for the Trustees to negotiate to buy that area of land.

There was some confusion about where the survey pegs were, and whether the marae had a right-of-way access. An early sketch plan of the marae, shown in Appendix B, indicates that the marae had an access route to the road. However, the neighbour who owned the property immediately in front of the marae explained that, according to her title, the right-of-way was a part of her property. She gave her permission for the marae to plan any landscaping on her property. Matua A said the marae could not

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[97] The exceptions were the whare nui - which required a formal and traditional process - and the Kohanga Reo building - which was managed separately from the rest of the marae.
[98] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

gamble beneficiary money on the hope that one day the marae would own the land (N170).[99] Therefore, serious consideration had to be given to gaining legal possession of that portion of the neighbour's land that the marae already used.

The third group looked at the whare nui. Eating in the whare nui had been a practice in the past. However, a 'no kai (food) in the whare nui' rule had recently become part of the kawa (etiquette) of the marae. The whare nui planning group reitereated this rule. They also noted that the windows needed to be replaced. a metre box housed in the whare also needed to be replaced (or perhaps moved to the dining hall) and some of the windows required replacing. Concrete on the mahau (porch) was chipped, the spouting needed repairing, a grill needed to be placed on a hole at the back of the whare and the doors needed repairing. A covered walkway to the ablution block that could double as access for disabled people, and a 'kapok' room somewhere close to store mattresses and linen, were also considered.

The fourth group assessed the ablution block, which housed the water pump. This group suggested that the block be demolished and a new expanded block be built that included a small Caretaker's room and a store room. The women's side was to have four showers, four toilets, one mirrored wall, hand basins underneath mirrors, seating, and sanitary care. The men's side was to have three showers, three toilets, bowl-type urinals, and a changing area. A bathroom for disabled people was to be located between the men and women's sides. All areas were to have wall hangers, non-slip flooring, non-slip dry mats outside each shower, ventilation, and heating. Showers were to be installed that allowed for easy and direct access from the entrance door. They were to be lined with wetboard rather than have exposed, bare concrete block walls. In addition, a channel was to run along the bottom of the wall (relating to condensation and drainage), and a cleaning hose was to be installed.

Other suggestions included installing timed lighting inside the block and sensor lighting outside (towards the meeting house) and installing a safety lid on the septic

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[99] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

tank and spouting directly to it. Also mooted were the inclusion of a laundry room with coin-operated washing machines, dryers and irons, and finding a way for the ablution block to service both the dining hall and meeting house. It was also suggested that the shower and changing areas could be combined (if necessary) and that a kapok store room could be added (rather than being located adjacent to the meeting house). The idea of having another storeroom for dining tables and chairs was quickly discarded because it was felt to be culturally inappropriate to locate food-related items so close to the ablutions block.

Whaea A suggested that the proposed new ablution block be added to the back of the meeting house. She made this suggestion because she had seen such an arrangement at another marae in the Waikato, where it had been particularly useful for Kaumatua Her suggestion brought a quick, disparaging response from Matua B, who said that it was not the Waikato way. He also did not like the idea of placing the block between the meeting house and dining hall because he felt it would detract attention from those two. Furthermore, any future extensions would be difficult to action.

The septic water tank was no longer used except in a fire emergency because it was unhealthy and its use had been cut off. General discussions turned to the installation of a water bore. Whaea A had spoken to a company to discuss the cost, which included the filter, housing and pump. Discussion then turned to the possibility of using a store room off the dining hall as a conference room. This could, if necessary, double as a playroom or Te Arikinui's private conference room when necessary. Photographs of previous Executive members could be hung on the walls. The room could have concertina doors, be carpeted, have heating and a television.

Somewhere to store tables and chairs was needed. Such a storage facility could be located adjacent to the dining hall or in the space between the stage and the toilets. The second possibility met with immediate resistance for the same reason as had the earlier suggestion that they could be stored in the ablution block. Double doors needed replacing and the back door needed fixing, leaks in the roof needed repairing,

and disabled people needed better access to the hall. The idea was mooted for the front door being closed off and an access way created near the conference room.

The prefab was used for storage but could be partitioned for an administration office area with a covered verandah and automatic lighting outside. It could be moved forward in line with the dining room doors, which would also allow a few more carparks at the back. The space between the dining hall and prefab could be concreted. A storeroom for dining table and chairs could be added at the end closest to the dining hall. Toilets could be installed at the farthest end (closest to the front of the property) for manuwhiri and office staff. The floor and roof needed repairing and the building required painting. Someone thought that buying a new building might be more cost-effective.

Information drawn from these workshops and discussions was to become the foundation for a strategic development plan. Since I had offered at the August Marae Committee hui to seek funding for such a project to renovate the marae, I gave a presentation relating to the ways in which the processes might be implemented. Flowcharts were used to explain the likely processes for project co-ordination, construction, and fundraising (D631).[100] The recommended option was that a sub-committee of the Marae Committee be formed to co-ordinate the project. Included in that option was to commission a building project management company to plan, design and implement construction; and that the provision of supplies, skills, finance, and other resources be sought from a range of sources. Such resources could be sought from the marae community, hapu, iwi, external agencies, and sponsors. An alternative was to increase the marae's contribution, such as providing finance as well as planning and designing the renovations, with corresponding decreased contributions from other stakeholders.

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[100] Facilities Maintenance Project plan submitted at September 1997 wananga. (1997, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

The renovation project was then considered in terms of a S.W.O.T. (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis. Included among the perceived strengths were: the preservation of a cultural icon; greater capacity and flexibility of use; capacity to meet minimum safety standards; expansion of access for people with disabilities; possibilities for use as a pilot study by other marae. Among the perceived weaknesses were lack of adequate internal financial resources and dependence on external funding sources, the fact that there was no whanau skills and resources inventory, and the absence of a long-term maintenance strategy. Among the opportunities that the project offered were: employment for whanau, the development of a long term relationship with the building industry, the creation of an information-sharing network with other marae in the region, the establishment of a business unit to fund future maintenance, and the strengthening of marae-whanau connections through increased use of the marae. The only perceived threat to the project was that the marae did not have a legal entity status that most funding organisations recognised.

Funding organisations' expectations were outlined and two main threats to gaining funding were identified: a lack of a recognised legal entity status (which prevented the marae from accessing large funding grants and sponsorship) and the lack of a long term strategy for funding future maintenance. With regard to the latter, some ideas mooted included the establishment of a small business venture, a marae information-sharing network, and a register of contractors recommended by other marae. The marae's management and administration systems were perceived as weak in that, although they might be perfectly adequate for day-to-day activities, they would require strengthening in order to deal with the demands of a project such as this one. Funding was discussed and concern was expressed about the possible implications of seeking funding from the Historic Places Trust. Securing such funding might lead to the marae being designated as public domain under a heritage order. The possibility that the marae could become a tourist attraction was seen as a threat rather than an opportunity. The project itself would comprise construction, maintenance, and landscaping, and would be co-ordinated by a project team. Renovating the kitchen

area was to be the first phase of the project. Plans from all the workshops were documented, collated, then reported on at the September Marae Committee hui and a call was made for people to form a team to implement the plans (N113).[101]

The objectives for the team were approved at the October Marae Committee hui and the call for team members was repeated (N114).[102] It was decided to hire a project manager rather than attempt to implement the construction plans directly because it was felt that the workload involved would be too great to be borne by members of the Marae Committee. The Marae Committee also approved a set of objectives for the project manager. These were primarily concerned with quality control. However, they also included ensuring that the renovations were appropriate in relation to the rural and socio-economic environment within which the marae was located.

Financial information for the project was more fully discussed at the November 1997 wananga (N169).[103] Legal entity status, tax status, marae grants, and the marae Charter were all relevant topics under discussion. Funding for the renovation plans was expected to be derived from the annual marae grants, fundraising, and any applicable government funding. All annual marae grants received since 1995 had been put aside in preparation for the renovations. The search for government funding began immediately and a team of four women established a Fundraising Committee in March 1998 to raise funds for the kitchen project (N118).[104] Two of the women on the Fundraising Committee had also been responsible for the initial design plan at the wananga in September 1997. Discussion of marae grants and the marae's budget for the project continued throughout the renovation phase. The information was later compiled into a Planning Report submitted as part of an application for funding to the Lotteries Grants Board (N82).[105] This application was successful and, after a false

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[101] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1997, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[102] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1997, October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[103] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.
[104] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[105] Marae Committee to Lotteries Grants Board. Facilities Maintenance Project Planning Report. (n.d.). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

start in 1998, the first phase of the project – kitchen renovations – was implemented in late-1999.

### Tainui Maori Trust Board - Marae Collaboration

The Tainui Maori Trust Board offered a range of education grants and scholarships to tribe members who were tertiary students, from certificate to postgraduate level. Students had to be registered on the Tainui Maori Trust Board benrol and enrolled in a course of study at a tertiary institution that was recognised by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority or a comparable institution overseas. Until the early 1990s, the Tainui Maori Trust Board divided its annual pool for grants between all applicants, increasing the amount of the grant at each educational level. As the number of applicants increased, the grant values decreased to the point where they represented only a nominal contribution toward tertiary study, so culling criteria were introduced. Discussions at Te Papa-o-Rotu about the changes first appear in the 1995 Minutes of the Marae Committee hui and were discussed at wananga from that year on. The number of awards was fixed for some scholarships, and grant values were raised and set. The practice of requiring candidates to write an essay to accompany their application was introduced in 1995 and, by 1998, applications required support from marae. Although there were several grants and scholarships offered, the ones that are mentioned here are those that had some aspect of marae involvement in their criteria.

The Trust Board had heard several Kaumatua say during Koroneihana presentations that some of the grant recipients were not known to their marae. For this reason, they decided to introduce an essay question about the marae in applications for first-time applicants (N51).[106] However, instead of making contact with their marae, Trust Board members found that applicants tended to consult whanau or conduct literature reviews. Therefore, at its Annual General meeting on 3 October 1997, the Tainui Maori Trust Board announced that marae would be involved in processing

[106] Letter from Marae Committee to tertiary students advising of a consultation hui. (1997, 24 October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

applications for education grants and scholarships. The details were explained by members of the Trust Board, its Scholarships Committee, and WRLT Education staff at a meeting a few days later (D651).[107] The Trust Board hoped that marae involvement in the application process would ensure that applicants were able to connect with their marae communities in some way (N51).[108] Marae were formally advised of the decision later that month, when an information package was sent to each of them (D536).[109] However, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Committee had been receiving reports from its members since August and had already started to prepare. The Marae Committee wanted to support members of its community by having something in place by the closing date for applications in March 1998.

### *Marae Committee Hui August 1997: Initial Planning*

The August 1997 Marae Committee hui was held in the dining hall. The top table was placed in front of the stage for the Assistant Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer. The Treasurer had a whiteboard and easel standing next to the Executive table, upon which the day's agenda items were listed. Rows of form chairs were arranged in front of the top table with an aisle through the middle of the rows. The large hall was otherwise completely empty. The hui started at around 10.30 a.m. once enough people had arrived. The Assistant Chairperson asked if someone would open the hui and the Trustee opened with a mihi and karakia. A hard-bound exercise book circulated the room so that people could enter their names and contact details, and the information was used in the Minutes to list the people present at the hui.

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[107] Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust panui and agenda, Graduates Scholarships Information Evening, Waikato University, Hamilton. (1998, 6 October).
[108] Letter from Marae Committee to tertiary students advising of a consultation hui. (1997, 24 October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[109] WRLT to Marae Committee. Marae involvement in Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust 1998 education distribution process. Guidelines, timetable, questionnaire and declaration. (1997, 17 November.) Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

*Table 7.2 People in attendance at the August 1997 Marae Committee hui*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Assistant Chairperson |
| 2 | Secretary |
| 3 | Treasurer/Rangatahi Training Programme |
| 4 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 5 | Tainui Maori Trust Board member |
| 6 | Nga Marae Toopu representative |
| 7 | Trustee/Rangatahi Training Programme |
| 8 | Whaea B |
| 9 | Rangatahi E |
| 10 | Rangatahi F |
| 11 | Rangatahi H |
| 12 | Rangatahi J |

The Assistant Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer sat at the top table and the Assistant Treasurer sat with the assembly. Also in attendance was the Tainui Maori Trust Board member, one of the representatives on Nga Marae Toopu, and one of the Trustees (see *Table 7.2*). The Trustee was also a representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board Rangatahi Training Programme. Five people from the community who did not hold any management positions were there as well, and a Master's student in cultural anthropology from Holland was a guest at the hui. She was researching papakainga (private settlements).

Apologies were called for and the names of two Trustees were tabled. The Assistant Chairperson asked for a motion that the apologies be accepted. The motion was moved by one person, seconded by another and then assumed to be carried.

The Secretary stood and read out the Minutes for the last two meetings. Both meetings were held in May and there had not been a meeting since then. At the first

May meeting the Tainui Maori Trust Board notified the marae that they had been approached to purchase some of the Whatawhata Primary School land. Kaumatua nominated three people from among them to pick up the WRLT marae grant at the Koroneihana presentations before one accepted. The Treasurer gave notice of her intention to resign so another Treasurer was appointed. The new Treasurer asked that the changeover be interim until the next AGM. An Assistant Treasurer was also appointed. The Assistant Chairperson was approved as the third cheque signatory. Nga Marae Toopu sent a koha to the Koroneihana and the Marae Committee wanted Nga Marae Toopu to send a statement of accounts to subscribed marae. Nga Mana Toopu was still finding its way regarding their organisational structure. The representative on the Rangatahi training programme reported that seven options had been proposed for the new tribal Runanga structure. The Marae Committee considered producing an eighth option to address concerns about equity between Kaumatua and Rangatahi, men and women. The Tainui Maori Trust Board member reported on the tribal members receiving grants and scholarships. He noticed in their essays that there was still confusion about Te Papa-o-Rotu and Te Oneparepare. He asked for photos of former Board members for the Board's 50th anniversary celebration. It was suggested in General Business that elections for both the Marae Executive and Trustees be held on the same date and a hui for the Trustees be held to familiarise them with their statutory duties. One of the Whaea was looking into Lotteries Grants Board funding for a grant to upgrade the marae. The Marae Committee approved a motion to have the marae land surveyed. Te Puni Kokiri had approached the marae to participate in their needs survey and permission was given to complete the questionnaire. A housie held at the marae was declared unauthorised and inappropriate because it was held on marae grounds with manuwhiri who did not have a powhiri (formal welcome). A request was made to set up a charter. It was announced that some scaffolding was missing. A complaint was made about the procedures for paying for alcoholic drinks at the end-of-day party at the poukai.

The second meeting in May was much shorter and only the representative on Nga Mana Toopu made a report. A letter was to be sent to Te Tai Hauauru asking them to

call a meeting regarding resource consent applications. It was uncertain whether Te Tai Hauauru was still handling these applications on behalf of Ngati Mahanga. Permission was sought for fundraising projects. There was some discussion about whakapapa. One Rangatahi spoke of the need for strategic planning for the marae and the Executive explained that a working party had been formed.

A motion for the Minutes of the two meetings to be accepted as true and correct was passed. Two people at the hui offered to help the Secretary type and copy the Minutes. Matters arising from the Minutes were discussed at some length because people gave an update on the issues raised.

Correspondence was the next item on the agenda. The WRLT wanted an account of how the marae grant had been spent submitted by April 1998 and had attached a copy of the deed that beneficiary marae had signed. A copy of Nga Marae Toopu's kaupapa (charter) had been received and Te Puni Kokiri had thanked the marae for participating in the needs survey. The Assistant Chairperson asked for a motion that the correspondence be accepted.

Next, the Treasurer reported on the Marae Committee's financial position. The report was presented verbally, summarising the end-of-month bank balances for each of the accounts. A list of invoices to pay was read out. This included invoices that had already been paid between meetings but needed the Marae Committee's retrospective approval. There were discussions on the length of terms for investments, taxes, credit accounts, and clarification over details of invoices.

The marae delegate on Nga Mana Toopu tabled a written report explaining who was in the mana whenua group and what they did. Nga Mana Toopu was willing to process resource consent applications from outside Hamilton city so, after some discussion, the Marae Committee decided to pass any applications received over to them. If the arrangement became permanent, then the Marae Committee would write to Te Tai Hauauru letting them know. The matter had become urgent because house

building in the region had increased and more resource consent applications to the Waikato District Council were being made. Up to that time, the Tainui Maori Trust Board member processed the applications because Te Tai Hauauru was in recess. There was some discussion about why Te Tai Hauauru was established and who was represented.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board had met mid-July and the Board member gave a report on the latest issues. There were 2,301 Ngati Mahanga beneficiaries on the roll, the bulk of whom came from Te Papa-o-Rotu, Omaero and Te Kaharoa marae. The Trust Board's AGM was due to be held in October and written reports for the Maori Development Corporation, Tainui Development Limited and Tainui Corporation Limited would be tabled. The three companies had already held their AGM's and one of the Rangatahi was asked to give his views on their performance. He discussed all three organisations in terms of their business principles, policies, directions, performance, and attitude toward social responsibility. According to him, all three had management constraints that narrowed their policy options. The Marae Committee asked the Rangatahi to question the Board at its AGM. He was to draft the questions he would ask and present them at September's Marae Committee hui.

The Trust Board member reported that the Board's Scholarships Committee had decided to trial the idea of including marae in the decision-making process for grants and scholarships applications. Marae were to decide which applicants would receive grants but the funds would be distributed by WRLT. More grants were expected. It was possible that administration of the funding could eventually be given to marae, who would need to establish criteria for distribution. The Board member felt Te Papa-o-Rotu needed to review its structure urgently as the education grants process would test structural processes. The Tainui Maori Trust Board was not providing guidelines for education grants because each marae had its own agenda but something was expected soon. He had reservations about the Scholarships Committee's decision to assess essays because he believed they were declining applications based on applicants' knowledge of the different marae. He thought that marae could decide

if essays were part of the criteria once grants administration went to them. He said that the real criterion was actually whakapapa.

Whaea B suggested that Rangatahi and those who had received grants should get together to formulate the marae's criteria and present it at the Marae Committee hui. She thought it best for Rangatahi to meet without older people (that is, Matua and Whaea) but reminded Rangatahi not to lose sight of the reasons for which the grants were established. The Trust Board member said that the Trust Board was monitoring Te Papa-o-Rotu to see what it would do. The final point in his report was that the Trust Board's 50th anniversary celebration would be held after the AGM.

The representative on the Rangatahi training programme reported that their hui had been held the weekend before. There were workshops on WRLT's benefit distribution, and an education grants think tank. It was suggested that four marae trial education grants administration. Applicants were to whakapapa (talk of whanau connections) to the Marae Committee face-to-face, and could appeal to the Scholarships Committee within 14 days. He suggested that the Marae Committee could pick up grants certificates at the Koroneihana on applicants' behalf.

The final item on the Agenda was General Business and seven issues were raised. The Inland Revenue Department had been approached for information about tax exemptions and one of their Maori community officers said she would be willing to speak at the marae. A Masters student in law had written requesting interviews for her thesis. The Marae Committee agreed so long as she submitted a copy of her questions in advance and a copy of her thesis at the end. The Marae Executive announced a list of priorities for marae renovations with the kitchen and dining hall as top priorities. It was explained that any fundraising money would be used as the Marae Committee saw fit and would not be earmarked for any specific purpose. If funds were raised for a specific purpose, then the fundraisers would need to make their own arrangements. One of the Rangatahi was asked to develop a strategic plan for the marae. He would be given access to all records and full support. If needed, he

could have a session at the next wananga. However, the Marae Executive did not want to place pressure on him so they would not set a deadline. They asked him to keep them informed of his progress. Another Rangatahi offered to help put together an application for funding for marae renovations. The government's new $6 million fund set aside for this was discussed (see "$6m lottery funding a major boost to marae development," 1997). It was decided that education grants should be discussed at the next wananga because a decision about the extent of the marae's involvement needed to be made by October. The Surveyor had located the marae's survey pegs and Trustees needed to meet with him.

The Trust Board member said he understood the Marae Executive's reluctance to make decisions for the marae because "they get hammered" (N92).[110] He said the Marae Committee should not worry about those not present and should make decisions even if they had a small team. He then closed the hui with a mihi and karakia.

### *Further Planning at the September 1997 Wananga*

The Tainui Maori Trust Board member reported at the September wananga that the Trust Board aimed to connect applicants with their marae for whakapapa (cultural importance) and for applicants to take their skills back to their people (social responsibility) (N170).[111] Some of the people at the wananga took the opportunity to express their concerns about the WRLT's application process. They were nervous about the effect that involvement in the process could have on how the marae was perceived by applicants and their whanau. One of the Rangatahi pointed out a problem that the WRLT did not have to consider, namely, that applicants (and their whanau) were permanently connected to the marae by whakapapa. Others were wary of placing the Marae Committee in a position of potential conflict with members of the marae community and the long term implications this could have for the marae. A second concern under discussion was that of the cost of administering the process.

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[110] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1997, August).
[111] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 12 - 13 September 1997.

The Treasurer was of the opinion that the Marae Committee would bear the cost without any contribution from the Trust Board. Two Kaumatua replied that the implications for the marae needed to be tabled with the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

Nevertheless, the group at the wananga decided that the marae should accept the opportunity to participate in the application process. Their most popular approach was that of scrutinising the Tainui Maori Trust Board's process and criteria rather than on assessing the applicant. This approach reduced the potential for divisions between whanau and marae and was more in tune with marae as a support for their whanau. A second approach under consideration was that of the marae as an advocate for applicants, for example, monitoring applications as they advanced through the process, being an advocate for applicants in any disputes with the WRLT, and presenting students at the Koroneihana.

Whaea B repeated her suggestion for recipients to hui together and it was agreed, on the basis of a suggestion from Matua B, to contact all recipients by letter. A further suggestion was to approach current students as well as former recipients so that the issue of marae involvement could be addressed in detail by those most closely affected. The Marae Committee hoped that recipients would advise them on what approach to take with the 1998 applications and any future involvement with Trust Board grants. A date for the hui was set for mid-November.

### *November 1997 Wananga: Education Support Project Launched*

The Marae Committee launched its Education Support project and established its Education Support Team at the November wananga, after three months of planning and deliberation and within a month of confirmation from the WRLT that marae were to be involved in the application process.

The people at the wananga agreed that they wanted applicants to know the Marae Committee's perspective with regard to the application process. To this end, they

decided on a number of principles that the Education Support Team later operationalised (see *Table 7.3*).

*Table 7.3 Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's principles for processing iwi grant applications*

| PRINCIPLES FOR PROCESSING APPLICATIONS | |
|---|---|
| **1** | The marae's main responsibility is to its beneficiaries |
| **2** | Mutual support is a primary goal |
| **3** | Students' principal reason for applying for grants is acknowledged as financial rather than to connect to the marae |
| **4** | Assessing whakapapa is not a part of the marae's grant application process |
| **5** | Essays do not form part of the marae's selection criteria for applications |

Rangatahi C declared that the marae had more of a commitment to its beneficiaries than it did to the WRLT. She wanted the relationship between the marae and students to be one of mutual support. She believed that students were most likely to apply for financial reasons rather than from a desire to connect with or play an active role at the marae (N169).[112] The Tainui Maori Trust Board member agreed, saying that the marae should be aware of this when setting its own criteria and should not expect too much from the applicants or their essays. Rangatahi C did not want the marae to be perceived as pressuring students to return and get involved.

Assessing the whakapapa of students was a subject raised by the Tainui Maori Trust Board member, who explained the Trust Board's registration process for the benrol. It was agreed at the wananga that the task of assessing whakapapa should not be done when processing grant applications since it would already have been done for benrol registration. Some people strongly disapproved of the essay as a selection criterion believing that essays should never form part of the approval/decline process. It was decided that the essays would not be a reason for refusing to endorse an application. The only reasons for not endorsing an application would be that applicants were not registered under Te Papa-o-Rotu on the benrol or that they were not enrolled in a WRLT-approved tertiary institution. Since both criteria were checked by the WRLT

[112] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

before applications were sent to the marae, all applications received would be endorsed.

The group also discussed other ways in which the Marae Committee could help with applicants. Members of the Marae Committee who were in attendance decided to make a presentation at the upcoming wananga with recipients. One suggestion was that the Marae Committee hui with applicants before the closing date to help them complete their applications and provide information they would need for their essays. An informal dinner in February for applicants and their whanau was recommended.

All but two people who had been at the wananga were also at the Marae Committee hui the following day. There were no objections to the decisions made at the wananga.

### *Consultation Wananga with Tertiary Students and Graduates*

The Marae Committee understood that the Trust Board hoped each marae would eventually administer the entire selection process for students affiliated to their marae. The ideas that had filtered through to the marae suggested that the 1998 process would be a transition phase between the Trust Board holding sole responsibility and the marae being solely responsible. The Marae Committee wanted to get feedback about the issue from the people most closely affected.

The names and addresses of 37 former recipients were gathered from marae whanau, Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Reports, the Marae Committee hui attendance book, and the personal networks of Marae Committee members. A letter inviting recipients to the hui was drafted in October and approved by Matua B before being sent to 18 of the recipients (N51; D654).[113] Contact details for the other recipients were incomplete or they studied outside of the region. Other students from Te Papa-

[113] Letter from Marae Committee to tertiary students advising of a consultation hui. (1997, 24 October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae; Fieldnotes, list and notes of 37 students and grant recipients. (1997, October).

o-Rotu who had not applied for Trust Board grants but who were interested in getting involved were also invited, as were students from other Ngati Mahanga marae. In addition, posters advertising the wananga were placed around the campuses of Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa, the Waikato Institute of Technology, and the University of Waikato.

The one-day wananga was held in the dining hall on a Sunday in mid-November starting at 9 a.m. Tables and form seats were arranged in a large rectangle in the centre of the hall. Posters about the Education Support Team, research topics that would interest the marae, current research needs for the marae, and wananga for 1998 were displayed on the walls of the hall and information pamphlets were left on tables (D627).[114] There were approximately 30 people present, mainly women. The group included the Marae Executive and the Education Support Team.

The Marae Committee hoped that those who attended would put together a paper analysing the implications should the marae get involved in any of the selection processes (Trust Board-controlled with marae input or marae-controlled). Recommendations on what role the marae should play, if any, were sought. If it was thought that the marae should create a new alternative, the students and recipients needed to provide full details at the hui, from the application form to the Koroneihana presentation. The Marae Committee would then forward a paper to the Trust Board.

The students initially talked about issues of concern to them. They were anxious that new histories about the marae could be written if there was not a link with Kaumatua to learn about the marae. They said that they wanted to participate in wananga to whakawhanaungatanga (build relationships) and to learn about tikanga. They wanted to ensure a collective knowledge about the marae's history. They appealed for time to gain life experience before being asked to bring their skills and knowledge back to the marae. In the past, Rangatahi were not expected to shoulder responsibilities at the marae and were able to build careers, families, experiences. People chose their own

[114] Poster advertising marae wananga. ([1997]). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

time to come home to the marae, usually when they were older. Students said they wanted to continue to be given this opportunity. In particular, students asked that others be understanding and open-minded about why students were not coming back to the marae.

As far as the application process was concerned, the students hoped that there would be regular feedback from the Board and others on the process, especially the reasons for declining applications. They were uncomfortable with the fact that the Trust Board was setting the agenda for marae involvement and wanted to see a more equitable relationship develop. The students discussed the criteria that appeared to cull the numbers of applicants and the type of student that the Trust Board appeared to support most. The application forms were designed for students who were not actively involved in the marae and embarrassed the students who were actively involved. They thought essays should be one of many options for communicating with the marae and that essays should not be part of the approval process.

They made several suggestions for the 1998 application process. The marae could send written declarations of support to the Trust Board for every application. Any questions that the Education Support Team had about applicants could be followed up through whanau. The marae could present recipients at the Koroneihana ceremony. The Education Support Team could use a process that kept administration time and cost to a minimum. The team could try to reduce any possible barriers for applicants. A wananga could be held on marae tikanga. The Marae Committee's plan to hold an informal dinner with students and the marae whanau was endorsed. The team could have an advocacy role on behalf of applicants. A letter could be sent to the Trust Board's Scholarships Committee informing them of the marae's intended approach

Students also had several recommendations for the application process from 1999 onwards. They suggested changing the process for applying to one of positive encouragement, and that would be likely to reduce long-term resentment from applicants. They felt that there were only two appropriate criteria: benrol registration

and proof of enrolment. They wanted to see the requirement for essays abolished. The presentation ceremony could be made even more meaningful if the marae presented the grants to recipients. The Trust Board could be petitioned to provide marae with funds for the cost of administering applications. Trust Board employees earned the right through their whakapapa to be able to apply. The students were more receptive to approaches from the marae than they were to instructions from the Trust Board. Students also discussed ways in which they could support each other by forming a support network and compiling a resource folder on funding. They requested help from the marae such as offering the means for students to become involved in marae activities and presenting recipients at the Koroneihana ceremony.

Many of the recommendations and suggestions were incorporated into the team's operations and student endorsement of the approach that the Marae Committee had decided to take was acknowledged at the wananga. The wananga took five months to organise, from the time the idea of holding a hui was first suggested at the August Marae Committee hui, to the written report on the hui that was tabled at the January 1998 Marae Committee hui (N49).[115]

### *Education Support Project Policy Setting Group*

There were four Marae Committee hui and two wananga between August and November 1997 (not including the education wananga), and the total number of hui a person attended indicating the extent to which they were involved in Marae Committee activities. In all, 30 people attended at least one of these hui, 16 of whom were at the majority of hui and wananga (3 or more). The people who attended the 1997 wananga are listed in *Table 6.1* (in the previous chapter) and 15 of them were members of the policy-setting group for the Education Support project. One person did not attend the wananga but attended most of the Marae Committee hui during August and November. A profile of this group is outlined below in *Table 7.4*. The group can be attributed with making a significant contribution toward establishing the

[115] Report on the hui wananga with tertiary students, November 1997. Tabled at the January 1998 Marae Committee Hui. (1998). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

Education Support project's principles and team objectives because they attended most of the hui in which the policies were established.

Most of the policy-making group were Rangatahi (63%), as well as 25% who were Matua and Whaea (Kaumatua), and 13% who were Pakeke. Strength of numbers alone does not pre-determine that a decision will be made without Kaumatua agreement, but the type of processes that were suggested for the Education Support project were strongly influenced by the younger age groups and their understanding of such things. There were strong demographic indicators for the decision-makers: 63% were Rangatahi, 69% were women, 69% lived in Whatawhata, and 75% were employed full-time. Fifty percent (50%) of them attended the majority of Marae Committee hui held between 1997 and 1999.

*Table 7.4 Education Support Project policy setting group*

| **AGE GROUP** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 16 |
| 19% | 6% | 13% | 63% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 11 | | | 0 | 16 |
| 31% | 69% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 11 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| 69% | 25% | 6% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 12 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 16 |
| 75% | 0% | 13% | 13% | 0% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 0 | 8 | 8 | | 16 |
| 0% | 0% | 50% | 50% | | 100% |

## Conclusion

Development initiatives were driven by individuals, whanau, or groups in the community and overseen by the management groups (Trustees and Marae Committee). Success depended firstly on the level of active support that could be garnered from the community, then on the resources available to implement the initiative. Active community support was difficult to gain. Schoeffel (1996, p. 132) observed that achieving community participation within the time, funding and resource constraints of a project cycle was often underestimated by aid agencies in the Pacific Islands. Lack of resources was a constant limiting factor on what the marae could do in terms of development and how it could be done. Existing operations could be reviewed and modified to some extent and this was usually the first area under consideration. However, several areas of the marae's development plan required that new operations be established in addition to modifying existing operations. The main reason for this was clearly the Tainui Maori Trust Board's expectations that marae be involved in its own development plans for the confederation as a whole. For the most part, existing operations could be modified using existing resources, but there were barely enough people to do the work. When it came to new plans, there was never an accompanying contribution in funds available either, compounding the problems. This affected the scale of development that the Marae Committee was willing to undertake and it tended to be modest in its goals.

All issues were treated with equal seriousness, therefore, in any one sitting the Marae Committee or people at the Wananga were likely to give the same consideration to the number of dishes in the pantry as they were to the legal status of the marae or even to the Tainui Maori Trust Board's progress in Treaty claim negotiations with the Crown. Prioritisation tended to be reactionary in that deadlines dictated what needed to be done immediately and what could wait another month or for another wananga. Given the sometimes weighty issues under consideration and the actual time spent on these issues, that is, perhaps two to three wananga of about two days duration every

year interspersed with Marae Committee hui held every two months on average in the early stages, the Marae Committee worked relatively quickly.

The Marae Committee used systems that were more than adequate for internal management and administrative purposes. However, these systems could not withstand sustained pressure from meeting the needs of external agencies. Management planning therefore had a strong emphasis on management structural review and systems that supported the marae community's participation in tribal development initiatives. This was a key indicator that medium- to long-term management and administrative relationships between the marae and external agencies was a new phenomenon. The intricate balancing act between maintaining the rangatiratanga (authority, self-determination, independence, control) of the marae and adapting to modern bureaucratic administration was a practical consequence that was regularly negotiated during this new phase of development for both the Marae Committee and the iwi authority.

# Chapter 8

## Implementing Plans:

## the Education Support Project 1997 - 1999

This chapter describes the implementation of one of the collaborative projects between the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust and the Marae Committee. The project was significant because it was the first administrative collaboration between the iwi authority and the marae and it showed the processes that the Marae Committee used to introduce a new interaction. Also, the project highlighted the hegemonic relationship of legitimation and accommodation between the iwi authority and Marae Committee in relation to their use of bureaucratic administration.

Uphoff (1996) pointed out that a legitimate concern was whether working with and through indigenous organisations might compromise their existence and effectiveness. The concern was no less acute when referring to the relationship between indigenous communities and an indigenous organisation set up to serve the interests of those communities. The iwi authority operated as a modern indigenous organisation compared to the Marae Committee, which could be more appropriately classified as an indigenous community that used a modern approach to organise administrative and managerial affairs. Although the survival of the iwi authority was dependent on marae, the reverse situation was not the case. However, the iwi authority was a powerful influence in shaping the developmental progress of the marae. One of the areas in which the iwi authority was particularly influential was in the type of administrative processes that the Marae Committee adopted. Uphoff (1996) warned that, "there are dangers as well as potentials when getting engaged with social networks and relationships that are part and parcel of people's lives rather than something which they chose to join, so the subject needs to be approached with due respect and caution" (p. vii). However, there were several compromises that needed to be made in order for the Marae Committee to engage effectively with the iwi authority.

## Initiating the Project

An outline of the project's goals and objectives, as well as a brief description of the results, is provided in *Table 8.1*. The objective to support applicants and recipients was the nucleus of the project and as such, received most of the project's resources. A process for endorsing applications was developed and implemented. Information about the WRLT's education activities was actively pursued. Functions were organised for students to help them build relationships with the Marae Committee. A general process for advocating on behalf of students was formulated, although the need for it never arose. A review of the project was planned for 12 months after it began. A Rangatahi was approached to conduct the review about 18 months after the project began but the review itself had not been completed before events overtook the need for one.[116] The main outcomes were the growth in student contact and involvement with the marae and the increased interest shown by the marae community generally.

[116] Members of both the Marae Committee and Education Support Team were reconsidering some aspects of the project's objectives and processes independently from the review.

*Table 8.1 Goal and Objectives for the Education Support Project*

| GOAL: BUILD A RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL SUPPORT WITH STUDENTS IN THE MARAE COMMUNITY | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Objectives** | **Responsibilities** | **Results** |
| 1. Support people applying for iwi grants and scholarships | Endorse and process grant applications on behalf of the marae | • Essays assessment excluded from endorsement process<br>• Whakapapa assessment excluded from endorsement process<br>• Applications and essays treated confidentially<br>• Growth in recipient numbers |
| | Monitor WRLT funding for education initiatives | Endeavours to improve communication between WRLT and marae |
| | Organise functions for applicants each year | Growth in student contact with marae |
| | Advocate for applicants | No students approached the Education Support Team for advocacy support |
| | Review project progress after first twelve months | A systematic review started but not completed |
| 2. Make information about the marae and its activities available to students | The team decided to produce newsletters. Five newsletters were produced and distributed to students and community | Increased interest in newsletters from wider community both within and outside of the Waikato region. Increased involvement in marae activities by both students and the wider community. |
| 3. Broaden scope to include other marae community activities in the area of education | • Monitor WRLT funding for Te Kohanga Reo<br>• Set a budget for wananga<br>• Set a budget for the project (1999) | Education Support Team adopted more definitively by Marae Committee<br><br>Social studies hui for rural primary school visit organised, July 1999 |

The second objective of creating and maintaining a flow of information between the marae community and students was enabled primarily through the production and distribution of newsletters. Three newsletters were produced and distributed to students in 1998 (see *Table 8.2*) before a decision to extend the newsletter's distribution to the wider whanau was made at the Marae Committee hui in November

1998 (N125).[117] Two more newsletters were produced in February and May 1999. The database of students first created and used for the consultation wananga in 1997 was maintained and updated using the same sources as well as mailing requests received at education hui and Marae Committee hui. The principal source for items in the newsletters was the reports and discussions that took place during Marae Committee hui. The newsletter became the responsibility of the Marae Executive at the October 1999 Marae Committee hui because it was decided that the Marae Executive was the only committee who were rightfully entitled to use the hui attendance book (N134).[118] The main outcome was increased interest from both the students and the marae community in being kept informed of what was happening at the marae. A related outcome was the increased involvement in activities by both groups.

*Table 8.2 Dates newsletters produced*

| | DATE PRODUCED |
|---|---|
| 1 | January 1998 |
| 2 | April 1998 |
| 3 | September 1998 |
| 4 | February 1999 |
| 5 | May 1999 |

The third objective - to broaden the scope of the project to incorporate other education related activities of the Marae Committee - was facilitated by the Education Support Team but had the potential to become too large for the team to handle. Education was an important subject at the marae and was discussed at all of the 26 Marae Committee hui (see *Table 8.3*). Representatives on the Tainui Maori Trust Board Rangatahi Training Programme reported on the programme until it ended. Reports were also tabled about schools to which Whatawhata families sent their children or that were within the boundaries of the hapu territory. They included a high school in Hamilton, the primary school in Whatawhata, and a Kura Kaupapa

[117] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[118] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

(Maori Language Immersion School) in Huntly. From time to time, tertiary students contacted the Marae Committee and their correspondence was discussed at the hui. For example, a law student wrote to the Marae Committee requesting interviews for her research and another donated part of an education grant she received from WRLT to the marae.

*Table 8.3 All topics related to education discussed at Marae Committee hui*

| EDUCATION TOPIC | MONTH | | NO. HUI |
|---|---|---|---|
| | START | END | |
| | | | |
| Te Kohanga Reo | Nov-97 | Nov-99 | 19 |
| Wananga | Aug-97 | Jul-99 | 14 |
| TMTB Rangatahi Training Programme | Aug-97 | Feb-99 | 14 |
| WRLT Education Grants and Scholarships | Oct-97 | Nov-99 | 13 |
| Education Support Team Reports | Nov-97 | Dec-99 | 13 |
| Newsletter | Apr-98 | Nov-99 | 8 |
| Weaving and Carving Module | Jul-99 | Oct-99 | 4 |
| High School | Sep-97 | Dec-99 | 4 |
| Primary School Bilingual Unit | Aug-97 | Jun-99 | 4 |
| Primary School Visit | May-99 | Aug-99 | 3 |
| Maori Language Immersion School | Mar-98 | Dec-98 | 3 |
| Students' Requests | Aug-97 | Apr-98 | 2 |

The Education Support project was a topic at 13 Marae Committee hui because the Education Support Team regularly reported on progress. The team was not the only group to report on WRLT's education initiatives. The topic would sometimes be included in reports from the representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board's Rangatahi Training Programme, the Tainui Maori Trust Board member, Te Kauhanganui delegates, and Te Kohanga Reo staff. The marae's newsletters were under discussion at 8 Marae Committee hui. The team was given responsibility for organising the primary school visit referred to earlier and was also involved in discussions about WRLT's funding for Nga Kohanga Reo, organising wananga, and playing a role in setting up a carving and weaving learning module that was to be taught at the marae. These are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

### *The Application Process*

Two of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's scholarships and grants were to be screened by marae: the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarships, a graduate scholarship, and the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust Education Grants, a general educational grant for any undergraduate level of study. In 1998, the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarships were to be awarded to approximately 30 full-time and 10 part-time graduate and postgraduate students (D651).[119] They were valued at $1,000 for full-time students and $500 for part-time students. TheWaikato Raupatu Lands Trust Education Grants were to be awarded to approximately 300 full-time and 30 part-time students. They were valued at $500 for full-time and $250 for part-time students for a tenure of one year. Applications for both opened in October 1997 and closed on 16 March 1998, with the grants and scholarships being awarded at the Koroneihana in May. WRLT's full application process stretched over eight months and is outlined in Appendix E, along with Te Papa-o-Rotu's endorsement process.

Only applications fully completed and sent to the WRLT by post or courier were accepted, an administrative culling criterion. The 1998 application form included questions about financial status. If the number of applicants meant that the process proved to be competitive, a financial hardship criterion would apply and this information would be used. A questionnaire and declaration form for the marae to complete was introduced and students had to supply the whanau name that linked them to the marae (D536).[120] Applications also included three essay questions for each year of application: first time applicants, second time applicants, and all other applicants.

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[119] Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust panui and agenda, Graduates Scholarships Information Evening, Waikato University, Hamilton. (1998, 6 October).
[120] WRLT to Marae Committee. Marae involvement in Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust 1998 education distribution process. Guidelines, timetable, questionnaire and declaration. (1997, 17 November.) Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

Also introduced was a statement relating to intellectual property rights, a statement that indicated that receipt of a grant or scholarship would entail surrendering any associated intellectual property rights. This affected a small number of applicants only. One of these was a science student from Te Papa-o-Rotu whose research was expected to have commercial potential. In 1997, she applied for one of the scholarships while completing her Masters degree but was unaware at the time of the Trust Board's clause on intellectual property rights (N139).[121] The university at which she was enrolled claimed a half share of the intellectual property rights on her work. She was therefore obliged to relinquish her own share of the property rights to the Trust Board (potentially a large sacrifice for a small financial reward). She was to continue the work while studying for a PhD and the Trust Board provided her with a postgraduate scholarship. All of this raised questions concerning possible conflict of interests between educational institutions and the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

Copies of the 1998 applications and essays were sent to the applicants' marae after it had been determined that they met the academic and benrol registration criteria. The marae could contact applicants directly or arrange for a meeting with them. WRLT suggested questions that could be put to applicants. A Marae Trustee and Marae Executive member were asked to sign a form for each application declaring whether or not the application was endorsed and return the applications, essays and declaration forms to the Trust Board by 13 April. If the marae did not support an application, then a typed explanation had to be added to the application.

The Education Support Team received 14 applications (D642).[122] They met on Sunday 12 April 1998, the day before the applications were due to be returned to the Trust Board. The weather was sunny so everyone sat in the tangata whenua piruru (host's shelter on the verge of the lawn). The team divided into pairs to read the applications and essays. The declaration form that the Tainui Maori Trust Board had

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[121] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae education wananga. (1999, 6 March).
[122] Letter from Education Support Team to Scholarships Committee, WRLT accompanying grant applications and marae declaration forms. (1998, 13 April). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

sent with applications had stipulated that the forms had to be signed by two people who were Trustees or members of the Marae Executive. The Student Representative was the only member of the Marae Executive on the team so she signed all of the declaration forms. The three Trustees on the team – the Matua, Trustee Representative and Marae Representative – were the second signatories (D653).[123] The Student Representative offered to deliver the applications to the Tainui Maori Trust Board office in Ngaruawahia the following day since she had to drive past there to her place of employment in Huntly. There were a total of 20 successful applicants for 1998. The applications that the Education Support Team did not receive related to graduate and postgraduate scholarships that were not included in the dual Trust Board/marae process at that stage.

Once the applications were returned to the Trust Board, its Scholarships Committee made recommendations to Board members, who retained the sole authority to approve or decline applications. Applicants were notified of the decision and successful applicants were advised of the Koroneihana presentations in May. At the Koroneihana, recipients were grouped together as a hapu before individually circling the paepae to collect their certificates from Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu.

The Trust Board changed the process in 1999. From that point, applicants had to contact the marae prior to submitting their applications to the WRLT. Te Papa-o-Rotu's Education Support Team in turn modified its own process and held a wananga with applicants to help them complete their applications and respond appropriately to essay questions. The essay questions in the 13-page application form for 1999 related to the following topics: a) the confederation of hapu, the iwi authorities, and the Kingitanga; b) the marae; and c) developing educational excellence in Tainui and what the applicant considered to be the best post-settlement organisation structure (D515).[124] The team divided into pairs at the wananga to sign the endorsement

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[123] Fieldnotes, team meeting to endorse applications. (1998, April).
[124] Application form for 1999 Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship. (n.d.). Hopuhopu: Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust.

forms, a standardised letter drafted by the Co-ordinator and attached to each application received (N44).[125] Another change in the process concerned the Koroneihana awards ceremony for recipients. In 1999, recipients were grouped by their marae and presented to the Queen as a group by the Whaea on the Education Support Team. The full application process is outlined in Appendix F.

The process ran smoothly for the Marae Committee for the most part and much of the Education Support Team's efforts were concentrated over a short period only, from February to late-March. However, the Education Support Team were twice called to deal with unforeseen requests. The first occasion was early in the process, when the WRLT asked the Marae Committee to endorse applications for university-administered, iwi funded scholarships. Formal marae endorsement was introduced into graduate and postgraduate scholarships that were funded by WRLT but administered by Auckland and Waikato Universities. The closing date was November 1998. On 30 November 1998, WRLT wrote to the Marae Committee announcing the new process for these scholarships and at the same time requesting a response if the applicants from Te Papa-o-Rotu were not endorsed (D645).[126] The deadline to reply was two weeks later. There was no advance notice to the Marae Committee that marae endorsements were being requested for these scholarships and the only Marae Committee members who knew anything about their terms and conditions were those few who had a direct interest in them. Since members of neither the Marae Committee nor the Education Support Team were aware that the WRLT process had changed to include a new set of scholarships with an earlier closing date than the others, nothing had been arranged to deal with any inquiries. So the WRLT's letter went through the normal Marae Committee process of being handed out when the appropriate Marae Committee members met, which was in January 1999.

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[125] Form letter Education Support Team to WRLT endorsing 1999 grant and scholarship applications. (1999, 6 March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[126] WRLT to Marae Committee regarding WRLT-funded, university-administered scholarship applications. (1998, 30 November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

Approximately two weeks before the Koroneihana presentations were due to take place (29 April), members of the Education Support Team were again requested to deal with an unforeseen request. A letter sent by the WRLT to all marae indicated that approximately a quarter of the 358 applications had been negatively affected by the changes in policy due to misunderstandings by both the marae and applicants (D644).[127] Attached to the letter was a list of students from Te Papa-o-Rotu who had been affected. Fortunately, that list consisted of only one name and the Marae Committee Secretary handled the reply.

### *Other Project Operations*

#### Informal Dinner for Applicants 1998

The informal dinner suggested at the November 1997 wananga was approved at the November Marae Committee hui and the Education Support Team's Co-ordinator was asked to seek funding. The students and recipients who attended the November education wananga also approved the dinner. The function was organised for Saturday 14 February 1998 from 7 p.m. and a panui (notice) to this effect was posted in the newsletter (D508).[128] A personal invitation was sent to students for whom contact details were recorded (D654).[129] The catering was organised by the Student Representative with assistance from other Education Support Team and Marae Executive members. A Rangatiratanga Grant was received from Te Puni Kokiri/Ministry of Maori Development and covered 44% of the total cost of the event (D656).[130]

Apart from the Education Support Team, others who attended included Marae Executive members, the Tainui Maori Trust Board member, a few interested

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[127] WRLT to Marae Committee regarding 1999 application process and endorsement forms. (1999, 29 April). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[128] Newsletter. (1998, Summer). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[129] Fieldnotes, list and notes of students and grant recipients. (1997, October)
[130] Fieldnotes, receipts and payments for 1998 education dinner. (1998).

members of the marae community, and 13 students (D650).[131] Four Trustees were present, including the three on the Education Support Team. Most of the applicants came alone or with their children. There were a few speeches from the Marae Committee and a few responses from the applicants before everyone settled in to socialise for the night. The hui finished at around 10 p.m.

Three of the 13 students who attended the dinner received a grant or scholarship. There were a total of 20 recipients that year. As mentioned previously, the Education Support Team received 14 applications for endorsement and others were recipients of grants and scholarships for which the marae was not involved. The hui took four months to organise, from the initial suggestion in November 1997 to the Education Support Team report in February 1998.

**Education Wananga for Applicants 1999**

The 1999 event for applicants was initially discussed at the Education Support Team's meeting in October 1998. At that stage, the team discussed holding a social evening for applicants and their whanau (N54).[132] The team held another meeting in February 1999, an hour before the Marae Committee hui. Information about the 1999 application process and the project's progress had already been circulated to team members a few days beforehand (D534).[133] The team decided to hold a wananga with guest speakers and provide applicants with information that would assist them in responding to essay questions related to the marae. The date for the wananga was organised at the Marae Committee hui and Kaumatua were asked to talk about tribal and marae history at the wananga, to which they agreed.

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[131] Report on the Education Dinner, February 1998. Tabled at the Marae Committee Hui March 1998. Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[132] Fieldnotes, Education Support Team meeting. (1998, October).
[133] Memorandum to Education Support Team members regarding agenda for next meeting, (1999, 14 February). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

The programme for the wananga was added to the newsletter and circulated the same month (D512).[134] Posters advertising the wananga were posted around the campuses of the local university, polytechnic and Whare Wananga (D633).[135] Six former recipients were invited to be guest speakers and talk of their experiences in applying for grants and scholarships. The fields of study they were pursuing included Maori, History, Political Science, Psychology, Science, and one was a Nursing student. A Counsellor for tertiary students was also invited to the wananga to talk about available support services (D634).[136] All of the speakers were members of the marae community. Other recipients were contacted by phone and given details about the wananga. Applicants were asked to bring their application forms with them for endorsement.

The wananga was held in the dining hall on 6 March. Trestle tables and form chairs were arranged in a large square in the centre of the hall. There were 36 people at the wananga, including members of the Marae Executive, the Education Support Team, Kaumatua, guest speakers, students and their whanau (N135).[137] The Marae Executive and the Student Representative on the team organised the catering with some of the recipients joining in to help. The Matua on the Education Support Team and then he opened the wananga and the Chairman of the Marae Executive gave a mihi (welcoming speech and introduction). The Kaumatua spoke about the Kingitanga and the Tainui Maori Trust Board for the first part of the morning until a break for morning tea was called. Afterward and for the remainder of the morning, the Kaumatua spoke about the history of the iwi, hapu and marae.

After lunch, the Student Representative on the Education Support Team spoke about the 1999 application process using an overhead projector to illustrate her points

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[134] Newsletter. (1999, February). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[135] Poster announcing the Education Wananga. (1999, March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[136] Programme information for the Education Wananga. (1999, March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[137] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae education wananga. (1999, 6 March).

(D586).[138] Then, each guest speaker spoke in turn for the rest of the afternoon. At the end of the speeches, Matua B read out his answers to the essay questions. During the afternoon, the Education Support Team members divided into pairs to sign endorsement forms for the applicants (D529).[139] The Matua on the Education Support Team then closed the wananga with a karakia at about 5.30 p.m. and everyone moved to the dining tables (arranged by the ringawera) for something to eat. The remainder of the day was spent socialising until late-evening.

The wananga took seven months to organise from the initial discussions in October 1998 to the report at the Marae Committee in April 1999. There were 21 students at the wananga, 14 of whom were recipients that year. The others chose not to apply or were attending the wananga to support members of their whanau who were applying. Some people brought applications from whanau members who were applying but were unable to attend the wananga. These included students who were attending tertiary institutions outside of the Waikato region. All applications were endorsed. A total of 23 students received a grant or scholarship for 1999.

**Iwi Authority Funding for Te Kohanga Reo 1997-1999**

A decision that the Education Support Team should monitor WRLT funding for Te Kohanga Reo was first made at the November 1997 wananga (N169).[140] The intention was for the Education Support Team to keep the Marae Committee up-to-date on any developments. However, the Marae Committee received timely reports on this matter from the Tainui Maori Trust Board member, the Chairperson of the Kohanga Reo, the Treasurer, and committee members who were employees of the Tainui Maori Trust Board. The Tainui Maori Trust Board sent the Kohanga Reo grants to the Marae Committee, who redistributed the grant to the Kohanga Reo. The Marae Committee tried to have the grants distributed directly to the Kohanga Reo

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[138] Overhead projector display used at the Education Wananga. (1999, March). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[139] Education Support Team to Scholarships Committee, WRLT. Cover letter attached to grant applications, 6 March 1999.
[140] Fieldnotes, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae wananga 31 October - 1 November 1997.

since it was managed independently. However, the new constitution for the iwi authority confined the grants distribution from the Trust Board to the Marae Committee or Trustees (N120).[141]

**Marae Wananga 1998-1999**

Suggestions that the Education Support Team organise wananga were first raised at the July 1998 Marae Committee hui (N121).[142] Some members of the Marae Committee wanted to see a more structured approach taken toward the organisation of wananga, others wanted wananga held more frequently. The general consensus was that the Education Support Team should broaden its scope to include other areas of education. The matter was raised again at the November Marae Committee hui, where the Education Support Team reported its willingness to facilitate wananga, prepare the annual budget for them, and wherever possible, seek external funding. The decisions on when to hold a wananga and for what purpose would remain with the Marae Committee (N125).[143] Although some members of the Marae Committee suggested possible topics for wananga during 1999, the Marae Committee did not request that any be held and the only wananga that the Education Support Team organised that year was for education grants and scholarships applicants.

**Organising the Primary School Visit 1999**

A Marae Committee member who was employed as a Teacher's Aide at the local primary school reported at the May 1998 Marae Committee hui that a different primary school wanted to visit the marae for a Social Studies trip. The school wanted its children to spend two hours experiencing marae rituals and learning about the history of the local hapu. The Teacher's Aide had discussed the matter with Kaumatua prior to the Marae Committee hui, and they said that the school should expect the visit to last all day. The school had acquiesced, so the Teacher's Aide

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[141] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, June). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[142] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, July). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[143] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

asked the Marae Committee to organise it (N129).[144] The date the school had proposed was during the week of the Koroneihana so the Assistant Chairperson suggested that the school be sent a letter rescheduling the visit. At the July Marae Committee, the Teacher's Aide reported that the letter the school had sent had been returned to them so the school had contacted her directly (N131).[145] The school had proposed any day in the last two weeks of July and the Marae Committee set the date for the following week. The Marae Committee also decided on the menu. There would be 160 pupils aged between 5 and 12 years old. The Education Support Team were asked to co-ordinate and cater (JA123).[146]

The Co-ordinator asked the Kohanga Reo staff to help prepare the marae for the visit and to help with the catering. The Kohanga Reo was to be closed on the day of the visit because of staff computer training and some of those who were not required at the training session agreed to help. The Marae Representative on the Education Support Team organised the Kaumatua for the powhiri and the history lesson. The Marae Executive organised payments to cover catering costs. The Co-ordinator organised the shopping.

The school arrived on schedule, Monday 19 July at 10.30 a.m., with 223 people. Members of the Kohanga Reo and the Ruamakamaka Urupa Committee (who were based at the marae) had already prepared the dining hall. The Education Support Team Co-ordinator, Marae Representative, and the Kaumatua were also in attendance. The manuwhiri were formally welcomed and then proceeded to the dining hall for kai before the Kaumatua showed them around the marae (JA158).[147] After the history lesson, everyone returned to the dining hall for lunch. They left on schedule at 2.30 p.m. Their koha (donation) covered 72% of the cost. The visit took the Marae Committee four months to organise, from the first report in May to the final report by the Education Support Team in August.

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[144] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, May). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[145] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, July). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[146] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1999, 11 July). Journal A/123.
[147] Fieldnotes, primary school visit and budget. (1999, 19 July). Journal A/158.

**Carving and Weaving Learning Programme 1999**

An idea involving two Whaea and two carvers from the marae who were willing to teach weaving and carving was initially introduced by one of the Whaea at the July 1999 Marae Committee hui. The idea was warmly received and encouraged. Considerations that were discussed at the time were a site for planting harakeke (flax), a suitable place for storing carving tools and equipment, the impact on the Kohanga Reo, and funding. The Whaea believed that students would need to contribute to paying some of the costs. The Marae Representative on the Education Support Team suggested that the team could search for funding. One of the Matua suggested *Purakau* (Mahanga's pa site, see *Chapter 3*) as a suitable site for planting the harakeke since it was a five acre reserve (N131).[148]

At the August Marae Committee hui, discussions about developing the idea included seeking external funding and drafting a proposal (N132).[149] The Whaea's son submitted a concept plan at the September Marae Committee hui (D554).[150] The son had already investigated some possible public funding sources, especially industry skills training and community-based capacity building programmes, and feedback from this was reflected in his plan. The plan incorporated holistic principles that placed the weaving and carving learning as a skills component for a wider social and cultural learning programme. This included language and customs learning, learning about physical and personal well-being, and learning to support the family. His plan was to target specific groups within the Ngati Mahanga community and members of other Tainui iwi, particularly those groups for which government financial support could be received. These included the unemployed, people without formal qualifications, 'at-risk' teenagers, single parents, the physically impaired, and the intellectually challenged. He also included those who were seeking to learn in a traditional setting, and those who wanted to learn about their culture. The plan was

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[148] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, July). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[149] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, August). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[150] Proposal for a weaving and carving learning programme submitted at the September 1999 Marae Committee hui. (1999, September). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

discussed again at the October Marae Committee hui in terms of consulting further aboard (N134).[151] There were no further discussions before the end of the field research period.

### *Profile of Recipients*

*Table 8.4 Number of recipients by year and gender*

| GENDER | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Female** | 12 | 15 | 18 |
| **Male** | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| **Unknown** | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **Total** | **22** | **20** | **23** |

Very few people from Te Papa-o-Rotu applied for grants and scholarships prior to 1996, with nine recipients in 1994 and six in 1995. The condition that written essays accompany applications, introduced in 1995, could explain the slight drop in recipients. The number of recipients jumped to 27 in 1996, the year in which the Tainui Maori Trust Board changed its grants and scholarships terms and conditions and increased its funding. Of these recipients, three who re-applied in 1997 had changed their principal marae to Omaero Marae in their benrol registration details. The number of recipients dropped to 22 in 1997, which was the first year of an essay topic on the marae but the year before the marae became involved in the application process. Recipient numbers dropped again in 1998, with 20 recipients, and rose to 23 recipients for 1999. During the period 1997-1999, 53 members of the marae community benefited from the Marae Committee's efforts to support tertiary students in receiving financial aid and scholastic recognition from the iwi authority.

[151] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, October). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

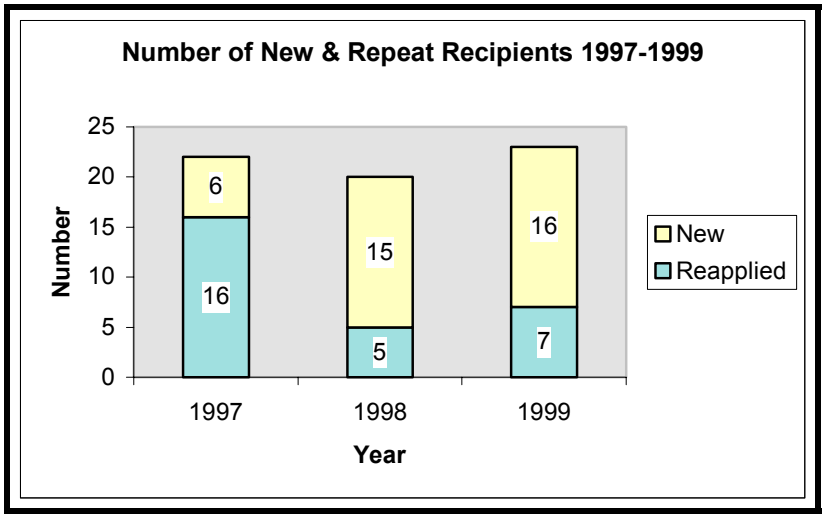


*Figure 8.1 Number of new and repeat recipients by year*

Of the 22 who received grants or scholarships in 1997, 16 had applied at least once in the previous three years (*Figure 8.1*). However, only five 1997 recipients reapplied in 1998. Of these, three were already receiving significant graduate scholarships that continued automatically if the scholarships conditions were met. Of the 17 people who did not reapply, 10 were located and asked why they chose not to reapply (see *Table 8.5*). Three had completed their studies. Three were ineligible: two were ineligible for academic reasons; one began part-time work for the Tainui Maori Trust Board and therefore became ineligible to apply. Two believed that the cost of applying was too high: one decided that the application process was more costly in time and effort than the value of the grant; one had moved so far away from the region that it would cost more than the value of the grant to return for the Koroneihana presentation. At that time, the WRLT had a firm policy that students studying in New Zealand had to return for the ceremony. The remaining two wanted to give others a chance at receiving a grant, including one who withdrew his application when he found part-time work (D655).[152]

[152] Fieldnotes, grant recipients 1996 & 1997. (1997).

*Table 8.5 Recipients' reasons for not re-applying in 1998*

| N | REASONS |
|---|---|
| 3 | Studies completed |
| 3 | Ineligible |
| 2 | Too costly |
| 2 | Give others an opportunity |

There were 15 new successful applications in 1998 in addition to the five 1997 recipients who reapplied. Of these, seven reapplied in 1999 and 16 more students applied for the first time. There were 53 recipients in all between 1997 and 1999. Of these, 64% (34) were female and 28% (15) were male (*Figure 8.2*). Gender details were unavailable for 8% (4) of the recipients.

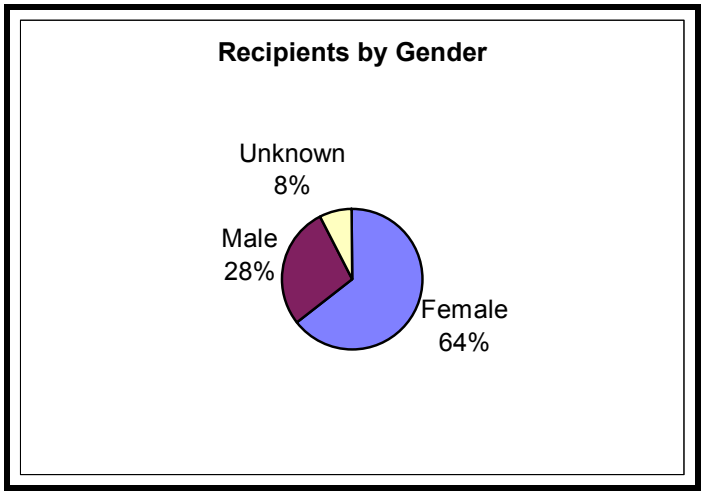


*Figure 8.2 Recipients of 1997-1999 by gender*

Information about the tertiary institutions that students attended indicates three factors: the prevailing institutions supported by the Tainui Maori Trust Board, the location of students during the academic year, and the dispersion of some of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae's community members.

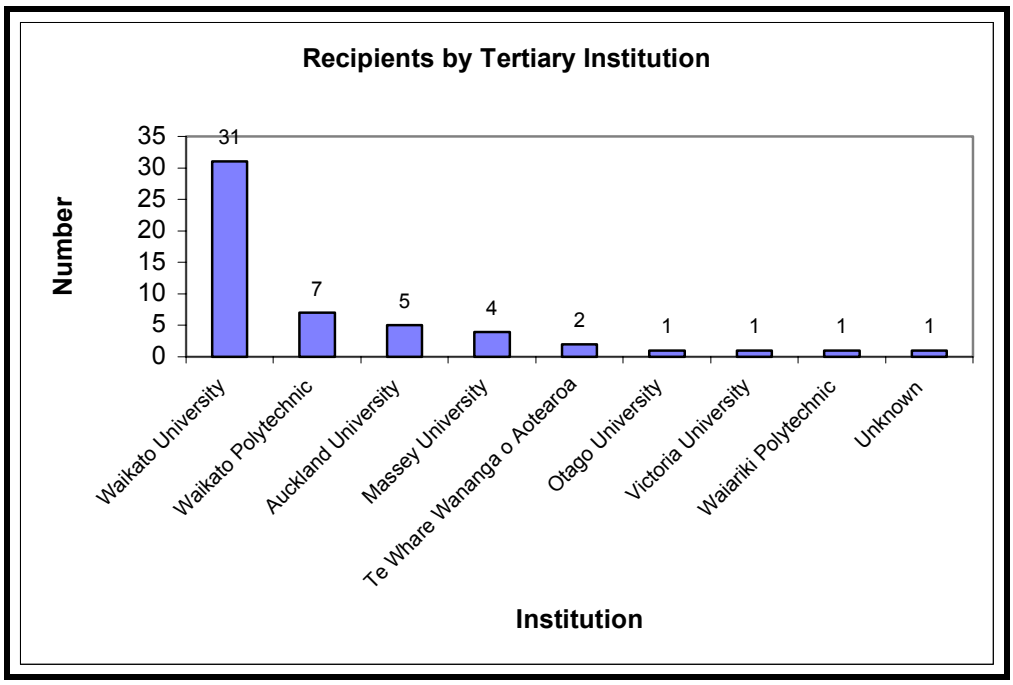


*Figure 8.3 Recipients of 1997-1999 by tertiary institution*

Waikato University in Hamilton was the institution that the majority - 31 of the 53 – of recipients attended (*Figure 8.3*). Seven recipients attended Waikato Polytechnic in Hamilton, five attended Auckland University, four attended Massey University in Palmerston North, two attended the Hamilton campus of Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa, and one each were at Otago University in Dunedin, Victoria University of Wellington, and Waiariki Polytechnic in Rotorua.

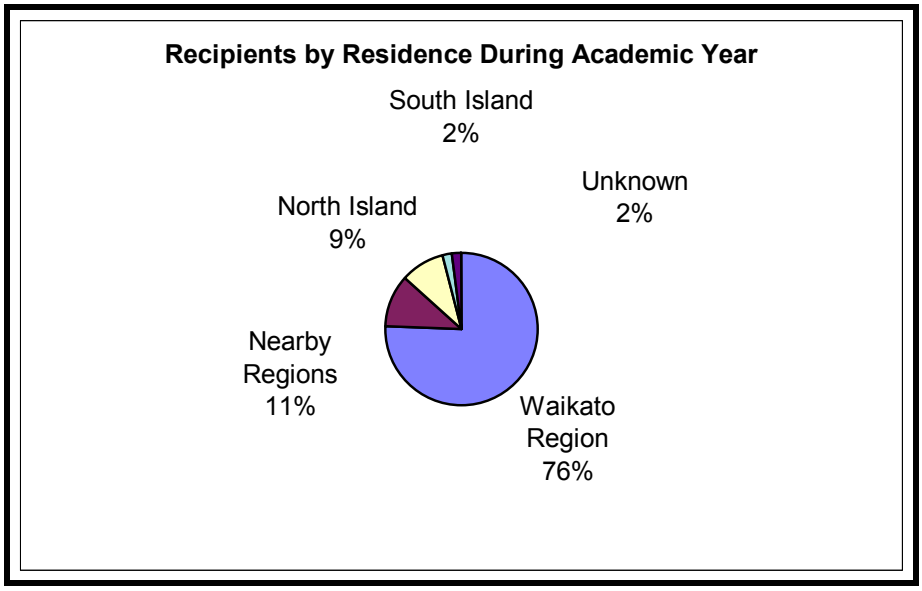


*Figure 8.4 Recipients of 1997-1999 by residence during the academic year*

Most of the recipients lived in or near the Tainui tribal territory during the academic year with 76% (40) in the Waikato region and 11% (6) living nearby (*Figure 8.4*). 9% (5) lived in other regions in the North Island and 2% (1) lived in the South Island.

Distance was a concern for a small number of recipients only when attending the Koroneihana presentations or going to the marae. The Tainui Maori Trust Board's support for Waikato and Auckland institutions was most likely a primary reason for the high proportion of recipients from those institutions. A social trend indicating that most people from Tainui live in or near their own tribal region was also borne out (Statistics New Zealand, 1997).

The Trust Board offered more grants to undergraduates than to applicants at other education levels. However, the values of grants and scholarships available to graduate and postgraduate recipients were significantly higher. This suggests that the Tainui Maori Trust Board's primary aim was to encourage people to pursue a tertiary education, and a secondary aim was to support those students who sought an advanced level of tertiary education.

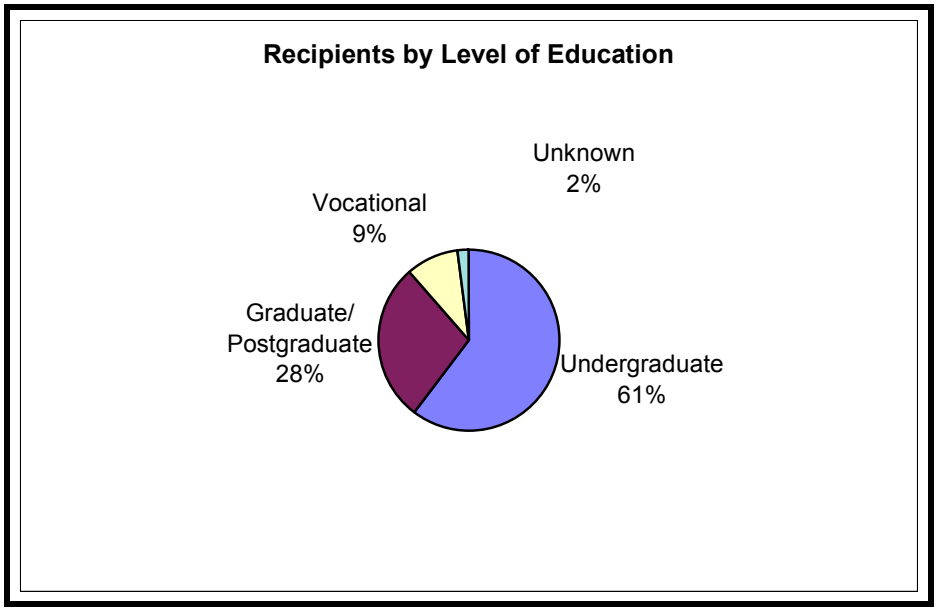


*Figure 8.5 Recipients (1997-1999) by level of education*

Sixty-one percent (32) were studying toward undergraduate degrees or diplomas, 28% (15) were studying toward graduate or postgraduate degrees or diplomas, 9% (5) were studying toward vocational diplomas or certificates, and the level of education was unknown for one of the recipients (*Figure 8.5*).

The majority (15) studied Social Sciences subjects, nine studied Humanities (especially Maori Studies), six studied Education (mainly Teacher Training), and five each studied Business or Law (*Figure 8.6*). Three received farming scholarships, which was the Tainui Maori Trust Board's strategy to encourage more tribal members into farm management since the Trust Board owned several farms. Two were studying Media subjects (Film and Television Studies), two were studying Nursing, and two were studying Architecture. One was training in Carpentry.

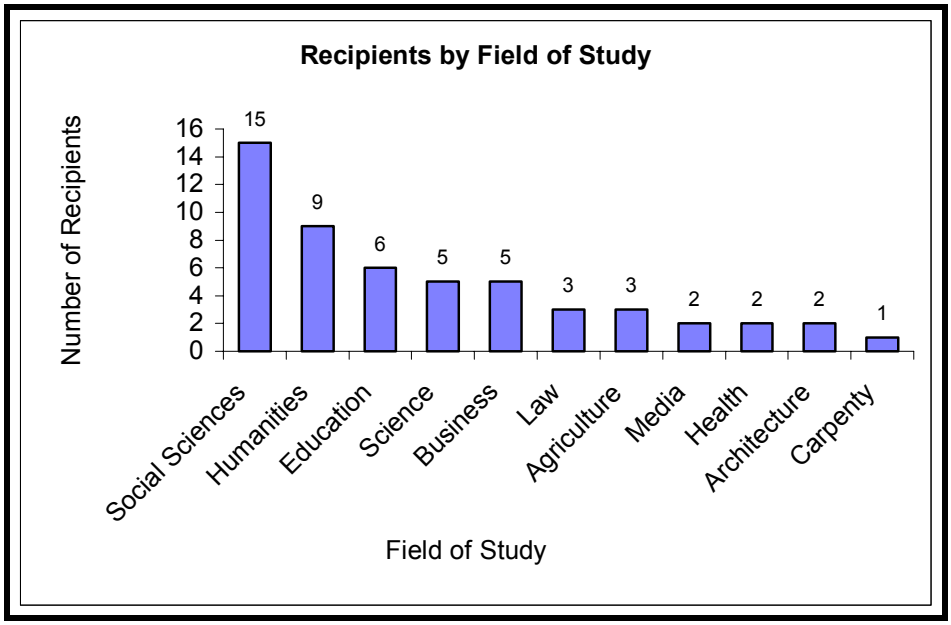


*Figure 8.6 Recipients (1997-1999) by field of study*

Students' perceived lack of personal involvement at the marae was a primary reason given by the Tainui Maori Trust Board for including marae in the application process. In an effort to rectify the apparent lack of association between students and the marae (as represented by the Kaumatua), the Trust Board had developed ways in which students could meet their marae community. Apart from the obvious problems in brokering an association between students and marae without consultation with either group, there were two suppositions that needed verifying. The first was the assumption that if some of the Kaumatua did not know the recipients, then the latter must not be involved in any way at the marae. The second was related to the first in that it appeared a student's involvement at the marae had to be direct, personal, and in some way, noticeable.

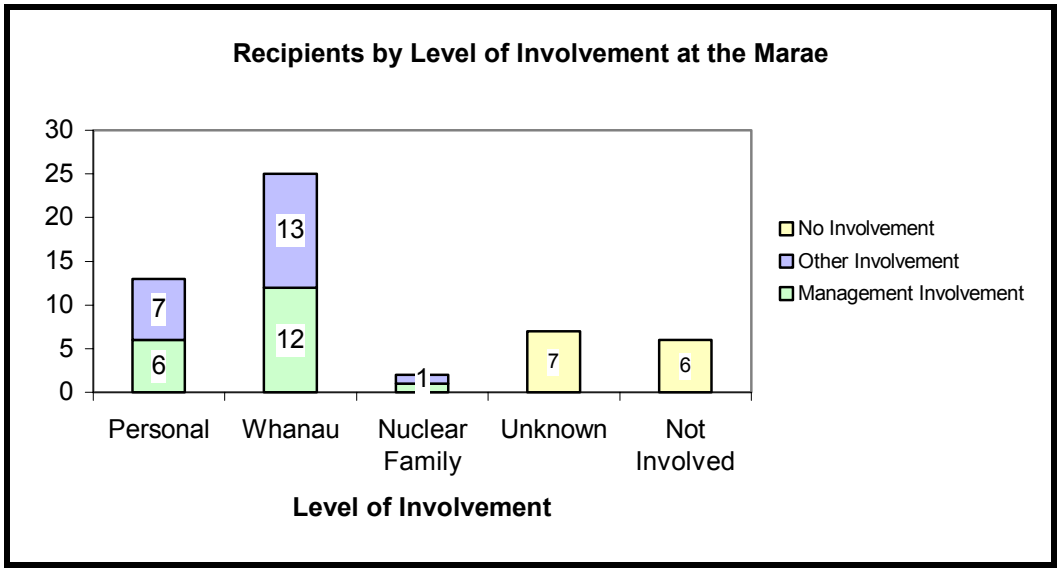


*Figure 8.7 Recipients (1997-1999) by level of involvement at the marae*

*Figure 8.7* shows the extent of involvement at the marae for the 53 recipients between 1997 and 1999. Personal involvement refers to the extent to which recipients were directly involved in the activities at the marae. Nuclear family involvement refers to whether a recipient's siblings, parents, or grandparents were directly involved at the marae. Recipients could therefore be said to be involved, indirectly at least, as part of the personal networks upon which their family members would call whenever they needed support. The same could occur when the wider whanau was involved, albeit to a lesser extent. Nevertheless, students could claim as a minimal level of involvement, their whanau's association with the marae in what is known as ahi kaa, a concept referring to the long-term active maintenance of a whanau's connection to its turangawaewae, its homeland, through residence in the region or involvement in activities. Strong involvement meant that students were regularly called upon to support the efforts of whanau members who were involved at the marae. *Figure 8.7* shows this as whanau involvement.

The extent of students' involvement has been further categorised as management involvement and other involvement. Management involvement refers to a student's participation as a member of the Marae Committee or Trustees. Other involvement refers to a student's participation in Te Kohanga Reo, as ringawera, as a member of

the local urupa (cemetery) committees, as a worker at whanau hui, or in any activities at the marae that were not related to its management.

The majority – 40 of the 53 recipients - were personally involved or had nuclear family or whanau members who were involved. The remaining 13 recipients were either not involved (6) or the extent of their involvement was not determined (7). No reference to them did not appear in any of the marae's management records between 1997 and 1999 so they most likely were not involved in management activities. However, information about their nuclear families or whanau was unavailable so the possible extent of their involvement at the marae could not be established. These 13 recipients represented 24% of the total number of recipients from the marae: the Tainui Maori Trust Board had incorporated marae into its application process as a way of brokering a relationship with them.

The largest group of recipients (25) had whanau involved, 12 who had whanau members involved in management and 13 who had whanau members involved in other ways (*Figure 8.7*). The second largest group (13) were recipients who were personally involved, with 6 involved in managing the marae and 7 involved in other activities. There were 2 recipients who had nuclear family involved, one had a sibling involved in management and the other had a sibling involved in non-management activity.

**The Position of Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae in Relation to Other Marae**

The 1999 Annual Report of the WRLT recorded Te Papa-o-Rotu as the marae with the largest number of recipients (21) for 1999 (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 1999). Information in the Report indicated that Te Papa-o-Rotu had approximately the third largest population registered on the benrol that year in relation to other marae. This suggests that Te Papa-o-Rotu had a disproportionately high number of recipients in relation to its apparent population size, compared with other marae. According to the WRLT Annual Report, 61 marae received a portion of the funding pool for marae grants. Due to the way the marae grant is calculated (see *Table 7.1* in the previous

chapter), the proportion of funding indicates the population size of beneficiary marae. Te Papa-o-Rotu received 3.5% of the approximately $3 million funding pool for marae grants; only two other marae received a larger percentage. The largest proportion of funding (5%) went to Turangawaewae Marae in Ngaruawahia, with the second largest going to Maungatautari Marae near Cambridge (3.6%). Hukanui Marae (near Hamilton) received an equivalent amount to Te Papa-o-Rotu. Recipients from both Turangawaewae Marae and Maungatautari Marae numbered 19 and there were 12 from Hukanui Marae.

According to the WRLT Annual Report 1999 (1999, p. 15), 296 education grants were awarded to undergraduate students and 46 scholarships were awarded to graduate and postgraduate students, a total of 362 grants and scholarships. Twenty one grants and scholarships were awarded to people from Te Papa-o-Rotu, representing 6% of the total number awarded. Of these, 18 people received undergraduate grants, representing 6% of the total number of grants, and 3 received scholarships (1 received a graduate scholarship and 2 received postgraduate doctoral scholarships) representing 11% of the total number of scholarships.

However, there were discrepancies that suggested the information in the WRLT Annual Report was indicative only. For instance, the certificate that the WRLT presented to Te Papa-o-Rotu at the Koroneihana listed 23 recipients (D639).[153] Also, like Te Papa-o-Rotu, Waahi Marae appeared to have a disproportionately high number of recipients compared to its apparent population size. Waahi Marae in Huntly is the private residence of the Queen and was listed as having 19 recipients yet as receiving 1.4% of the marae grant funding pool. In previous years, Waahi Marae had one of the largest population sizes of beneficiary marae. The marae received a capitalisation grant, an option made available to marae in 1997 (N116).[154] The WRLT offered a limited amount of funding for marae to capitalise on their projected

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[153] WRLT to Marae. Form letter with photograph of marae representative and education grants/scholarships recipients, and certificate listing names of recipients. (1999, 31 May). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[154] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1998, January). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

marae grants for up to five years. Waahi Marae was one of the first to gain funding approval. The low proportion of marae grant funding that Waahi Marae received in 1999 was no doubt due to their capitalisation grant repayments.

### Administration Processes for Development Projects

The group of people who attended the wananga in late 1997 were reluctant to volunteer for more management roles because most of them already had at least one role to fulfil. Some of them were also involved at the marae in a non-administrative capacity, such as Kaumatua or ringawera. However, there was an impression of deep weariness about the group and, combined with the reluctance of the Marae Executive to make or act on decisions at Marae Committee hui, a kind of disillusionment was apparent. Matua B remarked at the August 1997 Marae Committee hui, "it is hard for the Marae Executive to make decisions for the marae, they get hammered. The Marae Committee should not worry about those not here. Make decisions, even if a small team" (N92).[155] In the event, volunteering for a task involved not only completing it, but also completing it to the satisfaction of the Marae Committee or facing what could amount to severe criticism. For this reason, there were fewer volunteers than might otherwise have been the case. In particular, experienced members of the Marae Committee, aware of the potential for conflict, tended to avoid volunteering and most of those who attended the 1997 wananga were very experienced.

Although the goals and objectives of the Education Support project had been agreed upon (see *Table 8.1*), specific procedures to operationalise those objectives were never discussed before the project was implemented. The decisions about how to proceed were left to the Education Support Team to determine, with input from the rest of the Marae Committee. An example was the Marae Committee's implicit assumption that the Education Support Team would report at Marae Committee hui.

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[155] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1997, August).

There were long delays in redirecting correspondence due to Marae Committee hui procedures. For instance, the 1998 education grants guidelines, timetable and marae declaration form sent from the WRLT was dated 17 November 1997 but was not tabled at the Marae Committee hui till the January 1998 hui (D536).[156] An enquiry from WRLT dated 30 November 1998 requesting endorsement of four students' applications for university-administered, iwi-funded scholarships was sent to the Marae Committee (D645).[157] The deadline for a reply was December 1998. It was not, however, until their meeting in January 1999 that this letter was handed to the Education Support Team Co-ordinator by the Marae Secretary.

The only time members from the various committees and groups were in the same place at the same time was at Marae Committee hui. Correspondence was handed to the appropriate committee at that stage. Both the Marae Executive and the Education Support Team tried to expedite procedures by sending a letter to WRLT each year advising them to contact the team directly, with no effect. For its part, the Marae Executive did not redirect correspondence to the appropriate committee members until after it had been tabled with the Marae Committee.

The Secretary of the Marae Committee had to make a special trip to the home of a committee member if she decided that correspondence was urgent.[158] Alternatively, committee members had to visit the Secretary at her home, assuming they knew there was correspondence waiting for them. Scheduling times to visit each other, organising transport between homes (involving petrol costs, organising a driver or borrowing a car), arranging childcare and tracking the correspondence were all factors to consider. Little wonder that few letters were deemed sufficiently urgent to warrant personal delivery.

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[156] WRLT to Marae Committee. Marae involvement in Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust 1998 education distribution process. Guidelines, timetable, questionnaire and declaration. (1997, 17 November.) Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[157] WRLT to Marae Committee regarding WRLT-funded, university-administered scholarship applications. (1998, 30 November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[158] The Secretary in the 1997 Marae Executive lived in Whatawhata and the 1998 Secretary lived in Hamilton. Most committee members lived either in Whatawhata or Hamilton.

One of the difficulties in dealing with the WRLT's applications process was attempting to adapt quickly to its sudden changes in procedures in order to minimise complications. Policies, procedures, deadlines, and contact staff were all subject to sudden change in the middle of the process. Matua B reported that he had tried to visit Marae Committee hui at other Ngati Mahanga marae when he was the representative on the Tainui Maori Trust Board. However, as at 1997, one marae had not met for three years and another never arranged any Marae Committee hui at all (N92).[159] Te Papa-o-Rotu's policy of holding monthly hui meant that it was in a stronger position than other marae to meet the WRLT's deadlines and enquiries and therefore support students but there were still ongoing procedural problems that placed pressure on the Marae Committee to act in certain ways.

Marae Committee processes were ignored to such an extent that two public perceptions quickly became apparent: that the Marae Committee was incompetent because it could not meet deadlines, and that the Marae Committee's processes were wrong. For instance, a two-week turnaround for replying to correspondence did not take account of the fact that the Marae Committee met monthly and the postal box was not checked until just prior to a hui, that is, once or twice a month. Correspondence was tabled at Marae Committee hui before being passed on to the appropriate committee for reply. That committee would discuss the correspondence before a reply could be drafted and sent. If the letter writer was not the Secretary, then the timing for drafting and sending a reply depended on the personal resources of the letter writer. As mentioned previously, this took almost two months with regard to the WRLT's letter on university-administered, iwi-funded scholarships. Deadlines with mismatched turnaround times gave a definite impression that WRLT staff thought the Marae Committee, or an administrative office of some kind, was operating regularly and that correspondence was collected frequently. Since the WRLT gave an annual grant to marae, it is not surprising that they may have assumed the Marae Committee had financial resources for administration costs. In fact, Te

[159] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1997, August).

Papa-o-Rotu invested all of its annual grants into its building renovation project so administrative work was funded from fundraising (which ordinarily was not intended for administrative costs) or koha.

The mismatch between Marae Committee processes and WRLT expectations appeared to represent a struggle for procedural control. WRLT expected a conventional administrative response that was timely for them. On the other hand, the Marae Committee's processes did not readily accommodate the needs of external agencies. This was due in large part to the Marae Committee's internal community focus and highlighted the changing dynamic in the relationship between the Marae Committee and the WRLT. Attempts to resolve the mismatch resulted in strong pressure on individuals within the Marae Committee, namely, individuals who went out of their way to expedite procedures, including making decisions on-the-spot, who then had to defend their actions at Marae Committee hui. Ultimately, making decisions without full consultation was an unpleasant and therefore, unpopular option.

### *Decision-making Processes for Development Projects*

Te Papa-o-Rotu's decision-making process began with a group decision before tasks were allocated to teams, committees or individuals. However, any sudden or urgent demands placed individuals in a bind over whether to decide for the group without consulting them first. Should the individual make a decision in this way, this could result in a student's application being processed more favourably or quickly. Should the individual choose to wait for the next group meeting, the application could stall and, in the end, fail to be processed successfully. Since the Marae Committee delegated authority for making decisions to the team and not to individuals, anyone who made a sole decision was later called to account for that decision to the team, then to the Marae Committee.

Such an event occurred during the 1999 process when the WRLT wrote to the Marae Committee requesting an endorsement decision on an applicant in Auckland who had

not had the opportunity to have her application endorsed at the marae's wananga. WRLT's Education Manager at the time had initially told the student to contact the Secretary directly. The applicant had sent the application form to the Secretary asking her to complete certain sections of it. The Secretary had been offended and, "threw it back in the return mail box" (JA63).[160] When the student rang the WRLT and discovered her application had not been endorsed, she completed the form and re-sent it to the Secretary for endorsement via WRLT. WRLT's letter was dated the 23rd April with the deadline to reply on the 30th. Since the Secretary was not aware of the contents of the letter until the 29th, she rang Matua B and asked him to confirm the applicant's whakapapa and that the applicant's principal marae was Te Papa-o-Rotu. She said Matua B advised her to endorse the application because the student would be seen eventually. Matua B seemed to be referring to the Koroneihana presentations. The Secretary then phoned the WRLT directly advising them of the marae's endorsement. At the following Marae Committee hui, she had to explain her actions to the Marae Committee and the Education Support Team.

The Secretary was not fully aware of the Education Support Team's responsibilities and her actions highlighted a growing tension between the representatives on the different committees and the terms of their responsibilities. The fact that the team had been effectively circumvented suggested that the team had become superfluous and that the 1998 Marae Executive was able to carry out the responsibilities themselves. This contrasted sharply with the views of the 1997 Marae Executive, who had agreed to the establishment of the Education Support Team, in part, because Executive members were anxious to involve as many people as possible in Marae Committee responsibilities.

There were other instances that seemed to suggest that the Education Support Team's responsibilities were no longer relevant. Some of the Marae Committee members, such as the Secretary, seemed to favour a much tougher stance than the team had taken. They expected applicants to demonstrate a more immediate and direct

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[160] Fieldnotes, personal communication with Secretary. (1999, 1 June). Journal A/63.

commitment to the marae. Others, like Matua B and Whaea B, seemed to have changed their minds and wanted team members to assess whakapapa and essays. Some of the applicants were seen as benefiting without deserving to because they had not demonstrated a personal commitment to the marae at that stage in their lives and they were unknown to the people outside of the team who made decisions on applications. This view gave rise to the possibility that applicants who were unknown to the decision-maker could be treated differently, perhaps even less favourably, from applicants who were known. This had been reported on at a previous Marae Committee hui, where a member told the committee that her niece, who was affiliated to a different marae, had not had her application endorsed because she did not visit her marae (JA97).[161] Once the 1999 application process was completed, a review of every aspect of the project seemed timely so that the Marae Committee could confirm its strategy and co-ordinate its efforts. The Education Support Team discussed this at their meeting in July and approached someone to conduct the review. A review required several months of discussions at wananga and confirmation at Marae Committee hui. However, the need for a review was later overtaken by events.[162]

Such a dramatic turnaround can be partly attributed to the different configuration of the Marae Committee between the time the marae's process for handling iwi education grants was created, and the end of 1999. There were seven hui between August and November 1997 (four Marae Committee hui and three wananga) in which the framework for the marae's process was established. The subject was never discussed with such intensity again. In addition, the people who were a constant presence in 1997 differed from those who were a steady presence in 1999.

*Table 8.6* lists the people who were part of the policy setting group for the Education Support project and who attended the majority of Marae Committee hui in 1999.

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[161] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1999, 13 June). Journal A/97.
[162] Members of the Marae Committee and Education Support Team were reconsidering the terms and objectives of the education support project, thereby pre-empting the findings of the review.

Only six people fit this category. Three of them were on the Education Support Team. They represented less than half of the policy-setting group and were the only Marae Committee members with historical knowledge of the policies made or the reasons for them.

*Table 8.6 People at the majority of hui in 1997 and 1999*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Matua B |
| 2 | Rangatahi D |
| 3 | Rangatahi I |
| 4 | Marae Representative, Education Support Team |
| 5 | Student Representative, Education Support Team |
| 6 | Co-ordinator, Education Support Team |

Discussions that took place at the Marae Committee hui in November 1999 confirmed that a change in direction was felt to be desirable (N135).[163] The meeting was held at the Whatawhata home of Rangatahi I because there was a tangi at the marae. Conducting the hui at someone's home is likely to have been a factor that influenced the way in which the meeting was conducted, one that affected who spoke and how they spoke. The usual bantering that took place on the marae might, for example, have been considered discourteous in the context of an individual's home. It was a sunny day so the top table was a trestle set up outside, under the carport. Chairs were collected from inside the house to supplement the outdoor tables and chairs already under the carport and were arranged in a semi-circle so that everyone was facing the top table. Opposite the top table on the other side of the carport were ranch slider doors that opened to the house interior. The homeowners kept moving between the inside and outside to be a part of the meeting yet take care of their family at the same time. They were a young family with about six children ranging in age from infant to primary school age, some of whom were at home at the time, yet the children did not venture outside very often throughout the meeting and were uncommonly quiet.

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[163] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.

The meeting proceeded with more formality than usual, with most people adhering to the formal procedures of a meeting rather than succumbing to the spontaneity and impulsiveness common at a typical Marae Committee hui. There were 12 people at the meeting, the smallest group to attend all year. Matua B opened and closed the meeting with a karakia, and the Chairperson of the Marae Executive started the meeting with a mihi. The Secretary/Treasurer had resigned the previous month so the Chairperson asked if someone would take the minutes. No-one offered, so Whaea B asked the Assistant Chairperson to do it. The Assistant Treasurer sat at the top table as well, making the full complement of what remained of the Marae Executive (since the Assistant Secretary was in mourning over the recent passing of her partner and had taken leave of absence). Also in attendance were the three active members on the Education Support Team and they, along with Matua B and Rangatahi I, had been members of the policy setting group for the Education Support project.

*Table 8.7 People at the Marae Committee Hui, November 1999*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Chairperson |
| 2 | Assistant Chairperson |
| 3 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 4 | Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 5 | Education Support Team Marae Representative |
| 6 | Education Support Team Co-ordinator |
| 7 | Matua B |
| 8 | Pakeke F |
| 9 | Rangatahi I |
| 10 | Rangatahi W |
| 11 | Rangatahi AD |
| 12 | Rangatahi AE |

The Education Support project came up for discussion under four agenda items: matters arising from the previous minutes, inward correspondence, committee reports, and general business. There were clear signs during discussions that some Marae Committee members no longer sanctioned the principles underpinning the

project and they showed a hardened attitude toward applicants. In particular, they no longer seemed to accept that students applied for financial reasons more than for cultural or social purposes. One Marae Committee member said that applying solely for financial reasons was inadequate (N135).[164] Some of the committee members argued that applicants had to attend a Marae Committee or education hui so that they could be seen face-to-face and questioned (JB198).[165] One of them believed that a policy to this effect had been set in 1998 (JB183).[166] In fact, there was no such policy. Opportunities for applicants to visit the marae were organised, but the applicants were not required to attend. However, the WRLT added a new procedure into their 1999 application process requiring applicants to contact their marae before sending in their applications and this is, perhaps, the policy to which he was referring. The procedure was different for the 1998 process, when applications were sent to WRLT first and then forwarded to the marae. For that process, the marae could contact students if they wanted to conduct interviews.

Two committee members wanted applicants' whakapapa checked before applications were endorsed. This was normally done through WRLT during registration onto their benrol so they appeared to be suggesting that applicants' whakapapa should be checked twice. One of them made a case for the Kaumatua on the Education Support Team to endorse benrol registration forms and two other members on the team to endorse grant applications. She was clearly of the opinion that changes should be made to the way in which the Education Support Team operated so that benrol registration and grant application processes could be combined, thereby allowing a seamless check of students' whakapapa.

The Education Support Team's responsibility for endorsing applications on behalf of the Marae Committee was challenged by members of the project's original policy setting group as well as members of the Marae Executive. The Marae Executive had

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[164] Minutes of the Marae Committee Hui. (1999, November). Whatawhata: Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae.
[165] Fieldnotes, additional notes on Marae Committee Hui. (1999, 15 November). Journal B/198.
[166] Fieldnotes, Marae Committee Hui. (1999, 14 November). Journal B/183.

difficulty contributing to the debate because they were unaware of the project's goals and objectives or the administrative procedures that the team used. However, the Chairman insisted that the Marae Committee (read Executive) was responsible for endorsing new applications.

The Education Support Team Student Representative raised the point that there were only two remaining active members on the team after two years into the project and recommended that elections be held for a new team. Marae Committee members agreed and the Chairperson asked if there were any objections to an interim team being appointed. There were none.

Of all the various discussions about the Education Support project, the most significant one culturally was how Kaumatua centralised students' whakapapa and made it an issue. This contrasted with both the WRLT's application process, which merely confirmed that the applicant was registered on the benrol, and the Education Support Team's process, where the students' right to apply through affiliation to the marae was assumed and their whakapapa were never discussed. Seen in this light, the arguments forwarded were a way of trying to centre discussions about students' whakapapa somewhere within the education grants process.

## Conclusion

An aspect of marae management affairs that regularly features in this chapter is the way in which various matters were intertwined. Examples of this are the connection between the education grants and scholarships applications process and benrol registrations, or the way that renovations related to legal entity status and marae grants. The same can be said of processes, such as planning at wananga and confirming decisions at hui, or the responsibilities of the Marae Executive and the Education Support Team. Whakapapa connected students to the marae community, Marae Committee members to their network of whanau helpers, and the iwi authority to the marae. Whanau built alliances to push through decisions (or hinder them) and individuals assembled whanau based not on kin, but on common interests (that is, a

kaupapa whanau). The holistic approach applied to internal-external relationships as it did for a solely internal community focus and was apparent in all Marae Committee discussions as well as operational processes. However, there was some evidence of how little external agencies knew about marae operations, one aspect of the fact that relationships between traditional marae and external agencies were a recent phenomenon. The primary school visit in 1999 and the WRLT's Education staff correspondence were examples. Processes created for particular situations, such as for the Education Support project and its team, were reconsidered, adjusted and subjected to change in a way consistent with operationalising new phenomena.

# Chapter 9

## Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae Management: Concluding Considerations

This study has focussed on how bureaucratic administration has been a catalyst for change in the way that Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae is managed. Through the cumulative effect of state legislation on Maori land and communities, the marae's management and administration has been in a long transition from informal to formal organising. Weber's analysis of bureaucracy has helped in the heuristic identification of the relations of power in play (Weber, 1946/1968). Bureaucratic administration has been legitimated and appropriated by the iwi authority and this mode of management has been passed on to the marae through the increasingly close relationship being fostered between iwi authority and marae. Pressure on the marae community to change its focus from solely internal matters to include external matters has been a significant effect of the marae community's relationship with the iwi authority and has contributed further to the adoption of bureaucratic administration. The marae community itself, by accommodating and adopting bureaucratic modes, has contributed to the transition toward formal organising. Although this accommodation and adoption has been reminiscent of naïve conscientisation (Freire, 1976) at times, the community can be said to have been critically conscientised whenever cultural values clashed with those values ingrained in bureaucratic administration and whenever the community's rangatiratanga (self-determination, control, authority) was perceived to be jeopardised. In this way, the community has managed to maintain its rangatiratanga thus far but it is unclear whether such reactionary responses will continue to protect marae community rangatiratanga in the long term.

This chapter concludes by reflecting on the practicalities of incorporating bureaucratic administration into marae management and administration as well as the methods that the community has employed in order to maintain its rangatiratanga. The community has been innovative in reconciling tensions between traditional and modern modes of operation or traditional leadership and rational-legal authority. To this end, the community has maintained its rangatiratanga despite strong pressure to

adapt to modern modes of management that could have reduced the marae community's ability to control its own affairs and retain a separate identity.

## Indicators of a Transitional Phase

Cultural expressions such as hui (gatherings), karakia (prayer), mihi (speeches), whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building), koha (donation), kotahitanga (unity), tiakitanga (caretaking) and manaakitanga (hospitality) are features of the management and administrative processes at the marae. So too, is community control and authority, Kaumatua (elder) leadership, consensus decision-making, and a concern for social cohesion, from tribal associations to whanau interests. Added to these cultural norms are a series of processes and procedures based on bureaucratic administration. Weber's six characteristics of modern officialdom are evident at the marae but in a significantly atypical form (Weber, 1946/1968, pp. 66-69). His principle of an office hierarchy is also in evidence. However, the office of Trustee operates at a token level only with the ostensibly subordinate offices, namely the Marae Committee and Marae Executive, operational. Office management is subject to accountability at Marae Committee hui so its scale is dependent on the Marae Committee's ability to understand it (and therefore, approve it) rather than the expertise of the office holder. Offices are customised to the incumbents and none of the offices are developed to the stage required for full-time operation. The office of Trustee is the only one that followed regulated and exhaustive rules. The nature of Marae Committee control is too variable to work productively in this way. The marae has an organisational structure in the Marae Committee for administrative purposes but is otherwise a community.

The research for this study highlighted other influences that impacted on the processes and procedures used. These included a voluntary and transient workforce, accountability to the Marae Committee, multiple and changeable outsourced locations where administrative work is done, low interest in engaging in managerial and administrative work, and the accommodation of bureaucratic procedures that are adopted by the iwi authority and passed on to the marae.

The most contentious issue is undoubtedly that of authority. It permeates the marae's relationships with the state and the iwi authority, with community control, iwi management, or legislated authority often vying for prominence in any given situation. These tensions became more visible as the marae moved from a solely inward-looking managerial focus to a concern for issues beyond the marae that affected its whanau and its own development. There are also internal tensions between committees or whanau that are related to confusion over the location of authority. Marae rangatiratanga is closely guarded and any perceived threat jeopardised relationships between the marae and external agencies. Therefore, power sharing and collaboration are the touchstones of these relationships.

All of these features serve to reinforce the argument that the marae is in a long period of transition from informal to formal organising. Bureaucratic administration has been a major catalyst for this change and has helped to produce an organic community actively engaged (if not conscientised) in the development of its own evolution.

**Bureaucratic Administration: A Major Catalyst for Change**

Divorced from the practical realities of the marae community, the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 and Maori Reservations Regulations 1994 governing the conduct of Trustees were designed to impose a new order of control that was contrary to existing practices. The Regulations reflected standard practices in the dominant culture of New Zealand society. However, they served to engineer changes to traditional social behaviour in Maori society. Regulating social behaviour is a consequence of regulating the use of land when it comes to the marae because the marae complex, its land and its community are so intricately linked. The Regulations placed the Trustees in a position that was potentially in conflict with the Marae Committee but the community is able to resolve the tension to allow both committees to work productively alongside each other. The most noticeable strategy used was that of

relegating the Trustee Committee to a shadow committee and the Trustees to gatekeepers against state influence.

The Regulations are a patent example of the relations of power Michel Foucault referred to when he said that, "through the use of systematic forms of control, routine activities, and where necessary the threat of punishment [one can achieve] an enforcement and internalisation of particular moral values and codes of conduct." (Smart, 1985, p. 24) However, a necessary pre-requisite is the collusion and submission of the targeted group. Rather than become complicit in their own subjection, the community at Te Papa-o-Rotu is actively trying to protect its autonomy, resulting in the Trustee Committee being largely sidelined from mainstream management activity.

The threat of punishment is what ensconces the Trustee Committee at the apex of the management structure more than that the Trustee Committee is legally constituted. Since the Trustees could be convicted for contravening the Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 and Maori Reservations Regulations 1994, the Trustees are regarded as holding the ultimate responsibility for marae management. The fact that the punishment is a fine of a mere $10 is irrelevant: the threat is enough to make the community want to protect the marae and the Trustees from the shame of conviction. The community had already assigned the powers and responsibilities that the Regulations assigned to Trustees to the Marae Committee or Executive, and the Marae Committee predated the establishment of the Trustee Committee. The Regulations ignored the role and place of the Marae Committee, seeking instead to install a state-ruled committee and bring marae under the state's bureaucratic control. However, Trustees are given the nebulous responsibility for ‘long term planning’ or ‘policy-making’ and the Marae Committee that of ‘day to day management and operations’ as a way of providing a management structure that would be in accordance with the Regulations. In practice, long term planning and policy-making emerges out of wananga and is developed at Marae Committee hui.

Trustees then, could be perceived as sacrificing themselves for the good of the community when they take up their positions, implicitly offering to accept liability vis-à-vis a conviction should it come to that. They have little concrete control, they do not want to regulate the community even if they could, and they could not fulfil their responsibilities as set out in the Regulations. They could try to wrestle control from the Marae Committee, but in doing so, they would be trying to wrest control from the community and give it to the state, a fundamentally abhorrent act for them. The Marae Committee for its part tries to ensure that Trustees will not be placed under threat of conviction by adapting some of its own procedures. This was why the Marae Committee kept minutes of its meetings, why there was an annual report in 1997, why AGMs were held, why public notices of AGMs and special meetings were placed in newspapers, and why written financial reports were produced. Formal leadership based on legal sanctions has limited applicability in marae management, but the Trustee Committee is found a place within the community-determined management structure.

## Issues of Authority

Conflicts of authority are handled in a highly sophisticated fashion. When Trustees are Kaumatua, the authority of the Trustees is linked with the authority of the paepae (frontline of elders) in a mutually affirming connection. When the community, rather than the Trustees, takes responsibility for resolving problems, it is exercising its rangatiratanga. Restricting the Trustees' sphere of influence is a form of resistance to legislated authority because it is an interpretation that subverts the intent of the law. A perceived hierarchy provides a suitable modern management structure on paper without unduly affecting practical, day-to-day operations. Using the Marae Executive as a bridge between the Trustees and Marae Committee is a way for the community to keep the State's influence separate from normal operations, yet satisfy the Court that appropriate records and accounts are being kept, even if they are not kept by the Trustees.

The Trustees gain bureaucratic authority by right of the office they hold and the same can be said of the Marae Executive. Traditional leadership and bureaucratic authority are a compatible fit when Kaumatua are on both the Trustee Committee and the Executive. This compatibility is reinforced further when the Trustee Committee is linked to the paepae. The link serves to allow for a retention of some authority in community hands because the *mana* (authority, status) of the paepae and the authority of the Trustees becomes mutually affirming. Since the paepae is the leadership in many respects, the Court inadvertently endorses the leadership through their appointment. The Trustee Committee, on the other hand, becomes imbued with the mana of Kaumatua on the paepae by association. From the community's viewpoint, the Trustees are a gatekeeping committee responsible for protecting the community from legal problems. Should there ever be a time when the Court becomes directly involved in marae management, the leadership would be the ones to answer the challenge. Even when the marae has a mix of Kaumatua and Rangatahi Trustees the community are likely to acknowledge the group as one of the leadership groups because the historical position of Trustees' as Kaumatua is such that Rangatahi and Pakeke Trustees' appointments are perceived as endorsing future Kaumatua of the community.

Restricting the Trustees' sphere of influence allowed the community to restrict the Court's influence. The community could, if required to do so, put forward a very viable argument for interpreting the legislation in a way that referred to land related matters only. Again, the Trustees are a gatekeeping committee for the community as much as an agent for the state. When each committee handles different issues – the Trustees handling land-related and legal issues; the Marae Committee handling the administration and management issues related to community activity – the Trustees and Marae Committee are able to work productively side-by-side.

### *Options for Reconciling the Management Groups*

One possibility for reconciliation between the duties of the Trustees and those of the Marae Committee was to remove one of the management committees. Since Trustees

are the only legally recognised authority on marae reservations, the Marae Committee is at a distinct disadvantage in such a decision. At the marae that Fiona Te Momo (1999) researched, the Trustees replaced the Marae Committee and called themselves the Marae Committee[167] and Ngarongo Marae in the Taranaki region had Trustees only (Erueti, 1996). Since a Trustee Committee could not carry out the work alone - that is, Trustees depended on community support in order to be effective - it could form sub-committees. Another option available, therefore, is to make the Marae Committee, or a version of it, a sub-committee of the Trustees. In order to do this, the community would have had to cede its authority and acknowledge the Trustees as the management authority.

The problem with both options is that the community would lose much of its rangatiratanga of the marae. The community would become responsible to the state through the Trustees despite the fact that the Trustees are accountable to the community. For example, the Reservations Regulations make it clear that the Trustees are the ones who make the decisions. Even so, the Court can overturn such decisions, including the community's choice of Trustees and the activities in which the community wishes to become involved. Problems that occur within the community can be removed from the domain of influence of the marae and dealt with in Court. Any individual from the community with a grievance has the power to take the Trustees to Court under the Regulations.

Another option for the marae is to cancel its Maori Reservation status and revert to legislation relating to private land, thereby separating land legislation from marae affairs. Te Tii Marae in Northland was in the process of considering such an option in 2004 ("Te tii marae," 2005). In the Waikato, marae are considering transferring their land to the land trust established under the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act and known as *Potatau Te Wherowhero land title* (N158).[168]

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[167] Personal communication, February 2002.
[168] Fieldnotes, Tainui Development Ltd AGM. (1997, 1 August).

### *Executive Leadership*

Few Kaumatua are involved in management at Te Papa-o-Rotu and this affects the balance of leadership in management affairs. Kaumatua are encouraging Rangatahi and Pakeke to contribute more directly, and giving them opportunities to be selected for administrative appointments because they believe that Rangatahi are more technically knowledgeable at handling the increasing complexities of marae management. A perception is sometimes expressed that administrative and management tasks require the expertise of those trained in such things and, further, that those who are not trained are incapable of doing the work competently. Weber (1946/1968, pp. 68-69, 337) noted that the primary source of the superiority of bureaucratic administration lay in the role of technical knowledge, a type of knowledge that represented a special technical learning that the officials had to possess: "the question is always who controls the existing bureaucratic machinery. And such control is possible only in a very limited degree to persons who are not technical specialists" (p. 338). As a result, a second stratum of authority based on technical administrative and management expertise has been introduced primarily by way of the Marae Executive. Members of this group have not always gained community respect by working through the ranks in the traditional manner, but whenever they have, their authority has increased. The authority of this younger group of officials can often outweigh that of the Kaumatua within the domain of management. According to Weber (1947/1964, p. 338), trained officials are more likely to get their way in the long run than the superiors (that is, in this case, the Kaumatua) who are not specialists. Unfortunately, a perception that technical knowledge was the province of Rangatahi when referring to management and administration could undermine the relationship between the two groups on occasions.

A further effect of the absence of Kaumatua from management affairs is reduced access to whanau networks, contributing to the overall low number of people available to participate in management. Low participation in general is a major

contributing factor to the Kaumatua's push for Rangatahi and Pakeke to take up appointments.

## Operational Processes at Hui

There were precedents to the use of bureaucratic proceedings in Marae Committee hui, most noticeably in the proceedings used by Maori tribal committees since the early twentieth century. Instances included the way tribal authorities conducted their meetings and the administration of land trusts that the Maori Trustee facilitated. However, since Marae Committee are not legislated bodies, they are not required to conduct their meetings in any particular way. That they are conducted bureaucratically suggests a familiarity with bureaucratic processes by those who most often attend Marae Committee hui, and an attempt to synchronise the Trustees' responsibilities with the Marae Committee's role. Hui processes are modified to accommodate regulations under which Trustees operate, resulting in an ever increasing bureaucratic formality to proceedings, but with the authority remaining in the hands of the people directly, rather than in those of official representatives, such as Trustees.

The shape of a bureaucratic administrative system is more often apparent than real at the marae: the imported system is not tenable in that there are too many conflicts with Maori cultural values. Underlying principles in relation to dehumanisation, control, obedience, and authority or, in Weber's terms, domination on rational grounds, are difficult to integrate into the existing value system (Weber, 1975/1987, p.7). When this stage is reached, the bureaucratic systems stall as the Marae Committee attempts to design and trial alternative processes and procedures. Although it may have been expedient to suggest that the problem lay in the incompetence of those officials responsible for maintaining such systems, the problem is more accurately attributable to a clash of values that appeared insurmountable.

Furthermore, routinisation, a crucial element of bureaucratic systems that Weber (Mommsen, 1974, p. 93) called the "deadly rule of routine," broke down whenever

there was a change of official. If the management body as a whole had not accepted the principles underlying the existing mode of operation, a new official was faced with a dilemma in determining how to proceed. Internalisation through routinisation could occur only if the management body as a whole accepted the values underlying bureaucracy. Should they do so, the values would be reinforced in the training of new officials and would contribute toward a coordinated bureaucratic system. Bureaucratic systems are designed to be independent of the individuals, continuing regardless of position holders, fulfilling a perceived function, maximising efficient use of resources, instilling order, and stabilising the overall institution to which the system contributes. The systems themselves are indispensable and the individuals expendable. People are instruments of the machine - part of the system - and contribute to its expansion into all aspects of social organisation. This is a characteristic of what Weber called legal authority. (Weber, 1946/1968; 1975/1987)

A critical difference between bureaucratic administration and marae administration relates to what was most valued, the office or the officer. In the context of fully bureaucratic organisation, only people with appropriate technical skills and qualifications can contribute as office holders. Officers can be dismissed, made redundant, and so on. Membership of the marae community, however, is guaranteed and permanent no matter how badly or incompetently a person may have behaved or performed. Furthermore, any member of the community can be an administrative official. Therefore, an office created by the Marae Committee was matched to the office holder, making all offices (or positions), except Trustees, expendable. Community control and decision-making was a fundamental characteristic of Marae Committee management that was not easily incorporated into the more individualistic type of bureaucracy described by Weber and assigned to Trustees. Schoeffel (1996) found a similar reaction to the office or officer dichotomy in the Pacific Islands:

> The organizational structure imposed by colonial societies was based on legal, bureaucratic principles in which jobs were defined by laws and regulations; the powers of an office belonged to the office, and not to the person who held

> it. This was unfamiliar to most Pacific island systems, where leadership was based on the person. (p. 127)

As Uphoff (1996, pp.viii-ix) has observed, processes matter more than product in indigenous organising and this is also the case at the marae. One of the reasons for this is the length of time from an operation's gestation to its achievement. In a context where it takes a considerable period of time to see tangible gains, the process itself (as well as the purpose) become a major motivating factor in maintaining momentum. Another reason why process was often observed as being more important than product at Te Papa-o-Rotu was the constantly changing membership of the decision-making authority, the Marae Committee, which affected the way in which operations progressed. Matters are constantly revisited each month so the amount of time taken to reach a decision can be lengthy, and the effort involved in reaching outcomes can be considerable. The same is true of changes instigated by outside agencies such as the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (WRLT). Each change reactivates the decision-making process, affecting the time taken and effort exercised. Also affected is the level of involvement and support: each change initiated a review of existing allegiances; a self-check involving questioning of whether the reasons for support or the withholding of support remained valid. If not, support that had been given earlier could be withdrawn while the community revisited an entire project. Processes that did not take account of all of this could easily unravel.

## Organic Development of Marae Management

Participation in management at Te Papa-o-Rotu involved holding positions on committees and/or attending Marae Committee hui. Active participation by members of the community is no longer assured partly because management affairs are separated from other activities, and partly because the pool of available people to draw on, that is, whanau living locally, has decreased. The community is widely dispersed across the country and there is no effective way of allowing regular participation from people who live outside the region. People living locally can avoid

participating simply by not attending hui. The trend was toward lower levels of community participation.

Reluctance to participate was often an effect of the decision-making process itself. People are able to stand and voice their opinion on any of the issues raised at hui. They are, in this way, given every opportunity to exercise their right to be a part of the decision-making process. In practice, however, most people listened more than talked, leaving it to a few confident people, such as Kaumatua or the Executive, to draw attention to the various issues involved. The tendency was for decisions (minor or major) to be deliberated on over several hui, so much so that one was left with the distinct impression that people were reluctant to make decisions. This impression was reinforced by a particular peculiarity of the Marae Committee: its constantly changing membership. Since all community members could attend as frequently (or infrequently) as they wished, there was generally a group of people present at each hui who had not attended hui in some time and, therefore, had little knowledge of discussions that had taken place previously. The discussions had to be repeated in summary fashion for their sake, allowing everyone to have an opportunity of contributing should they wish to do so. Even so, irregular attendees generally remained silent. Their presence was, therefore, an unintended block to effective decision-making.

There were other concerns that discouraged people from active participation. Deliberations were often intense and criticism could be acute (reflecting the types of liberty that can characterise family group discussion). Furthermore, the most powerful characteristic of the type of consensus decision-making operating was the ability for one person to veto a decision. This power was frequently exercised and led to a perception that the Marae Committee "does nothing but talk."[169] One-person vetoes, combined with the outspoken nature of some of the views of others, meant that few decisions were made and fewer still acted on. Because the community in general could be contemptuous of failure, committee members often felt too

[169] Personal communications.

intimidated to make decisions or to act upon them, fearing the consequence of perceived failure.[170] In addition, Te Papa-o-Rotu is small enough to become dominated by particular families, at least in management affairs, so people who want to participate actively for any length of time have to align themselves with the aspirations of those families in some way.

A decision-making process of continual review, justification and defence was well established by 1997 and caused a negative atmosphere in which to make decisions. This management style led to self-doubt, lowered self-confidence, and high stress levels amongst those who were working for the marae. Those people who might otherwise have been interested in devoting their time to the marae resisted involvement on these terms. Furthermore, some of those who were already involved withdrew after a period due to the effect on their health and self-esteem. This was one of the main mitigating factors that prevented growth in the number of helpers. Wananga were more moderate in terms of disagreement, but no less intense, since the kaupapa (purpose) of wananga leans more toward learning and sharing together. Unfortunately, because they were advertised at Marae Committee hui, only a few community members were aware of the wananga. This meant those who attended Marae Committee hui were generally those who attended wananga. Although reluctance to participate and slowed decision-making could depict a very negative portrayal of management operations, they could also be seen as extreme community caution or reasonable (and explicable) refusal to be pushed into compliance with new demands.

## Maintaining Community Rangatiratanga

Although the marae managed to maintain its rangatiratanga throughout the period of this study, the increasing assimilation of bureaucratic procedures seemed inevitable. Weber (1947/1964, p. 337) pointed out that bureaucracy was indispensable to modern

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[170] The private face of marae nationwide has received negative media attention as marae community members force Trustees and committees into Court to explain their actions (for example "Judge tells," 2001).

administration systems. Since the modernisation of marae management and administration included the assimilation of bureaucratic administration, some cultural values and beliefs were already threatened. Avoiding direct involvement in marae management and administration was one way in which some community members appeared to seek to resist cultural assimilation. However, since the existence of Te Kauhanganui and the WRLT is so dependent on marae involvement, and since the principle of kotahitanga that underpins the tribal confederation is a principle that the community upholds, there is strong pressure on the community to conform by becoming involved. There seemed little recourse for the marae community in the short term but to conform or withdraw altogether.

In the longer term, the problems facing marae whose whanau attempt to meet the expectations of external bodies can be brought to the attention of tribal authorities, other marae, and state legislators. Encouraging debate would be useful not only in highlighting the issues, but in developing strategic solutions.
Alternative modes of administration could be developed in line with cultural beliefs and practices. For instance, Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae was already using wananga as a strategic planning forum.

A management structure with the Marae Committee at the apex was legitimated by the Papa-o-Rotu community itself. There was no perceived need for external legitimation. However, should the marae become more involved long-term in the activities of the wider community, such external legitimation could become a significant issue. During the period of this study, external agencies seeking marae support were ignored if they did not acknowledge the authority of the Marae Committee.[171] Equally, the Marae Committee could receive support from outside agencies only where it was perceived as conforming to some form of legal-rational

[171] An example is Health Waikato, who promoted their issue at the poukai rather than to the Marae Committee.

authority. One compromise for the marae was to use the Trustees and their legal status, even though this was sometimes rejected.[172]

Although the marae community continued to retain its rangatiratanga during the period of this study, this was slowly being eroded through the unavoidable impact of modern society. Without the previously mentioned move from naïve to critical consciousness as espoused by Freire (1976), it is not clear whether the marae community will be able to transform the shape of marae management and administration in ways consistent with the aspirations of the community.

This study is one of only a handful that has attempted to highlight the issues surrounding the modern challenges that marae face, especially in terms of retaining and maintaining marae rangatiratanga. It is the only study that has examined in detail the internal management and administration processes used by a marae community in order to expose the relations of power in play and the pressure on the community to conform to modern administrative authority and practice. The research indicates that, although the community has been innovative in devising appropriate processes and practices that reinforce cultural values and practices as well as strengthen the marae's rangatiratanga, the community's capacity to continue to do so is slowly being eroded. While it is likely that the situation at Te Papa-o-Rotu is similar to that on other marae, investigations into particular strategies for reinforcing rangatiratanga and preserving cultural practices or the feasibility of using alternative, culturally relevant, management styles to bureaucratic administration, or even future implications of continued use of bureaucratic management by marae, awaits further studies.

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[172] Examples include community funding organisations, some of whom would not accept marae reservation as a legal entity status.

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# Appendices

Appendix A
Chronicle of Trustees' Appointments, 1945 – 1998.

Appendix B
[Sketch Plan of Parish of Karamu Lot201B]. ([c.1966]). Block Order File Box 280. Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

Appendix C
[Order setting Parish of Karamu Lot201B1 apart as a reservation and vesting reservation in trustees], 29Mer 304-305. (1945, 22 February). Hamilton: Maori Land Court.

Appendix D
Setting apart maori freehold land as a maori reservation. (1969, 9 October). *New Zealand Gazette,* p. 1971.

Appendix E
Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust education grants and scholarships application process and Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae education support grant endorsement process, 1998.

Appendix F
Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust education grants and scholarships application process and Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae education support grant endorsement process, 1999.

Appendix G
Tables profiling the marae management groups.

Appendix H
Tables profiling attendees at Annual General Meetings

## APPENDIX A

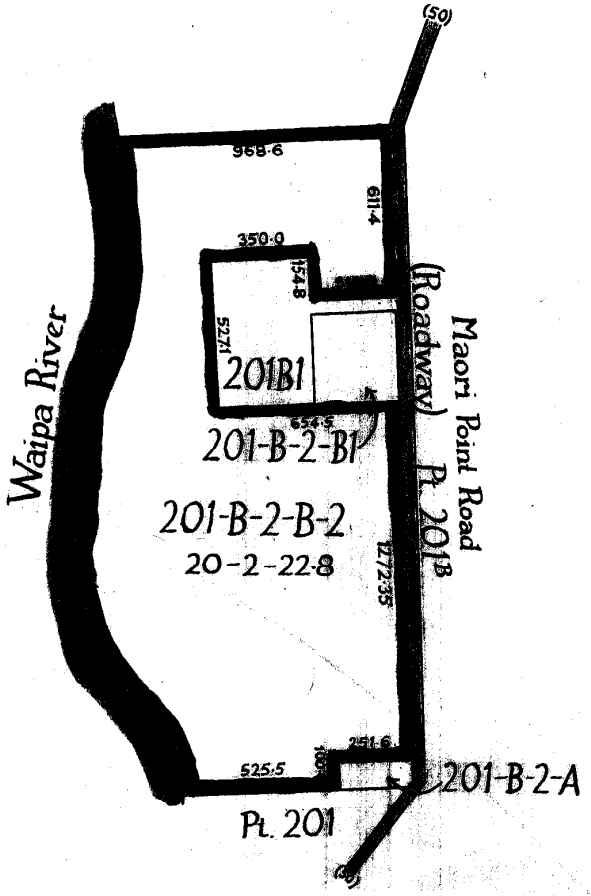
# TRUSTEE APPOINTMENTS

| Year of vesting order | | Name of trustee |
|---|---|---|
| | | ** new trustees in italics* |
| 22 Feb 1945 | 1 | Whati Tamati |
| | 2 | Mapu Taipua |
| | 3 | Tewi Ngaruhe |
| | 4 | Materori Pihama |
| | 5 | Ika Maru |
| | 6 | Hoani Koniria |
| | 7 | Noa Paora |
| | 8 | Nui Te Whiu |
| | 9 | Kiki Kingi |
| | 10 | Rangi Kaumoana Erueti |
| | 11 | Te Oti Watene |
| | 12 | Uehoka Tai Rakena |
| 9 Jun 1981 | 1 | Whati Tamati |
| | 2 | Materori Pihama |
| | 3 | Kiki Kingi |
| | 4 | *Uru Rauwhero* |
| | 5 | *Joseph Wilson* |
| | 6 | *Hao Erueti* |
| | 7 | *Hakiaha Edwards* |
| | 8 | *Pouwhero Kihi* |
| | 9 | *Kingi Tawha* |
| | 10 | *Newton King* |
| | 11 | *Edward Wilson* |
| | 12 | *Te Mokoroa Hamiora* |
| 5 Jun 1984 | 1 | Whati Tamati |
| | 2 | Uru Rauwhero |
| | 3 | Joseph Wilson |
| | 4 | Hao Erueti |
| | 5 | Hakiaha Edwards |
| | 6 | Pouwhero Kihi |
| | 7 | Kingi Tawha |
| | 8 | Newton King |
| | 9 | Edward Wilson |
| | 10 | Te Mokoroa Hamiora |
| | 11 | *Fred Koroheke Kingi* |
| | 12 | *Ross Te Ngaroroa Pihama* |

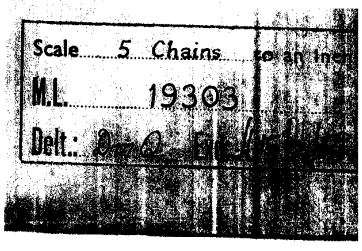
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17 Jan 1996 | 1 | Joseph Wilson |
| | 2 | Hao Erueti |
| | 3 | Pouwhero Kihi |
| | 4 | Kingi Tawha |
| | 5 | Newton King |
| | 6 | Edward Wilson |
| | 7 | Fred Koroheke Kingi |
| | 8 | Ross Te Ngaroroa Pihama |
| | 9 | *Steven Katipa* |
| | 10 | *Richard Kingi* |
| | 11 | *Marge Kaui* |
| | 12 | *James Rauwhero* |
| 5 May 1998 | 1 | Hao Erueti |
| | 2 | Fred Koroheke Kingi |
| | 3 | Richard Kingi |
| | 4 | James Rauwhero |
| | 5 | *Sharon Awhi Mai Reynolds* |
| | 6 | *Kaka Hamiora* |
| | 7 | *Daisy Walker* |
| | 8 | *Kevin Collins* |

**APPENDIX B**

South Auckland Land District
Blk. III Alexandra S.D.
Raglan County Council




Allot. 201 B2 Nº B2 Karamu Parish



**APPENDIX C**

Mer.29/304

In the Native Land Court
of New Zealand

Waikato Maniapoto District

IN THE MATTER of Section 5 of The Native Purposes Act, 1937,

AND

IN THE MATTER of an application to have the land known as Parish of Karamu Lot 201B 1 set apart and reserved as a Native Reservation.

At a sitting of the Court held at Ngaruawahia on 22nd.day of February, 1945, before Erenest Mansfield Beechey, Esquire, Judge, the evidence adduced was as follows:

1. The land affected is Parish of Karamu Lot 201B 1 Block, containing two acres, and owned by Hurori Poo Kingi and Hare Waata, equally.

2. They both agreed to the land being vested in trustees

3. There are no alienations affecting the land.

4. A Meeting House has been erected on the land - also a number of other buildings.

UPON HEARING Rore Erueti for the applicants the COURT RECOMMENDS that the said land Parish of Karamu Lot 201B 1, containing 2 acres be set apart and reserved as a Native Reservation for the purposes of a Marae and Meeting House Reserve, under the provisions of the said Act, for the members of Ngatimahanga tribe.

AND THE COURT BOTH FURTHER RECOMMEND that such native reservation after the issue of the Order in Council setting apart and reserving such land as a native reservation be vested in the following trustees:

Whati Tamati
Mapu Taipua
Tewi Ngaruke
Materori Pihama
Ika Maru
Hoani Koniria
Noa Paora
Nui te Whiu
Kiki Kingi
Kaumoana Erueti
Te Oti Watene
Uehaka Tai Rakena

As witness the hand of the Judge and the Seal of the Court.

:s charged:

:der 10/- pd

Judge.

*N.Z. Gazette, 9 October 1969, No. 61, page 1971*

*Setting Apart Maori Freehold Land as a Maori Reservation*

PURSUANT to section 439 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953, the Maori freehold land described in the Schedule hereto is hereby set apart as a Maori reservation for the purpose of a marae and meeting house reserve for the common use and benefit of members of the Ngatimahanga tribe.

SCHEDULE

SOUTH AUCKLAND LAND DISTRICT

ALL that piece of land situated in Block III, Alexandra Survey District, and described as follows:

| a. | n. | r. | Being |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 0 | 0 | Karamu Lot 201 B. No. 1. |

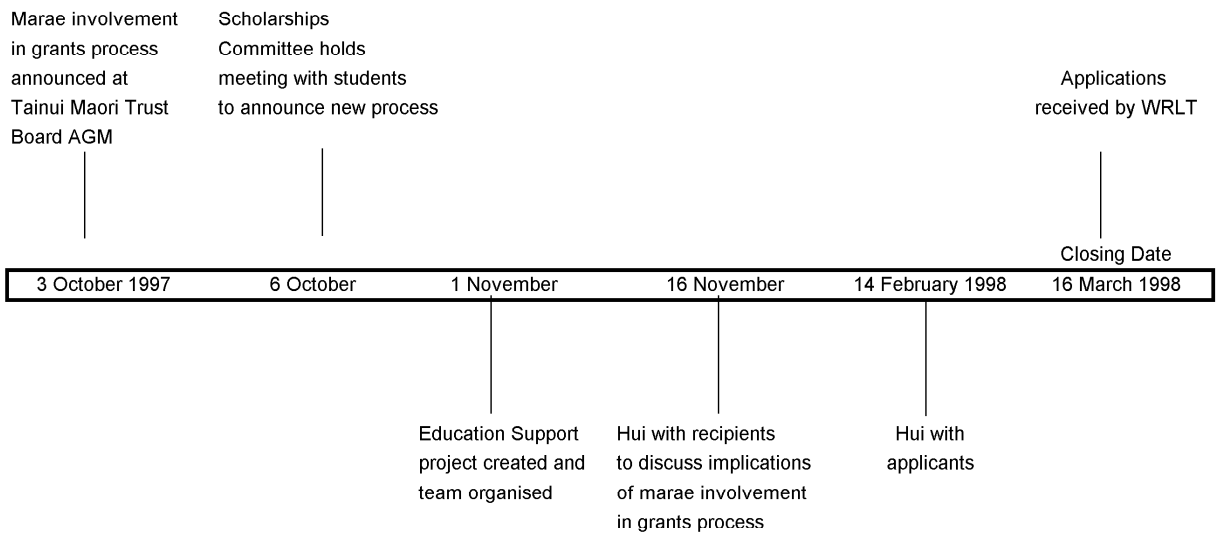
Dated at Wellington this 2nd day of October 1969.

J. M. McEWEN,
Secretary for Maori and Island Affairs.

(M. and I.A. 21/3/611)

## APPENDIX E

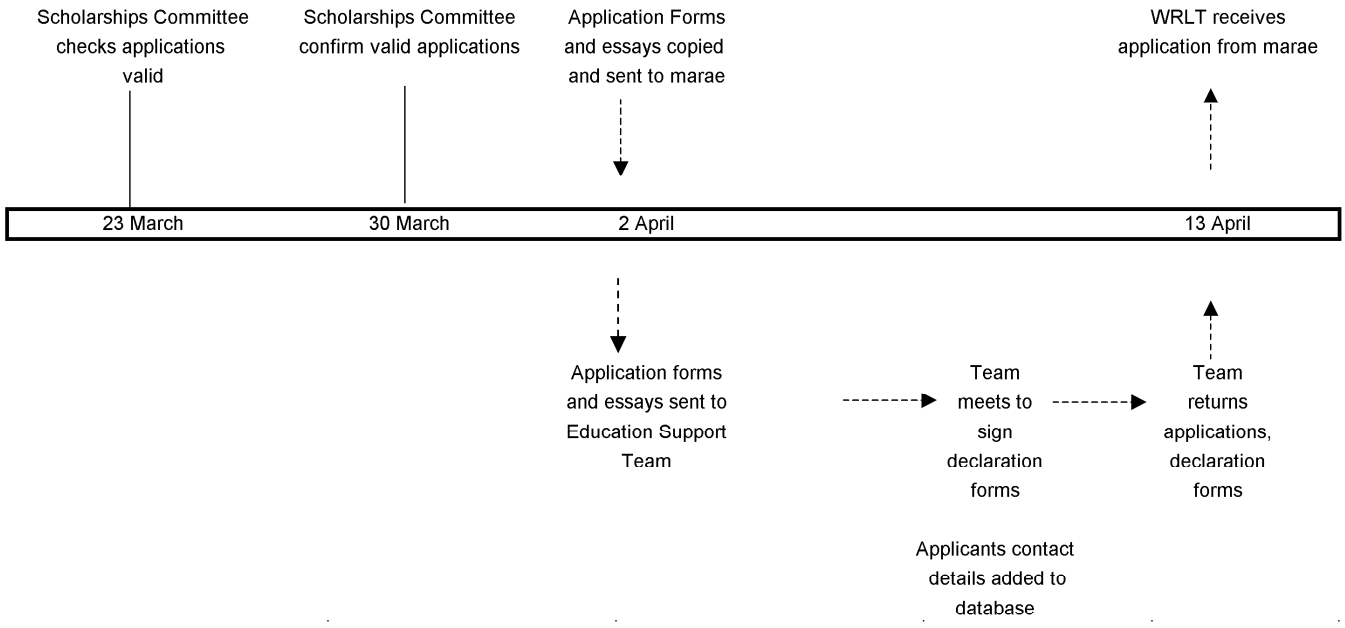
**WAIKATO RAUPATU LANDS TRUST EDUCATION GRANTS APPLICATION PROCESS 1998**




**TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE EDUCATION SUPPORT - GRANT ENDORSEMENT PROCESS 1998**

## APPENDIX E

**WAIKATO RAUPATU LANDS TRUST EDUCATION GRANTS APPLICATION PROCESS 1998**

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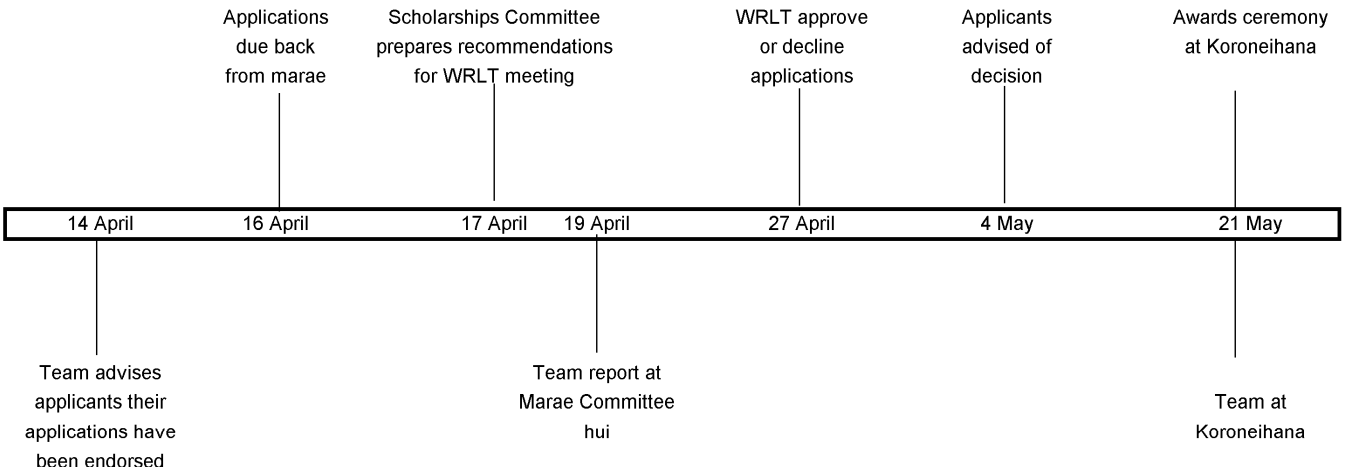
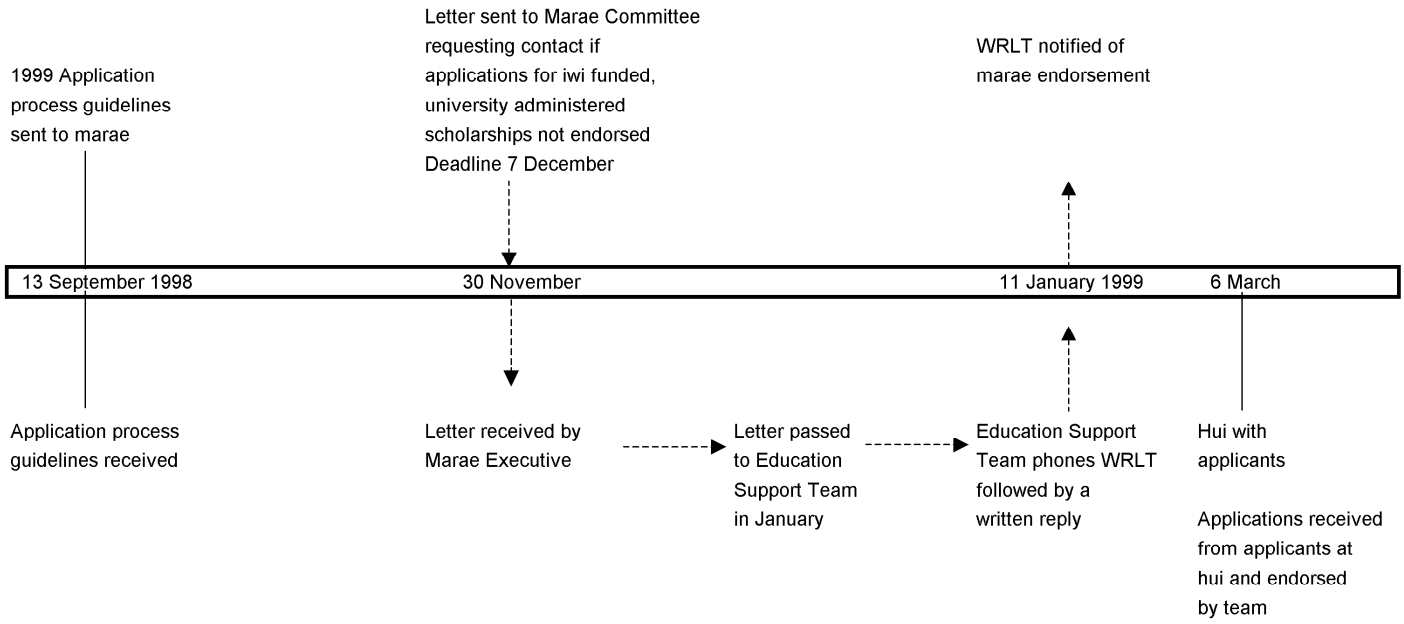



**TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE EDUCATION SUPPORT - GRANT ENDORSEMENT PROCESS 1998**

**APPENDIX F**

**WAIKATO RAUPATU LANDS TRUST EDUCATION GRANTS APPLICATION PROCESS 1999**




**TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE EDUCATION SUPPORT - GRANT ENDORSEMENT PROCESS 1999**

**APPENDIX F**

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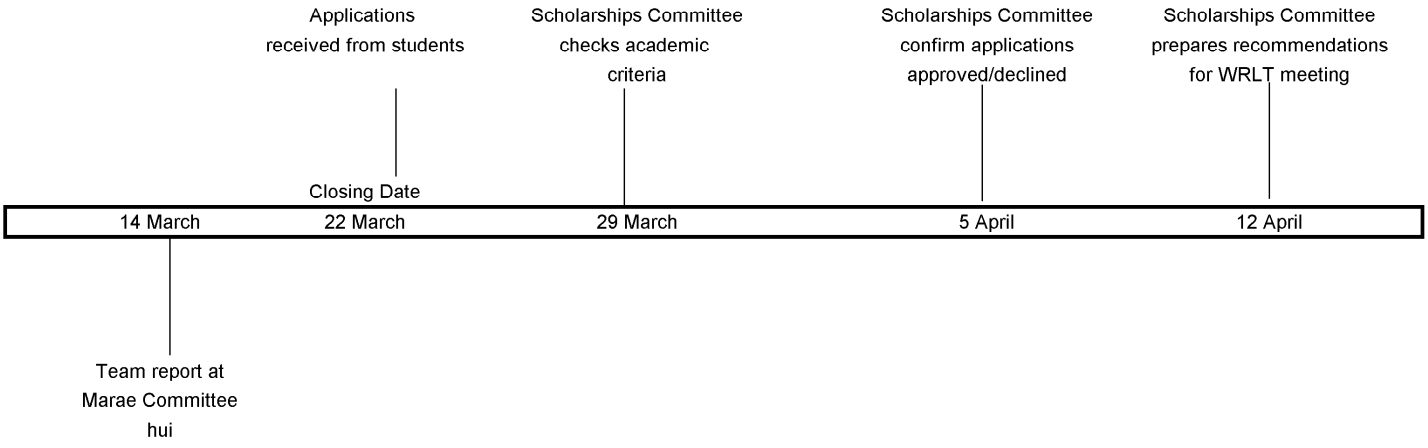
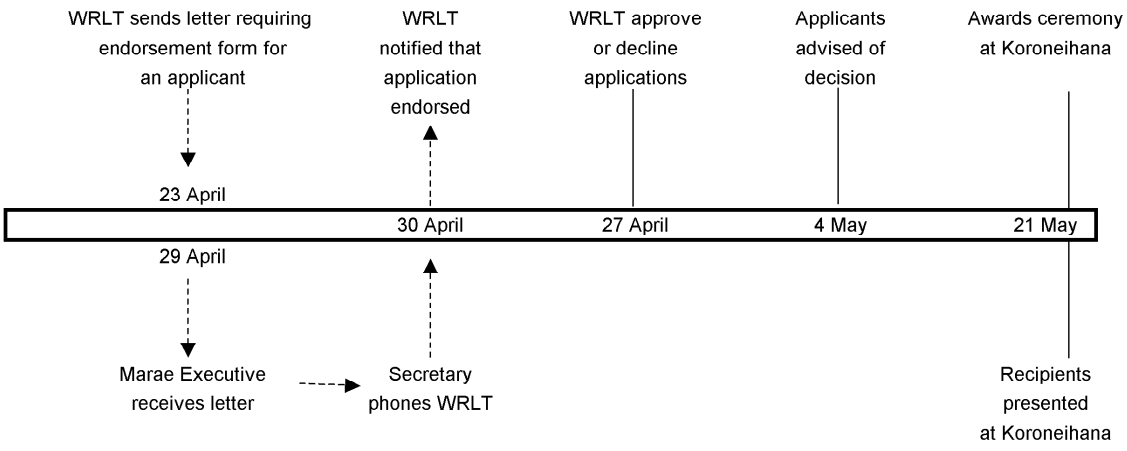



**TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE EDUCATION SUPPORT - GRANT ENDORSEMENT PROCESS 1999**

**APPENDIX F**

**WAIKATO RAUPATU LANDS TRUST EDUCATION GRANTS APPLICATION PROCESS 1999**




**TE PAPA-O-ROTU MARAE EDUCATION SUPPORT - GRANT ENDORSEMENT PROCESS 1999**

# Appendix G

## Profiles for Management Groups

*Table 1 Demographic profile for the new Trustees*

| AGE GROUP | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Total** |
| 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| 38% | 12% | 0% | 50% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | **Total** | | |
| 5 | 3 | 8 | | |
| 62% | 38% | 100% | | |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Total** |
| 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| 38% | 38% | 12% | 12% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Total** |
| 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| 50% | 0% | 12% | 38% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | **Total** |
| 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 8 |
| 12% | 0% | 62% | 25% | 100% |

*Table 2 Trustees by number of management positions*

| TRUSTEE | TOTAL POSITIONS | POSITIONS |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | 4 | Trustee/Nga Iwi Toopu Representative/Te Kauhanganui Representative/Education Support Team Matua |
| **2** | 1 | Trustee |
| **3** | 4 | Trustee/Rangatahi Training Programme/Caretaker/Projects Team Member |
| **4** | 1 | Trustee |
| **5** | 2 | Trustee/Education Support Team Member |
| **6** | 3 | Trustee/Education Support Team Member/Projects Team Member |
| **7** | 2 | Trustee/Projects Team Member |
| **8** | 2 | Trustee/Te Kauhanganui Representative |

*Table 3 Profile of people who held management positions*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 8 | 4 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 45 |
| 18% | 9% | 18% | 56% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 16 | 28 | | | 1 | 45 |
| 36% | 62% | | | 2% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 19 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 45 |
| 42% | 42% | 2% | 2% | 11% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 25 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 45 |
| 56% | 0% | 18% | 13% | 13% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 9 | 5 | 22 | 9 | | 45 |
| 20% | 11% | 49% | 20% | | 100% |

*Table 4 Demographic profile of the Marae Executive*

| **AGE GROUP** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | | 14 |
| 0% | 0% | 7% | 93% | | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | | **Total** |
| 2 | 12 | | | | 14 |
| 14% | 86% | | | | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Elsewhere In Waikato Region** | **Beyond Waikato Region** | | **Total** |
| 6 | 8 | 0 | 0 | | 14 |
| 43% | 57% | 0% | 0% | | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 7 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 14 |
| 50% | 0% | 43% | 0% | 7% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 2 | 1 | 6 | 5 | | 14 |
| 14% | 7% | 43% | 36% | | 100% |

*Table 5 Demographic profile of the community representatives*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 10 |
| 30% | 10% | 10% | 50% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 4 | | | 1 | 10 |
| 50% | 40% | | | 10% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| 50% | 30% | 10% | 0% | 10% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 10 |
| 60% | 0% | 0% | 30% | 10% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 0 | 7 | 3 | | 10 |
| 0% | 0% | 70% | 30% | | 100% |

*Table 6 Education Support Team by management positions*

| TOTAL POSITIONS | TEAM MEMBER | OTHER POSITIONS |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | Matua | Trustee/<br>Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa/<br>Te Kauhanganui Representative |
| 4 | Whaea | Nga Marae Toopu Representative/<br>Nga Mana Toopu Representative/<br>Fundraising Committee Member |
| 3 | Marae Representative | Trustee/Projects Team Member |
| 2 | Trustee Representative | Trustee |
| 2 | Trustee Representative | Trustee |
| 2 | Student Representative | Assistant Chairperson |
| 2 | Team Co-ordinator | Projects Team |
| 1 | Te Kohanga Reo Representative | |
| 1 | Educator | |

*Table 7 Demographic profile of the Education Support Team*

| **AGE GROUP** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 9 |
| 11% | 22% | 11% | 56% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 2 | 7 | | | 0 | 9 |
| 22% | 78% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| 33% | 44% | 11% | 0% | 11% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 33% | 0% | 33% | 22% | 11% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | 9 |
| 22% | 11% | 33% | 33% | | 100% |

*Table 8 Demographic profile of the Projects Team*

| AGE GROUP | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 6 |
| 0% | 17% | 0% | 83% | 0% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | | | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 2 | 4 | | | 0 | 6 |
| 33% | 67% | | | 0% | 100% |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 50% | 50% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Unknown** | **Total** |
| 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 83% | 0% | 17% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| **NO. MARAE COMMITTEE HUI ATTENDED** | | | | | |
| **None** | **One** | **2-13** | **14-26** | | **Total** |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | | 6 |
| 0% | 0% | 17% | 83% | | 100% |

# Appendix H

## Profiles of Attendees at Annual General Meetings

*Table 1 People in attendance at the 1997 Annual General Meeting*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Assistant Chairperson/Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 2 | Secretary |
| 3 | Treasurer/Rangatahi Training Programme/Projects Team Member |
| 4 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 5 | Trustee |
| 6 | Trustee/Education Support Team Member |
| 7 | Trustee/Rangatahi Training Programme/Caretaker/Projects Team Member |
| 8 | Trustee/Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa/Education Support Team Matua |
| 9 | Tainui Maori Trust Board Member |
| 10 | Education Support Team Member |
| 11 | Projects Team/Education Support Team Co-ordinator |
| 12 | Rangatahi D |
| 13 | Rangatahi H |
| 14 | Rangatahi J |
| 15 | Rangatahi K |
| 16 | Rangatahi P |
| 17 | Rangatahi BU |

*Table 2 Profile of the people at the 1997 Annual General Meeting*

| **AGE GROUP** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Matua** | **Whaea** | **Pakeke** | **Rangatahi** | **Total** |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 17 |
| 17% | 6% | 12% | 65% | 100% |
| **GENDER** | | | | |
| **Male** | **Female** | **Total** | | |
| 7 | 10 | 17 | | |
| 41% | 59% | 100% | | |
| **RESIDENCE** | | | | |
| **Whatawhata** | **Hamilton** | **Waikato Resident** | **Resident Elsewhere** | **Total** |
| 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 17 |
| 47% | 41% | 6% | 6% | 100% |
| **OCCUPATION** | | | | |
| **Employed** | **Unemployed** | **Student** | **Retired** | **Total** |
| 9 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 17 |
| 53% | 0% | 29% | 18% | 100% |

*Table 3 People in attendance at the 1998 Annual General Meeting*

| N | PERSON |
|---|---|
| 1 | Assistant Chairperson/Education Support Team Student Representative |
| 2 | Secretary/Fundraising Committee Member |
| 3 | Treasurer/Projects Team Member |
| 4 | Assistant Treasurer |
| 5 | Trustee/Education Support Team Marae Representative/Projects Team Member |
| 6 | Trustee/Projects Team Member/Caretaker |
| 7 | Nga Marae Toopu Representative |
| 8 | Nga Marae Toopu Representative /Nga Mana Toopu Representative/Education Support Team Whaea |
| 9 | Fundraising Committee Member |
| 10 | Education Support Team/Projects Team Co-ordinator |
| 11 | Matua B |
| 12 | Whaea H |
| 13 | Pakeke E |
| 14 | Pakeke F |
| 15 | Pakeke K |
| 16 | Pakeke M |
| 17 | Pakeke P |
| 18 | Rangatahi G |
| 19 | Rangatahi P |
| 20 | Rangatahi T |
| 21 | Rangatahi V |
| 22 | Rangatahi AE |
| 23 | Rangatahi AI |
| 24 | Rangatahi AV |
| 25 | Rangatahi BJ |
| 26 | Rangatahi BK |