

# Ngā Toka Tū Moana

## MĀORI LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING

24 November 1992

Prepared by Ngā Tuara

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Wellington

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# Nga Mihi

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E mihi ana mo nga whakaaro me nga awhina a te hunga e whai ake nei:

Chief Judge Edward Taihakure, Peter Adds, Pou Temara, Te Ripowai Higgins, Tamihana Curtis, Mack Kaa, Canon Hone Kaa, Dr Anne Salmond, Dr Ray Harlow, Tuki Nepe, Vapi Kupenga, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Pauline Kingi, Pona Matene, Liz Matene, Kuni Kaa, June Mead.

# Part I

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## HE WĀHINGA KŌRERO

On 27 August 1992 the Crown announced an agreement in principle, called a Memorandum of Understanding, which became known popularly as the Sealords Deal. Briefly, the “deal” authorised the purchase by the Crown of half of Sealords, a huge fishing company, at a cost of \$150 million. In exchange for the Government assisting the Maori people to control a share of commercial fishing through this Sealords Deal, the Maori people had to comply with certain conditions. They were asked to give up claims to the commercial fisheries of New Zealand, accept 20% as their share of fishing species yet to be put on quota, and give up the protection of fishing rights under the existing Fisheries Act and the Treaty of Waitangi. This deal was hailed as a great solution to the fisheries claims of the Maori and the agreement as a historic document.

But the deal raised a host of problems which led ultimately to some iwi taking a complaint to the Waitangi Tribunal, to the High Court and eventually to the Appeal Court. The main concern of iwi was to protect their rights. In the courts, however, the particular issues that surfaced were concerned with Maori leadership and decision making, with mandate, with types of leaders, with the consultation process, with who particular leaders represented when they signed their names to the Deed of Settlement, and with how leaders were appointed. Some fairly technical questions were raised as well; such as, is it the leader of a hapu who commits the people to a deal or the leader of an iwi? Is there a difference in meaning in the use of “hapu” in the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi and “tribe” in the English version? Is a hapu a tribe or a sub-tribe? These concerns are raised in *The Fisheries Settlement Report 1992* (Wai 307) issued by the Waitangi Tribunal on 6 November 1992.

Yet others wanted to know who the Maori were and what it was that differentiated them from the general population of New Zealand. Some resented the deal because it benefited the Maori and not them as well. After all, was not the population one unified happy people!

The deal aroused curiosity among both Maori and Pakeha. Urgent hui were held to explain the deal to the people and to seek a mandate from iwi. For the first time some prominent “leaders” were questioned about their mandate and asked who they really represented. Government officials suddenly

realised that there were different kinds of leaders in the Maori world of today: some represented their iwi, others represented an organisation, some were chosen by Government and a few represented only themselves.

## The Maori today

The Sealords Deal also drew attention to Maori decision making: to where decisions were made, to the great variety of "Maori" organisations that exist, and to the variety of mandates that the modern Maori can carry. This leads to an examination of the state of the Maori nation.

There are now 511,278 persons in Aotearoa who identified themselves as being Maori in the 1991 Census. The table below shows that, in the adult population, women outnumber men by 7000 but among the children there are more boys.

*Table 1: Composition of Maori Population*

Men	251,979
Women	259,299
Female children (0-14 years)	92,760
Male children (0-14 years)	96,135

Overall the Maori segment of the total population is 12%, but it is a relatively young population and comprises 20% of the school population. For purposes of the Census a Maori is a person who identifies as a Maori and can trace descent from a Maori ancestor. There is no attempt to measure degree of Maoriness by indicating fractions of Maori blood as used to be the case.

The population of 511,278 comprises only those resident in Aotearoa or persons who might have been away temporarily during the Census. It does not include the thousands now living permanently in various parts of Australia. Although we sometimes refer to the Maori nation as a collective term it is a mistake to think that the population is cohesive, homogeneous and centrally organised. Many efforts have been made to set up a central national organisation. At present it is the National Maori Congress that represents a majority of iwi and it is the nearest approximation to a Maori nation.

The Census lists the half million people as Maori, but this label describes only a small part of Maori identity. The most important identity is with hapu and iwi on the one hand and waka on the other. These affiliations are still meaningful for some 80% of the population. About 20% admitted to being

Maori and professed not to know their hapu or iwi. For them, belonging to an iwi was a political issue rather than an ethnic one.

The tables below indicate some of the groupings and their numbers:

*Table 2: Populations of Waka Groups*

Tainui*	80,000
Horouta	55,710
Mataatua	54,066
Takitimu	52,354
Te Arawa	51,069

\*Tainui includes Waikato, Hauraki, Maniapoto, Ngati Toa and Raukawa.

*Table 3: Populations of Iwi Groups*

Ngapuhi	92,976	Ngati Porou	48,528
Ngati Kahungunu	45,354	Tuwharetoa	24,069
Waikato	22,227	Ngati Maniapoto	21,936
Ngai Tahu	20,307	Ngati Raukawa	18,438
Te Ati Awa	11,307	Tuhoe	24,522

Symbolic of the enduring hapu associations are the 800 to 1200 well maintained and functional marae throughout the country. This number is being added to constantly with the establishment of new marae.

The modern Maori is not limited to their traditional social groupings but are a sophisticated peoples who belong to many organisations. The rangatahi (youths) belong to sports bodies such as rugby, rugby league, touch rugby, netball, softball and dragon boat racing to mention but a few. Some are organised in gangs such as Black Power and the Mongrel Mob, while others are organised on a gender basis with some interacting mainly in their gender groups and making their mark in Maori society from that foundation.

Many Maori have also grouped themselves into organisations to further their shared economic, social, cultural and professional goals. Organisations such as Maori Trust Boards, Iwi Authorities and Maori Land Trusts and Incorporations abound. Some Maori belong to the National Maori Congress, the New Zealand Council or the Maori Women's Welfare League or the Maori artists and writers organisation, Te Puna Waihangā, Maori University Teachers Association (MUTA), or the Maori Tourism Agency. This brief sketch of the modern Maori shows a population that is generally young. It is

already half a million in number and increasing. It is not a single entity but a collection of distinct waka, iwi, hapu and whanau groupings. The Maori population has also diversified into many and varied economic, social, cultural and recreational organisations which do not necessarily work together.

It is therefore not surprising that simplistic notions of collective leadership and centralised decision making may be inappropriate for modern Maori. There is a Maori Queen but a unified sovereign nation does not yet exist.

But it must be said that the context in which Maori leaders move and act is an environment which is dominated by Pakeha decision makers who control the flow of funds, the legislative machinery of the country, the education system and whose culture and language affect the lives of Maori at every turn.

In this environment the task of the leader has not been an easy one. The difficulties of the past remain but, recently, Maori leaders have been able to win some important concessions from the dominant group. Despite the gains, however, the power relationships remain the same and thus the burden on the leaders remains a heavy one.

## Aims

This paper explores several objectives. One is to rediscover and understand traditional models of leadership and decision making. Another is to survey the changes that have occurred from early contact times up to the present. Principles are then sought that might improve decision making today. Questions of mandate, power and authority are explored with a view to understanding the complexities in situations of the day - such as the Sealords Deal. A clear objective is to provide some principles and guidelines which might help to prevent, in future, the kind of difficulties that arose after the signing of a Deed of Settlement to purchase Sealords.

## Methods

From the beginning, it was decided to revisit the traditional models of leadership, the social units that constituted Maori social organisation, and to understand how decisions were made. Although there is no shortage of published material on these issues, a conscious decision was made to consider the viewpoints of scholars such as Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa, Himiona Tikitu of Ngati Awa and Tuhoe, Maharaia Winiata of Tauranga Moana and Apirana Mahuika of Ngati Porou. This did not mean ignoring the writings

of Elsdon Best and Raymond Firth and others; far from it. Rather, we wanted to understand leadership and decision making as far as that was possible, by studying the words of Maori scholars.

To supplement our research, papers on different aspects of leadership and decision making were commissioned. Furthermore, individuals from a variety of backgrounds and experiences, including the church, academia, historians, persons in leadership roles, and some Maori educationists, were invited to share their knowledge and experience with Nga Tuara. Time did not permit consultation on a representative basis with iwi around the country. Nor was it possible to hear a wide range of modern day leaders give their ideas on Maori decision making or on the nature of their mandate to lead and who the beneficiaries of their leadership were. These are all important questions.

Given the constraints under which this group had to work, the present paper does not pretend to be the last word on Maori leadership and decision making. Much more careful study needs to be made by graduate students and scholars, for these are issues which have now become important. What we have done is to indicate the scope of the leadership problem and to suggest some principles and guidelines which might be helpful to Maori organisations around the country, to leaders who have to represent Maoridom, to people who prepare and serve the food at a wharekai, to leaders who speak for their whanau, hapu or iwi, to the token Maori who is called upon to represent the Maori people of Aotearoa in a Pakeha-dominated organisation and to the leaders who have to deal with Maori.

*The vanishing chief is summoned to reappear and either once more play an important role in the decisions which affect the iwi, the waka or all Maori or to sit by and watch the role being taken over by new "chiefs" and new leaders.*

## Structure

The report is arranged in five parts. First is the introduction which discusses the aims, considerations and methods used in gathering the data for this report. Part II is a description of the social groupings, leadership and decision-making process of traditional Maori society. Part III deals with the impact of colonisation upon the system and of Western style leadership and decision-making processes. Part IV turns to modern Maori leadership and decision making. A brief description is provided of some of the various representative and decision-making bodies in modern Maori society. Finally, Part V provides a philosophical base and some guidelines and principles for Maori leadership and decision making in the future.

## Terminology

Several terms are used in the report. At different times, the terms “rangatira” (chief), “leader” and “representative” are used. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982:570) describes a leader as being the “conductor of (an) orchestra”. The meaning used here is as follows: a leader is a person who takes a prominent role in persuading the people to make decisions which affect their well-being and their future. It is a general term for the dedicated people, men and women, who have a vision for their people and who strive to work towards that dream. It includes both traditional and non-traditional leaders.

A rangatira is a leader who is the prominent leading figure within the group and whose mandate is whakapapa based, that is to say the chief is a member of a descent group and has a right of birth to lead. There are other aspects of the chief's mandate which are discussed in more detail in the next section.

As a leader, the rangatira is usually imbedded in the traditional leadership system, is very closely attached to the marae and is involved in its activities - especially the important ones. This leader is often referred to as a traditional leader or as a “chief”.

An intellectual leader refers to a university-trained person of great ability who is able to match the knowledge base of the decision makers they meet but rarely ever share the same degree of power as Pakeha leaders enjoy.

The subaltern leader is a coopted leader, most of whose mandate comes from the Government or from big business. In terms of real power, which the dominant Pakeha ruling group keeps to itself, a “subaltern role” is junior and inferior.

It is only when Maori meets as Maori that the “tino rangatiratanga” (chiefly authority) principle manifests itself. It finds its fullest expression on the marae in hui run by Maori leaders on behalf of their people. Everywhere else the leaders are constrained by the economic, social, cultural and political control exercised over Maori by central and local Government and by the institutions of the nation that are run in many cases exclusively by Pakeha decision makers. This is a reality that has to be faced squarely by the leaders of the day.

Finally, in today's environment, many communities are desperately short of leaders and are forced to appoint whoever is available for that role. Some of the traditional leaders are not seen at the marae because they live somewhere else or are busy pursuing a career or are not interested except when there is a big and important hui. In these communities, fine distinctions about the

talents required of their spokesperson are meaningless. They are forced to accept whoever is willing to come forward and make a commitment to them. When this happens the question is asked: who is responsible for this state of affairs? What happened to bring this about? These are important questions which are answered in part of this report. But the questions need to be addressed much more fully and seriously elsewhere. What *Ngā Toka Tū Moana* has done is to indicate that there is a problem to be addressed.

There are others in decision-making roles who are not strictly speaking leaders. Rather, they are managers who run the Land Trusts and Incorporations but who may not be seen at the marae and may not play any significant ceremonial roles at the marae. There are exceptions to the rule. Others are representatives who are called upon to represent their people, for a specific occasion or purpose and on a limited mandate. When the task is done the mandate is withdrawn.

A "tohunga" is defined as a specialist in some field of knowledge and expertise and today is a person whose advice should be sought by the leader. A tohunga can also be a ritual expert but is not limited to that role. Sometimes the roles of tohunga and leader coalesce in one person. Iwi are now required to make decisions on a wide variety of issues. This state of affairs makes the role of tohunga, in the sense of specialist, important and necessary.

The social groups, whanau, hapu, iwi and waka, are defined briefly in the next section but the meaning given to these groups today is the guiding principle followed. A whanau is both a traditional whakapapa based extended family as well as being an urban group organised around one person for a specific purpose after which it disbands or reforms around another person. A hapu may be both a traditional group made up of whakapapa-connected whanau or a multi-hapu grouping whose hapu are bound together by residence and whose members all belong to the same iwi or tribe. The definitions are flexible and are meant to be working definitions.

# Part II

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## TRADITIONAL MAORI SOCIAL GROUPS

### Introduction

Leadership and decision making are aspects of a social, economic and political organisation. They are parts of a cultural system and cannot be understood fully by isolating them from their proper context.

In this report, however, an attempt is not being made to explore all aspects of Maori leadership and decision making. Rather, the aim is to sketch in the details of the traditional system as a starting point for discussion.

In this section, therefore, an outline of the social organisation is given because leaders are attached to groups. The information is distilled from various sources and the model described is not to be regarded as a universal one which appeared in ideal form all over the country. Rather, the picture which emerges from the studies of archaeologists is that some tribal groups were more mobile than others and ranged over a huge territory to harvest a wide range of food when the time was appropriate. Other tribal groups lived and worked within a more proscribed area and had crops such as the kumara which enabled the people to live in more settled villages.

Attention turns then to the leadership system and what was expected of those in positions of responsibility. Different levels of leadership become apparent and these are described.

In traditional Maori society there were four principal social groups: waka, iwi, hapu and whanau. These groups are linked together by virtue of common ancestry and a common history.

### Te Waka

It is an essential part of matauranga Maori that the ancestors came from Tawhitinui, from Tawhiti pamamao, that is from a place across the sea of Kiwa. Several waka journeyed from Polynesia and reached the shores of

Aotearoa. The waka that feature prominently in the stories are Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Kurahaupo, Takitimu, Aotea and Tokomaru. Many songs celebrate the coming of seven canoes but there are actually many more such as "Nga Toki Mata Whaorua" and "Horouta" to mention but a few.

Stories tell of navigators and sailors who landed in Aotearoa, surveyed the land, claimed a portion of the country, established their territories and then settled the land.

As a social group the waka is made up of a loosely organised cluster of tribes which descend from the crew members of one of the canoes. It was best to show descent from the captain of the waka.

The relationships between the units within a canoe cluster of tribes were maintained by war as well as by marriage among persons of the highest ranks. When the waka did come together for war purposes, the leadership was assumed by the most senior line of the descendants of the founding family or by which iwi was leading the war effort. The waka rarely acted in solid form of union for any length of time and was rarely a controlled and cohesive group.

## Te Iwi

The iwi was the largest socio-political organisation that existed in Maori society. Although the name of a canoe was applied to a cluster of related tribes, the name of an eponymous ancestor was used as the name of the tribe or iwi, although an incident in tribal history may also have provided the name. Special prefixes were attached to the name of the tribe, signifying descent from a common ancestor. These were Ati-, Ngati-, Aitanga-, Ngai-, and Whanau-. Both female and male ancestors provided the names. The most important feature of iwi was the principle that members were all related by descent through either parent.

While the iwi was the largest group that showed distinct autonomy in its internal organisation, and in its external relations with other similar groups, the tribe itself was a loose federation of smaller constituent groups related by common descent. Iwi is commonly translated as tribe.

## Te Hapu

The tribe (iwi) was made up of several subtribes or hapu of varying numbers often reaching some 200-300 people. Central to the hapu was the kinship which joined all members of the hapu to a common ancestor who may have

lived a number of generations back and through this focus point to the eponymous ancestor of the iwi. The ancestor chosen to represent the hapu was usually junior to the founding ancestor of the iwi. If not, an incident of history was selected as the name of the group, for example, Ngati Patu-tatahi, that is, the hapu defeated on the seaside.

The hapu united family groups for purposes of work and military defence. Large scale projects such as the building of an assembly house, the clearing of cultivations, the fashioning of important canoes, the execution of fishing expeditions and the conduct of war were carried out by the hapu.

Where the hapu lived was on that part of the tribal land owned by the hapu, and this ownership was recognised by other hapu in the iwi. The group owned gardens, swamps and forested areas as well as fishing grounds inland and out at sea.

In the early 1800s three institutions stood out as important community assets, the marae (communal centre), the pataka (storehouse) and the whare runanga (assembly house). These together represented the social core of the hapu. Where the hapu settled was determined by the availability of food supplies, and by considerations of security against attack by other iwi or hapu. There were generally two types of areas, the pa tuwatawata, a fortified place usually on a high prominence and the kainga down on the flat. Outside the kainga at a convenient distance were the cultivations, and not very far away were the sources of other food supplies such as the bush with its birdlife and edible rats, the inland lakes and rivers and the coastline and bays which were sources of seafood and fish. The hapu had specific rights of access from their kainga to these food sources as well as ownership of these resources.

In some villages there was another institution which was not obvious to outside viewers but was usually well known by everyone else. This was the Whare Wananga or House of Learning. Some, like Rawheoro at Tolaga Bay, were like high status universities. They were known well beyond the boundaries of the iwi. Most iwi had at least one Whare Wananga which all hapu supported, but the building was part of the assets of the hapu that cared for it.

Descent and inheritance of hapu members passed through both the father's and mother's lines. It was usual for the wife to live with her husband's hapu, so that the offspring grew up and maintained closer association with the father's hapu. Land rights were inherited either through the mother or the father. There was, however, an important stipulation. In order to make good one's claim to land, one was required to keep the lighted fires burning there. This was known as "te ahi ka" - achieved through occupation and cultivation. Otherwise the claim became "mataotao" or cold and the title was extinguished.

## Te Whanau

The hapu consisted of extended or joint family groups - the whanau. The whanau was the basic group in the Maori socio-political system and comprised the most intimate circle of social relationships. The whanau consisted of three to four generation levels which included grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren and numbered as many as 30 or more persons. The whanau was the household unit in the village. Each household unit consisted of separate buildings for sleeping, cooking and storing food.

The whanau owned all its own household units as well as fishing nets, fowling gear and canoes for river fishing. There were, however, individually owned weapons, fishhooks and cloaks. The whanau shared many of their things although some personal articles were more attached to some individuals.

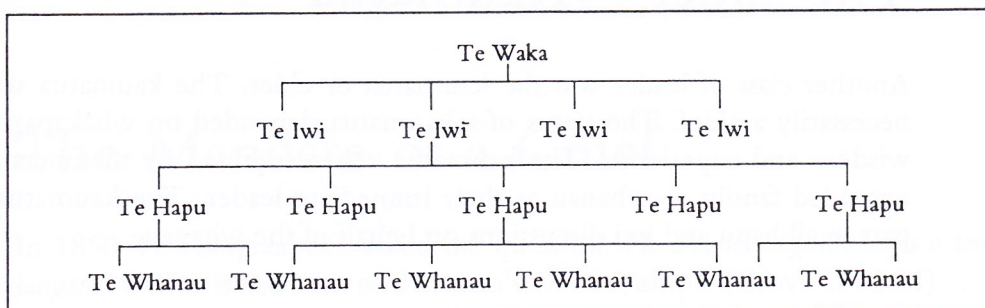
The whanau was the most convenient work unit with both men and women sharing some tasks such as cultivation and the drying of certain produce. While the women were the main gatherers of shellfish, it was the men who did the fishing, fowling and hunting. Men and women shared the cooking. The making of mats and weaving of garments was women's work.

The whanau provided the leaders for positions higher up and provided the basic workforce for the leader.

## Tribal Differences

The social groups described in this part of the paper were not always formally structured. In the South Island (Ngai Tahu), for example, different hapu mixed together and were often nomadic. It was not uncommon to find in one settlement members of several different hapu. Settlements were often occupied on a seasonal basis depending on the availability of food.

*Figure 1: Te Waka, te Iwi, te Hapu*



## The Traditional Leaders

Within the defined social groups of waka, iwi, hapu and whanau were identifiable leaders who were chosen based on their genealogy and personal qualities. These leaders were titled ariki, rangatira, tohunga and kaumatua.

## The Chiefs – Ariki and Rangatira

The chieftainship was held by two classes of leaders. The more important was the ariki or paramount chief. The ariki was the head of the iwi. The highest ranking ariki, in whom the senior lines of the genealogy from tribal descents converged, was recognised as the head of the waka.

There was an ordering process according to whakapapa and the variables are the matamua (first born) and the tuakana (seniority) preferences. The ariki is the person who was born out of a senior descent line (aho ariki, chiefly thread) which ideally is a continuous line of first born sons.

There was also the rangatira or chief. The rangatira was the head of the hapu or subtribe and held a status slightly lower than that of the ariki to whom the rangatira was related, being a descendant of the original founding family along the junior line. The ariki and rangatira were the social and political leaders in Maori society and they also played a part in economic affairs.

Dave Simmonds (1986:129-130) suggested there was another ranking system in place and above the rank of rangatira - there were the taiopuru, the ahupiri, the noaia, the konini, the kaitahutahu arikinui and the kaitahutahu ariki but there is little evidence to support such a fine grading of ranks or levels of leadership. The South Island iwi might have followed a different system for there the social groups were much more dispersed; they tended to have few members, and were multi-hapu in nature (Anderson 1980). They had high chiefs and other chiefs.

## The Elder – Kaumatua

Another class of leader was the kaumatua or elder. The kaumatua was not necessarily a chief. The status of a kaumatua depended on whakapapa, age, wisdom and experience. The kaumatua was recognised by members of the extended family or whanau as their immediate leader. The kaumatua took part in all hapu and iwi discussions on behalf of the whanau.

## The Ritual Leader – the Tohunga

The tohunga was a specialist and gained a following from the expert knowledge possessed. It is useful to focus on the general meaning of the word 'tohunga' because it appears on linguistic evidence that it was an inclusive term that admitted several persons, men and women, to leadership roles. This does not mean that it was easy to become a tohunga. The evidence of woodcarving and tattooing, tohunga whakairo and tohunga ta moko respectively, suggests there was a long period of training and a high standard of performance was demanded. Youths could not become tohunga and had to prove themselves over several years of performance to qualify. Sometimes the persons to be trained as specialists were identified early and given special attention.

Most common was the religious expert or ritual leader. The tohunga as ritual leader was necessary throughout Maori society because of the strong religious orientation of the society.

One of the features of the leaders we have outlined was the overlapping of many of the positions. The ariki, head of the waka, was also the head of an iwi, the rangatira of a hapu and the kaumatua of a whanau. A tohunga may also have been the head of a whanau but quite often was also a rangatira and an ariki.

In summary, there were chiefs, elders and specialists who covered a wide range of activities from food production to fishing, preserving food, making fish nets, weaving cloaks, making doormats, shaping adzes, to making decorated kites. The various levels of leaders acted within a structure of whanau, hapu and iwi.

*Figure 2: Traditional Maori Leaders*

<b>Iwi</b>   Ariki: <i>Paramount Chief</i>	<b>Hapu</b>   Rangatira: <i>Chief</i> Tohunga: <i>Specialist</i>	<b>Whanau</b>   Kaumatua: <i>Elder</i>
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## The Mandate of a Chief

In 1850 Te Rangikaheke asked the question: *He aha te rangatiratanga o tena tangata?* (What is the basis of that man's chieftainship? (Grove 1985:11)

Rangatiratanga in Te Rangikaheke's terms was concerned with the mana and mandate of a leader, the basis upon which a leader was recognised as a chief.

## Whakapapa – Moenga Rangatira

Te Rangikaheke believed that a rangatira came from a chiefly union of parents which he described as a "moenga rangatira" (chiefly marriage bed). This was the most important aspect of the leader's mandate. Williams' dictionary (1971:323) defines rangatiratanga as "Evidence of breeding and greatness". This definition certainly accords with Te Rangikaheke's views. Many writers since Te Rangikaheke have emphasised the importance of "proper" birth credentials as an essential aspect of leadership.

A person coming from a moenga rangatira inherited certain "pumanawa" or talents and these are said to come from "te koopu o toona whaea" (the womb of the mother), Tikitu's opinion, or from te moenga rangatira, according to Te Rangikaheke (Grove:1985).

## Nga Pumanawa o Te Rangatira – The Talents of a Leader

A leader was expected to possess certain talents; knowledge relating to some high priority areas; and expertise to manage the affairs of the iwi. This is the second factor, after lineage. The two authorities, Tikitu and Te Rangikaheke, differ on the priorities and on the listing of talents. But they are agreed that expert knowledge is required. Firth (1959:132) described the particular talents as "executive capacity".

Tikitu was very clear about the attributes or talents of a chief and what they must be able to do in an ideal situation. He lists eight talents as follows:

1. He kaha ki te mahi kai.  
Has the knowledge of and is industrious in obtaining or cultivating food.
2. He kaha ki te whakahaere i nga raruraru.  
Able to mediate, manage and settle disputes.
3. He toa.  
Is courageous in war.

4. He kaha ki te whakahaere i te riri.  
A good strategist and leader in war.
5. He mohio ki te whakairo.  
Has knowledge of the arts of carving.
6. He atawhai tangata.  
Knows how to look after people.
7. Te hanga whare nunui, waka ranei.  
Has command of the knowledge and the technology to build large houses or canoes.
8. He mohio ki nga rohe whenua.  
Has a sound knowledge of the boundaries of tribal lands.  
(Grove 1985: 6-7)

At the time that Tikitū gave his list of talents to Elsdon Best, the land wars were over and iwi were involved in a different sort of war, namely contesting ownership and entitlements to various land blocks in the Maori Land Court. In this context, it was essential that the leader representing an iwi in the Maori Land Court knew the boundaries, the history of battles, and sacred or significant places within blocks of lands, and was familiar with the boundaries of other iwi. This level of knowledge had to be broader than knowing about one's own hapu or iwi.

Te Rangikaheke's list of 1850 was given at a time when traditional values were still strong and before the divisive and debilitating land wars of the 1860s had occurred. His list of six talents is set out below:

1. He mohio ki te whakahaere i nga korero o te mahi kai.  
Has command of the knowledge, science and technology of food acquisition and production.
2. . . . o te tangohanga whare, waka, pataka, hereimu.  
Has command of the knowledge, technology, rituals and traditions pertaining to the construction and acquisition of houses, canoes, storehouses and cooking sheds.
3. Ka mohio ia ki te whakahaere i nga korero mo te whawhai, toa tonu ki te riri, hopu tupapaku tonu atu, whati rawa mai ka riri, nana ano i whakahoki atu te whati.  
He knows how to conduct discussions on the strategies of warfare and is himself courageous in battle, is not afraid to kill, and can turn adversities into victories.

4. Ko te korero manuhiri ano tetahi.  
Inviting and welcoming visitors is another (talent).
5. Ko te korero runanga ano tetahi.  
Conducting meetings of the people to discuss important issues is another.
6. Ko te atawhai ano tetahi.  
Yet another is being able to offer hospitality and to take care of people.

Te Rangikaheke puts a lot of stress on warfare which, in his day and following the Ngapuhi raids, was an issue of paramount importance. He covers all aspects of warfare. The leader had to be a good fighter as well as a good manager and strategist.

## Acceptance and Confirmation by the People

Thirdly, after the people have considered the whakapapa (genealogical) qualifications and the talents of the leader and seen some evidence of expertise they will say "*Koia, katahi na no te tino rangatira ko tena!*" (There indeed is a true rangatira!) (Grove 1985:150, 155). From this point Te Rangikaheke argues that if the qualifications are right and the leader performs well, it all goes back to good breeding. It is because both the mother and the father were great people. Firth (1959:132) puts it another way: "But birth alone did not suffice for chieftainship. Personality and executive capacity were also required to maintain rank and authority. An incapable ariki, as we already know, would be set aside in practical affairs and only called upon to perform certain religious rites."

## Identity of Leader Known by Other Iwi

The fourth aspect of a mandate is that the name of the leader is heard ("*Ka rangona atu na tona ingoa*") (Grove 1985:150). This means that over time other people become familiar with who the leader is for a particular iwi. A rangatira is not a surprise who appears from nowhere but is a person who is known to be a leader and whose name is associated over time with a specific group of people.

## The Turangawaewae Principle

Just as it was important for the leader to have the appropriate birth credentials it was equally important for the leader to be based in a rohe (territory). The leader's feet must be firmly grounded on land that is associated with the descent group to which the leader belongs. In the context of the land the leader is able to call upon the symbols of the people that are part of the natural environment - the mountain, the river, the sacred places, the lake, the harbour. These symbols are part of the leader's aura or spiritual significance and are an important part of their credentials.

## The Gender Aspect

Both Te Rangikaheke and Tikitu assumed that the leader, chief or ariki was a male. Most chiefs were male and being male imbued the mandate with the concerns of men, the style and nature of male leadership. Mahuika (1981), however, points out that there were many instances among Ngati Porou where the leaders were women and often leaders of ariki status. Women brought their own qualities to bear on leadership but by and large the expectations of them were the same as for men.

## Mana and Tapu

A leader who satisfies all of the qualifications and possesses the desired attributes is said to have "mana tangata". According to Mahuika (1981:67) this gave the chief "the authority to control and direct the activities of the tribe or sub-tribe". The qualities of mana and tapu are an essential product of moenga rangatira and become attached to the person. How the qualities are expressed is subject to the personality of the leader and to performance over a period of time. Ihi, wehi and wana (awesomeness, fear and authority) are qualities associated with mana tangata.

## The Negation of Mandate

When a person fails to meet the criteria, the mandate is removed or, more typically, usurped by someone else. The next ideal choice is a more junior member of the same moenga rangatira who might be the youngest brother. Mahuika (1981:66) lists several ways by which the mandate of leadership can be acquired.

Briefly these are:

1. By a younger sibling taking over the role of leader.
2. By leaving the district and seeking promotion elsewhere.
3. By forcing a division of the empire.
4. By arranging a political marriage to improve one's prospects.
5. By establishing a new leadership line and by inheriting the mandate from this moenga rangatira.

Research has revealed two other ways, which are listed below:

6. By waging war and occupying the land of another tribal group, that is, by raupatu (by the blade of a patu) or ringa kaha (the strong arm).
7. By cunning and sometimes outright murder.

Through time the tendency is to return to the "matamua" or senior line but, whatever happens, the whakapapa credentials of a person cannot ever be extinguished. As Mahuika (1981:67) puts it, the right to be leader can be forfeited but the privileges and rights of chiefly birth remain.

## Leadership Responsibilities

A leader in traditional Maori society had a number of key responsibilities which were a direct reflection of the social and natural environments of the time.

*Te Mauriora* - Survival. This responsibility was paramount. Leaders had to concern themselves with the survival of the group from the ravages of war, starvation, and disease.

*Tikanga (customs) and Kawa (procedure)* - Leaders operated within a social system and the group as well as the leader were guided by rules and precedents.

*Moenga Rangatira* - The chiefly marriage bed. The chiefly lines had to be preserved and this was often achieved by arranged marriages between men and women of high birth.

*Pa Harakeke* - Continuity. As part of the responsibility of survival, it was considered important to ensure that birth rates were maintained at a level that ensured continuity of the social group. As a result, polygamy was not uncommon.

*Tangohanga* - Acquisition of wealth. This responsibility concerns primarily the establishment of a sound economic base, eg, plentiful sources and supplies of food, procurement of pounamu and taonga, etc. Economic wealth raised the status or mana of the group.

*Tohatoha* - Fair Distribution. It was important to ensure the fair and equitable distribution of resources within the social group. For example, the fishermen shared out the catch to all households in the village.

## Decision Making

### *Executive Decision Making*

In traditional Maori society decision making took place in a variety of ways. There were times when leaders used their power to control and direct the people. Firth, as already mentioned, alludes to executive type decisions. Where these were made, the leaders would know that their decisions would be accepted and supported. Their mana tangata would give them the authority and the confidence to make these types of decisions.

### *Decision by Runanga*

At other times, decisions were reached by means of a runanga (meeting) of the people. At such meetings, people could discuss the pros and cons of the issues and work towards a decision, through consensus. Where argument did not win the day, the word of a priest might. It was common practice to seek the advice of a matakite (seer) before embarking on any important activity. The seer was able to give confidence to a decision by predicting success, or to change a decision by predicting failure.

The role of the rangatira at a runanga was to listen to the discussion, summarise the main points and, if not apparent, indicate where the consensus view lay. Where necessary, the rangatira might participate in the discussion to persuade or convince people to a certain course of action.

## *Conflict Resolution*

A good rangatira was expected to have the ability and expertise to settle a wide range of disputes. The rangatira achieved this by: keeping in mind an account of old scores that needed responses in the future; achieving utu successfully; having a store of precedents for handling internal disputes; and using judgement to apply the most appropriate precedent to fit a particular dispute.

Internal disputes could also be settled by means of the runanga. These were usually grievances that threatened the well-being of a hapu. The procedures were common to any runanga type hui with the people having the right to participate. The rangatira's main role was to ensure that the settlement was fair and that the runanga had properly judged how much public censure and whakama (the institution of shame) to apply.

## Conclusion

The evidence points to the fact that there was a well established leadership and decision-making system in traditional Maori society. The social groups of waka, iwi, hapu and whanau provided the traditional Maori with an established social and political structure within which various levels of leaders worked and where decisions were made.

Rangatira dressed differently from other people and were usually clearly defined in social gatherings. They wore superior cloaks, were well tattooed and their hair was done in a topknot and adorned with a decorative comb and feathers of various birds.

There were many metaphors for rangatira such as:

- te tumu herenga waka - the anchor post for canoes
- te rata whakaruruhau - the sheltering rata tree
- te ta kotuku - the white heron feather.

The rangatira with a tattooed face vanished a long time ago but tattooing is being revived and in the future the country could well see new tattooed leaders.

A hapu or iwi without a leader was held to be in danger of drifting like an abandoned canoe. The point is made in the following proverb:

*Kia ai he tā kotuku ki roto o te nohoanga pahī, kia tau ai.* (Let there be a white heron feather in the assembly so the people are settled) (Williams 1971:354).

There were processes that involved decision making by runanga or by executive decisions made by the leaders.

Some leaders were ariki, others were rangatira and yet others were kaumatua.

Leadership personalities were acknowledged as a result of their whakapapa or chiefly qualities; they were not elected.

Leaders in traditional Maori society had the power and authority to punish and reward members of the various social groups. Their support was necessary for the well-being of the individual but it was also true that the leader needed the support of the people.

The social system of traditional times is still in place but greatly changed. Waka, iwi, hapu and whanau still exist despite years of Government efforts to undermine them. There is still a Maori leadership system but the next section will outline briefly what happened to it since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840.

# Part III

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## CHANGES TO THE TRADITIONAL MODEL OF MAORI LEADERSHIP

In the nineteenth century, the external forces of European capitalism, missionaries, and British imperialism impinged either directly or indirectly on traditional Maori leadership structures. These forces progressively undermined the mana of traditional leaders. Those who resisted that colonial enterprise were put down by armed force. They were excluded from the power structure of the state, while others who accepted a "subaltern"<sup>1</sup> role to the ruling class of metropolitan society were elevated as "auxiliary soldiers" (Gramsci 1982:12), court assessors, public servants and politicians. A structural relationship of dominance and subjection between Maori and Pakeha was established and reinforced over the years up to the present time.

This part of the report chronicles how this came about.

### Destruction of Mana

Belief in tapu, the all-pervasive spiritual force that controlled Maori behaviour and underpinned the mana of chiefs, was undermined indirectly in the early period of European contact. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, sailors who visited New Zealand shores on whaling and sealing ships breached the laws of tapu with no harm to themselves. They "defied the tapu, stole crops, filched weapons or mats for sale as 'curiosities' and kidnapped men without scruple" (Sinclair 1972:35).

They did not die, or even get sick with "mate Maori" as a consequence of trammelling on the laws of tapu.

The spiritual healing practices of the tohunga for dealing with mate Maori were ineffective against introduced Pakeha diseases such as "rewharewha"

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<sup>1</sup> The ruling class appoints intellectuals as their deputies who exercise subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government.

(influenza). When two epidemics devastated the people of Tamaki in 1790 and 1810, the fortifications of Maungawhau and Maungakiekie were abandoned (Walker 1990:80).

With the introduction of the musket into the tribal wars of the 1820s, aristocratic breeding and training in weaponry counted for nought. A rangatira was readily felled by a commoner armed with a musket. The mana, ihi, and wehi of chiefs of the stone age could not stand against leaders such as Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha who possessed muskets. Their necrotic blood-letting precipitated an arms race which weakened the tribes further (Walker 1990:84). After ten years of fighting, the chiefs turned to the missionaries who acted as peacemakers. Whole tribes began converting to Christianity because it was thought the Pakeha God provided his followers with greater power and wealth than the Maori, in the form of ships, weapons and an amazing quantity of goods (Elsmore 1985:14).

Conversion to Christianity eliminated the tapu of chiefs, thereby weakening their authority. Their mana was eroded even further by the missionary demand to free their slaves and put aside their extra wives as a pre-condition for Baptism (Sinclair 1972:43). The ability to command wealth was one of the pillars that buttressed the authority of chiefs (Firth 1959:229). With no slaves and only one wife, chiefs no longer had the capacity to produce goods in sufficient quantity to keep up their exchange relationships and maintain the loyalty of their followers. With a 40% reduction of the population by European diseases and musket wars, combined with the progressive erosion of chiefly mana, New Zealand was ripe for a foreign takeover.

Under missionary influence, 41 chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi (Ross 1972:27) in 1840 for the benefits of British protection, government, law and order. The treaty was subsequently hawked around the country and a total of 540 chiefs signed (Ross 1972:27). It mattered not that the paramount chiefs Te Wherowhero, Te Heuheu and Te Kani a Takirau did not sign. The once awesome power of ariki was undermined by the introduction of the European convention of democracy and majority rule.

When Governor Grey took office in 1845 he neutralised the warrior chief Hone Heke by massing enough soldiers and firepower against him to pacify the north. In the south, the Governor made a pre-emptive move against Te Rauparaha by arresting him and detaining him without trial on HMS Calliope. The political effect was the assertion of mana by Grey over Te Rauparaha and the spreading of the Crown's sovereignty over the southern half of the North Island (Walker 1990:103-105).

In the South Island, Grey eliminated the mana whenua of the chiefs by extinguishing their title to the land by "fair purchase". Between 1846 and 1863, the whole of the South Island, including Stewart Island was bought by

the Crown (Evison 1987:17–32). “Fair purchase” included coercion, threat of military invasion and dishonouring of promises to set aside reserves of “tenths”. All that remained of chiefly mana in the south was their whakapapa, the descent lines from noble ancestors.

In the North Island, the chiefs organised to resist the colonial enterprise by holding a series of inter-tribal meetings to discuss kotahitanga. This unity movement, which began in 1854, was already too late. The General Assembly met for the first time that year with no Maori representatives in the House. In an attempt to assert their mana, the chiefs of kotahitanga formulated the “pupuri whenua” policy of suspending land sales as a means of controlling Pakeha immigration. In the Waikato, the unity movement culminated in the election of Te Wherowhero as the first Maori King. At the final anointing of Te Wherowhero at Ngaruawahia in 1859, Wiremu Tamehana proclaimed that the purpose of the King was to hold the mana whenua and mana tangata of the people (Jones 1959:223). Governor Grey made war on the King to put him down. He debilitated the King and his supporters by confiscating three million acres of Maori land in Waikato, Taranaki and the Bay of Plenty.

The eclipse of chiefly mana by Grey led to the emergence of new prophet leaders whose mandate derived from Jehovah and the angels of the Christian religion. The founder of the Pai Marire cult, Te Ua Haumene, promised his followers support from legions of angels and immunity to Pakeha bullets if they went into battle against the invaders crying “Hapa Pai Marire. Hau! Hau!” (Greenwood 1980:1–80). The “Hauhau” began a guerrilla campaign in Taranaki against government troops in April 1864. The campaign spread across the island into the Bay of Plenty and to the East Coast. In the case of Te Kooti Arikirangi, a leadership role was forced upon him when he was arrested illegally as a rebel and detained without trial at the Chatham Islands. Te Kooti escaped back to the mainland and conducted a hit and run guerrilla campaign from the rugged interior of the Urewera. Te Kooti eluded his pursuers for four years, but he was not a military strategist. He lost two set-piece battles at Ngatapa in 1869 and at Te Porere. Consequently neither the ariki Te Heuheu nor King Tawhiao would support him. In 1872, Te Kooti retired from the field of battle behind the aukati of the King Country. His legacy is the Ringatu church.

The most successful Hauhau leader was Titokowaru of Ngati Ruanui. He resisted the confiscation of Taranaki lands and defeated the government forces at the Battle of Te Ngutu o te Manu in 1868. In his last stand at Taurangaika, Titokowaru’s allies deserted him and he became a hunted man. It is thought the people left Titokowaru on the eve of battle because he defiled his mana tapu by committing adultery with the wife of one of his allies (Belich 1989:242–6).

With the failure of the prophets of war to liberate the people from the invaders, other prophets arose preaching pacifism and separation of the races. The leaders of this movement, Te Whiti and Tohu, established a peaceful and prosperous commune at Parihaka. But Te Whiti's active demonstration of resistance to the building of the West Coast Road, and the survey of Taranaki land for settlers, drew the ire of the Minister of Native Affairs, John Bryce. In 1881 the prophets were arrested and Parihaka was destroyed. Tohu and Te Whiti were detained without trial in the South Island for a time and eventually released.

In the aftermath of the land wars, chiefly leaders organised a series of inter-tribal hui to generate a political response to their subjection by Parliament, and the alienation of tribal land through confiscation and the operations of the Native Land Court. In 1892, these assemblies culminated in the establishment of Kotahitanga Mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi, otherwise known as the Maori Parliament. The attempt to integrate the Kingitanga into the movement was opposed by Ngapuhi because Tawhiao refused to give up the title of King. Consequently the Maori political response was bifurcated when Tawhiao formed his own Kauhanganui (Walker 1990:152-72). The submissions of both the Kotahitanga and the Kauhanganui as expressions of mana Maori sought devolution of control from Parliament over their own land and fisheries resources. They were turned down when the Maori Rights Bill tabled in Parliament by the member for Northern Maori on behalf of Kotahitanga was rejected in 1896.

An interesting development at this time was the return of kupapa leaders to the Maori fold when they realised they were merely subalterns to the oppressor. Major Keepa Te Rangihwinui, who fought on the government side, joined the Maori Parliament. The Tainui chief Te Wheoro who worked in government service as a magistrate, captain in the militia, court assessor and Maori commissioner resigned when he realised what mana whenua of the tribes remained was being destroyed by the operations of the Native Land Court. In 1884 Te Wheoro accompanied Tawhiao's deputation to England to lay Maori grievances before the Crown. They were ignored.

## The Intellectual Leaders

After the turn of the century, the Maori Parliament ground to a halt. Although the Kingitanga remained, the Kauhanganui lost its thrust. The initiative passed from traditional chiefly leaders to the new educated elite. Apirana Ngata, the first Maori graduate, entered Parliament in the Eastern Maori electorate in 1905. He was followed by Dr Peter Buck for Northern Maori in 1909 and Dr Maui Pomare for Western Maori in 1911. These men as intellectuals were subalterns to the powers concerned with the brokers of

metropolitan society and they worked within the power structure of the working class essentially as reformists. They were concerned with the physical and cultural survival of the Maori rather than the issue of sovereignty pursued by the chiefs in the previous century. To this end they instituted health reforms, promoted a revival of Maori arts and crafts, and started Maori land development schemes using state loans (Walker 1992:386). But on the issue of Maori land, as to who should control it, they were powerless. At the time that Ngata was approaching the height of his political career, the remaining five million acres of Maori land was being alienated at the rate of 72,728 acres per annum (McClellan 1967:61).

Ngata's initiative of forming incorporations as a way of developing Maori land provided a limited kind of tribal leadership in the form of management committees. But power in these new structures, like public companies, is wielded by major shareholders. People without shares have no say.

The establishment of tribal Trust Boards, in the first five decades of this century, to receive and manage compensation money for confiscated land, beds of lake Taupo and Rotorua lakes, provided a better mechanism for tribal leaders than incorporations because all members of a tribe were included. But Trust Boards, as statutory bodies, have their powers and functions prescribed and limited by Government.

Because Ngata's land development schemes came too late to support the growing Maori population, there was widespread poverty, exacerbated by the depression of the thirties. The people turned away from the academics to the charismatic prophet leader Ratana.

## The Charismatic Leader

Ratana, like his predecessors, had his role as prophet legitimated by God. He was the *mangai*, the mouthpiece of god, sent to attend to *ture wairua*. He began his mission in 1918 by faith-healing. His followers signed the covenant professing faith in Jehovah, and belief in the Trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Ratana renounced *tapu* and superstitious practices of the past. The pan-Maori ideology of the Ratana Church was signified by the term "*morehu*", the survivors of all tribes from the colonial experience. In 1921, when Ratana's followers numbered 19,000, he turned his attention to "*ture tangata*", the physical needs of the people. Ratana turned his movement into a political force by selecting candidates from his church to contest the four Maori seats. His aim was to unify the seats under Maori control. Though Ratana was not an intellectual by profession he was, in Gramsci's terms, an "Organic intellectual" - the thinking and organising element of an oppressed people (Gramsci 1982:1).

Ratana aligned the three seats won by his candidates in the 1935 election with the Labour Party. He delivered Eastern Maori into the Labour camp in 1943 (Henderson 1972:83-96). The 40-year liaison with Labour brought little benefit to Maori. The only minor achievement was the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which established the Waitangi Tribunal. The powers of the tribunal were limited to hear grievances after the act came into force. The reason for this poor outcome of Ratana's efforts was the position of the Maori MPs as subalterns within both the Labour Party and the overall political structure.

Their presence in the House merely legitimated the dominance of the ruling class. The Hon. Matiu Rata realised the true nature of his subaltern role in the Labour Party in 1979 when he was relegated to the back bench and displaced by the leader Bill Rowling as the spokesperson on Maori Affairs. Rata subsequently resigned from Parliament and founded the Mana Motuhake Party. Rata's defection from Labour weakened the Ratana alliance with the party. Although Mana Motuhake, after a decade of contesting elections, did not succeed in winning one of the four Maori seats, it displaced the National Maori candidates from second place. By doing that, Mana Motuhake has had the political effect of steering Labour towards implementing a more equitable Treaty policy. The granting of retrospective power to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985, and the inclusion of the Treaty of Waitangi in 21 statutes, forced both the Labour and National Governments to deal more equitably with Maori grievances under the Treaty (Graham 1992:1-15).

## The Price of Citizenship

The formation of the 28 Maori Battalion in World War Two provided a new outlet for Maori leaders as officers and commanders of the battalion. Sir Apirana Ngata, who instigated the formation of the battalion, saw Maori participation in the war in their own unit as a means of promoting equality between Maori and Pakeha. He made this view explicit in the booklet he wrote in 1943 for the posthumous VC investiture of Lieutenant Te Moananui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu. It was entitled *The Price of Citizenship*. Those who returned from the war migrated to towns and cities to claim that citizenship. But commanders and officers of the battalion such as Sir James Henare, Colonel Arapeta Awatere, Sir Charles Bennett, Captain Monty Wikiriwhi, Bill Herewini and others could find employment only within the Department of Maori Affairs. There they were kept in a subaltern role. Only two of them, namely Major Rangi Royal and Col. Charlie Bennett rose to hold high office within the department. Other returned servicemen, such as Matiu Te Hau, George Marsden and Hone Waititi, entered the teaching profession. They fulfilled important leadership roles in the development of Maori education.

## New National Organisations

A new kind of government-fostered leadership emerged in the post-war years. In 1945 the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, gave statutory recognition to the tribal committees for their work in the Maori War Effort Organisation. The committees had power to appoint wardens, prevent drunkenness, maintain order on the marae and in public places, and adjudicated on petty offences. The Maori Welfare Act 1962 changed the designation of the tribal committees to Maori committees in recognition of the population shift from tribal to urban areas.

It also created an elective four-tier structure of Maori committees, executives, district councils and the Maori council. This artificial contrast of the bureaucratic mind was brought into being by the welfare officers of the Department of Maori Affairs. It left out of the count authentic Maori leadership structures such as kaumatua and marae committees. In rural areas the members of Maori Committees and District Councils tended to be tribal leaders, but they could also include people from other tribes. In urban centres, Maori Committees and District Councils tended to be pan-tribal. Overall, the constitution of the Maori Council allowed for the emergence of Maori leaders living outside their tribal areas.

The Maori Women's Welfare League, which was formed by the Department of Maori Affairs in 1951, was the first national pan-Maori organisation. It preceded the Maori Council by ten years. The League also had a four-tier structure of branch committees, executives, district councils and dominion council. Unlike the Maori Council, the League is not underpinned by statute. Its *raison d'être* was the responsibility most women have for the care and nurture of children and family. Consequently the main focus of the League is family care, health and early childhood education in play-centres and kohanga reo.

As state-fostered institutions, the Maori Council and the League provided legitimating bases for organic leaders both within and outside tribal territories. But, as subalterns within the power structure of the state, they were expected to cooperate with its bureaucratic systems of control and management of the population in the interest of integration and ultimate assimilation. Any leader who deviated from that role was perceived as a dangerous subversive and even radical. Those who conformed to the role defined by the rulers were rewarded with additional but limited powers and high honours. The latter operate as buffers between the state and Maori society and operate outside the power structures of the state. By identifying with the interest of ruling class, while at the same time espousing the Maori cause, subalterns sometimes cause confusion among the people.

## The Second Wave of Intellectual Leaders

In the nineteen sixties the second wave of Maori graduates appeared. In the last three decades they developed and expanded Maori Studies programmes in the universities, teachers colleges and polytechnics. Besides developing Maori scholarship, many of these graduates have espoused leadership roles in their own tribal trust boards, the League, Incorporations, the Maori Council, and the National Congress of Tribes. These are the "organic intellectuals" who perform the difficult balancing act of serving their people while meeting their professional obligations as subalterns in the state system. But only those working within universities have the luxury of academic freedom to challenge the legitimacy of the state and condemn its oppressive policies. Although most graduates, like the leaders that came out of the Maori Battalion, can claim descent from chiefly forebears, their leadership roles are derived from personal achievement rather than ascription.

## Effect of Urbanisation

The rural-urban shift of over 70% of the Maori population in the second half of this century had a profound effect on Maori leadership. Urbanisation increased Maori knowledge of metropolitan society, its political structures and its techniques of domination and social control. The crucible of the urban milieu threw up a new generation of organic activists, radical Maori leaders who created their own political networks and supporters. Their overt counter-hegemonic struggle, in the form of demonstrations and protest actions, had the effect of politicising the Maori people and welding them into a potent force.

## Forces of Emancipation

In the vanguard of radical Maori politics in the 1970s was Nga Tamatoa who challenged the illegitimate actions of the state under the Treaty of Waitangi. They were followed by Matakite, the Maori land rights movement, which marched on Parliament in 1975 under the slogan of "Not one more acre of Maori land" to be alienated. There was also the Te Reo Maori Society of Wellington. In 1978 the Bastion Point Action Committee added impetus to the movement by the defiant 506-day occupation of disputed Crown Land at Orakei. In the 1980s, the Waitangi Action Committee led protest activity against the Waitangi celebrations. Their efforts culminated in the 3000-strong pan-tribal Hiko ki Waitangi which brought the government-sponsored

celebration to an end. Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga i Nga Haahi took up the cause. This ecumenical, pan-tribal organisation was formed out of the Maori sections of the orthodox churches. The runanga organised a national hui at Ngaruawahia on the Treaty of Waitangi. This hui, attended by over a thousand people, sent a resolution to the Government demanding that the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi be made retrospective to 1840.

The thrust of radical Maori politics throughout the 1970s empowered Maori working in a subaltern role within the Department of Maori Affairs to adopt a more pro-active Maori position in the formulation and implementation of programmes. In 1971, Tamatoa's demonstration against the appointment of a non-Maori as district officer for Auckland gave an unequivocal message to the power elite that Maori wanted co-equal leadership roles in the power-structure of the state. Tamatoa made the point that, on a pro rata basis, at least one Maori should have achieved district officer status in a department where knowledge of Maori language, marae protocol and customary usages should have been an advantage. Instead, district officers had always to be accompanied by Maori subalterns to interpret for them. Tamatoa signalled that the era of paternalism was over.

The Maori Council gave the same message to the education authorities and the Justice Department. In 1971 the Council pressed for the appointment of a Maori to the office of race relations conciliator in Auckland. The first appointee to that position was Harry Dansey. He was assisted by Dr Pita Sharples in the role of executive officer. When Hulver Holst retired as chairman of the Maori Education Foundation, the Council recommended he be replaced by a Maori. That led to the appointment of the present incumbent, Sir John Bennett. The Council also criticised the lack of accountability to the people on the part of the Maori Trustee, Jock McEwen. McEwen, who was also Secretary of Maori Affairs, was put in the invidious position of appearing before the Council to defend the indefensible. He admitted having divided loyalties by serving two masters, the beneficial owners of Maori land and the Pakeha leaseholders. That admission, subsequently made explicit before a Royal Commission (Royal Commission 1973:31), paved the way for the separation of the roles of Maori Trustee and Secretary of Maori Affairs and the eventual promotion of Maori to both offices.

## The Ihakara Puketapu Years

Maori disaffection with the Department of Maori Affairs, as well as the Maori Trustee, prompted the Minister Duncan McIntyre to conduct an inquiry into the department. He appointed Ihakara Puketapu to do the inquiry. Hitherto, Puketapu had been a career public servant, serving in the

London High Commission and the State Services Commission. After Puketapu delivered his report, he was appointed Secretary of Maori Affairs in 1977. Puketapu, like Ngata before him, was not prepared to play a sub-altern role to the power elite. He used his position as head of a government bureaucracy to promote Maori emancipation. He and his senior officers conducted district consultations with Maori people to help formulate policy. Puketapu also instituted Hui Whakatauirā, where a hundred or so Maori leaders from around the country helped formulate community development programmes. Thereafter the department's programme was based on the ideology of "Tu Tangata" the "stance of the people" (Puketapu 1982:4).

Puketapu established kokiri management groups at the district level to determine priorities for expenditure in community development. The department went outside established groups such as District Councils and the League to promote the emergence of new leaders in the kokiri units. Education, Maori language promotion, and job skills training, were given priority. Kokiri centres gave training in panel-beating, mechanics, carving, furniture making, sewing and soft-toy making. By 1985, there were 66 kokiri training centres around New Zealand.

Other programmes generated by the Hui Whakatauirā included rapu mahi, women's wananga, matua whangai, and business wananga. The matua whangai programme, initiated by the department in 1983, necessitated the Departments of Justice and Maori Affairs entering into negotiations with whanau, hapu and iwi authorities for the placement of children under welfare in the care of their own people. The effectiveness of this programme virtually emptied social welfare homes of their Maori inmates.

The business wananga organised by Puketapu generated interest in fostering Maori entry into the commercial world. To promote this end, Puketapu commissioned an American consultant, Richard Hovis, to identify business opportunities for Maori people in New Zealand and on the international market. The outcome was the Hovis Report, *Maoritanga and the American Retail Market Place*. The report recommended the formation of a company to be known as Maori International to manufacture and market Maori art and craft products. Puketapu paved the way for this venture when he chaired the government inter-departmental Management Committee for Te Maori Exhibition. The exhibition of Maori taonga at the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, and other American museums, put Maori art on par in the world with the Tutankamun exhibition. Te Maori's success in the international arena brought belated recognition of Maori mana, spiritually, and artistic achievement at home, when the exhibition was mounted in the four main centres of New Zealand.

## Kohanga Reo

In 1981 the Department of Maori Affairs instituted its most innovative and dynamic programme for language recovery, the Kohanga Reo (language nest). In ten years since its inception, Kohanga Reo has become one of the most dynamic programmes in the development of young women as leaders. Over a thousand people attended the first national conference of Kohanga Reo in January 1984. The cost of \$25 a child to sustain Kohanga Reo had become so burdensome on family budgets that the whole system was in danger of insolvency. The organiser of the Maori Educational Development Conference at Turangawaewae Marae, in March 1984, made a submission to the Minister of Education, Mr Wellington, which resulted in a grant of \$13 million for Kohanga Reo education. The Kohanga Reo Trust, chaired by Sir John Bennett, was established to receive and administer the money for Maori pre-school education. The establishment of the Kohanga Reo Trust provided a model for a dual, bicultural system of education provision and management within the state. It indicates the possibility of achieving Maori social and cultural aspirations without having to overthrow the state.

In the struggle for buildings and resources to establish the 700 or so Kohanga Reo, women have had to learn to deal with bureaucracy. They also put pressure on primary schools to establish bilingual programmes to ensure language continuity for their children after Kohanga Reo. While bilingual schools are better than nothing, the preferred option for language continuity is Kura Kaupapa Maori (where Maori is the dominant language of instruction). The first Kura Kaupapa was established at Hone Waititi Marae in 1985. Five others were subsequently established, but it was not until 1991 that they were funded by Government as "pilot" schemes. Three more were funded in 1992. Nine Kura Kaupapa are insufficient to cater for the hundreds of children graduating from Kohanga Reo to primary school. More Kura Kaupapa are needed, but the limiting factor is Pakeha control over the expenditure of the education vote.

## The Tamati Reedy Years

In 1983 Puketapu resigned as Secretary of Maori Affairs to become executive officer of Maori International. He was replaced by Dr Tamati Reedy. Reedy's candidacy for the post was supported by Maori authorities ahead of the more experienced public servant, Bruce Robertson. It signalled to the State Services Commission that the people wanted a Maori in charge of their own department. As a *quid pro quo* for being passed over, Robertson was appointed to the separated post of Maori Trustee. When he took up his appointment, Reedy followed up one of Puketapu's initiatives by testing a

proposal in the Hovis Report. He took a cultural exhibition and trade showcase of Maori art and craft work to Honolulu. The venture established connections with Hawaiian business operators.

In 1984, when Labour won the snap election, the Government called an Economic Summit meeting in Wellington. Because those invited were predominantly Pakeha business operators and captains of industry, the Maori Affairs Department organised its own economic summit, the Hui Taumata. This hui recommended the establishment of a Maori Economic Development Commission and a Maori Development Bank to help close the employment and economic gap between Maori and Pakeha (*He Kawenata* 1984:2-3). In the meantime, Reedy took advantage of the Government's Access employment training scheme to launch Maccess, the Maori equivalent to the Labour Department's programme. The success of harnessing iwi and hapu in the matua whangai programme prompted Reedy to encourage tribal delivery systems for Maccess at the regional level, and the Board of Maori Affairs at the national level (Bazely 1987:20). Many of the Maccess programmes domiciled on marae had to provide elementary training in reading, writing and arithmetic as well as training in mechanics, carpentry, aluminium joinery and other trades.

In keeping with the desire for Maori economic and business development expressed by the Hui Taumata, the Department of Maori Affairs launched its Mana Enterprise scheme in 1985 to fund Maori into businesses such as kiwifruit and marine farming. District committees vetted business proposals at the local level and recommended them to Wira Gardiner, head of Mana Enterprises, for funding. The budget for the first year of operation was \$13.5 million (Bazely 1987:19).

## The Department of Māori Affairs Under Threat

Maori were not satisfied with the budget for Mana Enterprises. With no move from the Government to establish a Maori bank, as recommended by the Hui Taumata, Dr Reedy took the initiative by entering into negotiations with Hawaiian business operators to obtain an offshore loan of \$600 million. Because Treasury and the Minister of Finance had not given approval, Reedy's negotiations triggered the row in Parliament over the so-called "Maori loans affair". The inquiry into the loan in 1987, by the State Services Commission, spelt the death-knell of the Department of Maori Affairs. The commission recommended the establishment of a new Ministry of Maori Development (Bazely 1987:8). The commission was also concerned over the Government's devolution policy under the restructuring programme for

State Owned Enterprises. It supported Reedy's ideas for the progressive transfer of responsibility for some government programmes to iwi authorities. Early in 1988 the Government circulated the discussion paper *He Tirohanga Rangapu*. The document portended the abolition of Maori Affairs and its replacement by a slimmed down Ministry of Maori Policy, Manatu Maori. This new ministry's function was to make policy recommendations only to Government. It would not have any responsibility for the delivery of programmes to the people.

## The Iwi Transition Agency

When the Department of Maori Affairs was phased out late in 1988, it was replaced by Te Tira Ahu Iwi (Te Tai), the Iwi Transition Agency headed by Wira Gardiner. The function of Te Tai was to continue running the existing Maori Affairs programmes and manage their progressive transfer to mainstream departments over a five-year period, at which point it would go out of existence. In the meantime, Te Tai was to assist in the devolution of some programmes to iwi authorities. Late in 1989, the Government introduced the Runanga a Iwi Bill into the House. The purpose of this legislation was to allow iwi to form legal entities as tribal runanga to receive government funding for programmes devolved to them. Throughout 1990, iwi up and down the country formed runanga while their urban counterparts formed taura here groups to take advantage of the Runanga a Iwi Act. It was all to no avail. The Act was repealed by the in-coming National Government in 1991. In the same year, the head of Te Tai, Wira Gardiner, introduced the Te Tai Manaaki Taurira programme.

The programme expended \$1.5 million in enrolment fees support for Maori students. The aim was to close the enrolment gap between Maori and Pakeha students at university. The budget for the programme was almost doubled in 1992 to cover students at polytechnics, colleges of education as well as universities.

## Ka Po, Ka Awatea, Ka Po

The repeal of the Runanga a Iwi Act brought another change of direction in Maori policy - towards speeded up mainstreaming. In an attempt to maintain some stability, the ministerial committee of Maori advisers delivered its report *Ka Awatea* to the Minister of Maori Affairs, Winston Peters, early in 1991. The report recommended the establishment of a Ministry of Maori Development to close the gaps between Maori and Pakeha in education, health, employment and economic development.

## Te Puni Kōkiri, The Ministry of Māori Development

Cabinet, intent on cutting state expenditure, was not in favour of Ka Awatea. Although the Minister claimed he had managed to retain the Maori Affairs vote at the level of the previous year, Ka Awatea was still-born with the dismissal of Peters from Cabinet in October 1991. Before Te Tai had run its five-year course, it was abolished, along with Manatu Maori (Ministry of Maori Policy). They were replaced by the Ministry of Maori Development, otherwise known as Te Puni Kōkiri in January 1992. The heavy cut in Te Puni's budget was reflected in over 250 employees of Te Tai and Manatu Maori being made redundant.

Despite Government switches in Maori policy over the last five years, there is considerable evidence of progress, particularly in addressing Maori grievances. The culmination of 14 years of radical Maori politics was the amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1985 which gave retrospective power to 1840 to the Waitangi Tribunal. This opened up the way for the negotiation of past grievances concerning land and fisheries. This change, combined with the inclusion of section 88, guaranteeing Maori fishing rights, in the 1983 Fisheries Act, raised the Treaty of Waitangi to the level of a constitutional instrument.

## Economic Development

Considerable progress has also been made in economic development. The Maori desire, expressed by the Hui Taumata in 1984, for a Maori financial institution to fund Maori business enterprise, came to fruition in 1987 with the establishment of the Maori Development Corporation. MDC was launched with a budget of \$26 million made up of contributions from Government \$13 million, Maori Trustee \$7 million, Fletcher Challenge \$2 million, and Brierly Investments \$2 million. By 1990 MDC had put out 130 loans for Maori businesses totalling \$35.2 million (MDC 1990:11). Major ventures included the refinancing and restructuring of Okawa Bay Lake Resort, and the financing of Moana Pacific Fisheries and Powerbeat International (MDC 1991:10-11).

The chairman of MDC is Robert Mahuta. Mahuta is unique in the combination of mandates that he has as a leader. His primary mandate as a tribal leader stems from his whakapapa, his descent line from the ariki of the Tainui confederation of tribes. His hapu constitutes the heart of the King Movement to which other hapu of the Tainui waka maintain loyalty

through a system of poukai (loyalty feasts). Mahuta is also a graduate, an organic intellectual who has had an enormous influence in harnessing other intellectuals to the cause of the people of the Waikato. His mana is both ascribed and achieved.

The chief executive of MDC is Waari Ward-Holmes. He achieved individual success in the commercial world as a corporate manager. Although ethnically Maori, he was not identified with the Maori struggle. But, because of his experience in the business world, he was strategically placed to be appointed the first chairman of MDC. Conflict between Maori needs and Pakeha values within management, forced him to decide whether his primary allegiance was to his people or Pakeha associated in the business fraternity. Ward-Holmes had his moment of truth at a meeting with his people hosted by the Tainui Trust Board in Ngaruawahia. He chose to side with his people. When the former chief executive, who was the cause of the conflict resigned Ward-Holmes was appointed to the post. He is testimony to Freire's view that professional people are necessary to the reorganisation of the new society and can be reclaimed by the revolution (Freire 1972:127).

## The Fisheries Claim

In 1987 the Maori Council, the Tainui Trust Board, Ngai Tahu Trust Board, Te Runanga o Muriwhenua and other tribes lodged the Maori fisheries claim in the High Court against the Government's Quota Management System. The court ruled in favour of the claimants. It found there was no evidence that Maori had sold their fishing rights to the Crown and advised the Crown to negotiate with its treaty partners for the use of their resource (Walker 1990:275-77). The Crown appointed Tipene O'Regan (Ngai Tahu Trust Board), Robert Mahuta (Tainui Trust Board), Sir Graham Latimer (Maori Council), and Hon. Matiu Rata (Runanga o Muriwhenua), as principal negotiators for the Maori claim.

The negotiations with the Crown culminated in the Maori Fisheries Act 1989, which established the Maori Fisheries Commission chaired by Tipene O'Regan. As an interim solution to the claim, the Commission was to receive 10% of fishing quota at the rate of 2.5% per annum, with the final allocation to be made in October 1992. The question of the remaining 40% of the Maori claim was to be a matter of continued discussion between the Maori negotiators and the Crown. In the meantime, the Commission, under the provisions of the Act, established Aotearoa Fisheries Limited (Maori Fisheries Commission 1991:4). Sir Graham Latimer was appointed chairman of the Board of Directors of Aotearoa Fisheries (Maori Fisheries Commission 1991:4).

In 1990 Aotearoa Fisheries, in a joint venture with Skeggs Seafoods, launched Moana Pacific Fisheries in the purchase of Fletcher Fishing for \$20 million. Aotearoa was funded into the deal by the Maori Development Corporation. As a consequence of the buy-out of Fletcher Fishing, Moana Pacific has 25% of the country's fishing quota.

Behind the scenes, the principal Maori fisheries negotiators persuaded the Government to put up \$150 million to assist Maori, in a joint venture with Brierley Investments, to buy Sealords from Carter Holt for \$375 million. The Government agreed and, in addition, offered 20% quota on new species, provided Maori made no more commercial claims to fisheries under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Sealords Deal, worked out between Government and Maori negotiators, exemplifies the politics of expedience and pragmatism. The Government wants to settle all Maori grievances before the end of the decade. A global solution was needed. Sealords coming on to the market seemed ideal. Immediately before the deal was signed, and soon after, the Maori negotiators, like a mini-government, went round the tribes belatedly seeking a mandate for what in was effect a *fait accompli*. One of the negotiators rationalised what he had done, by saying it was "the only deal in town". In other words, the Maori negotiators, for pragmatic reasons, were prepared to surrender the moral high ground of their property rights in the sea, guaranteed by treaty, and ratified by a judgment in the High Court, for 150 pieces of silver.

The task of the negotiators on the Crown side was to negotiate a deal that Government could live with financially and politically, and that is what they achieved. Eventually the Maori negotiators were forced to accept the consequences of an unequal partnership.

# Part IV

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## MODERN MAORI LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING

### Introduction

Changes to the traditional Maori system of leadership and decision making were inevitable, given the influences and pressures alluded to in Part III of this paper.

However, even after nearly two centuries of Western influences, the traditional Maori system endures. Today there is still an affiliation by most Maori to a waka, iwi, hapu and whanau. There are still strong ties to marae. There are Maori in leadership positions as a result of their moenga rangatira and demonstrated chiefly qualities. And, there are still groups of Maori who meet voluntarily to carry out the business of the whanau, hapu or iwi.

Several such groups run whanau and hapu trusts and Marae Committees. Rangatahi groups and kaumatua councils are found in a number of tribal areas operating at an iwi level.

### Modern Maori Leadership and Decision Making

But there are a greater number of non-traditional bodies in Aotearoa today where leaders are appointed or elected, where behaviour and procedures are governed by rules other than tikanga Maori and where a leader's mandate is derived from a written constitution.

In fact opportunities abound for individual Maori to assume positions of authority and responsibility in organisations that are involved, in varying degrees, in making decisions that affect the economic, social, political, cultural and recreational lives of Maori.

This section will show the range and extent of Maori decision-making bodies. There are national bodies concerned with economic and social

development. There are national bodies legislated for by Government to provide a consultative voice for Maori. There are land trusts empowered to manage land assets on behalf of beneficiaries. There are Maori Trust Boards formed by the Crown initially as a vehicle to receive compensation funding. There are tribal runanga constituted to further the development of their iwi. There are marae committees. There are church groups, sports and recreation associations, and cultural committees. There are professional groups drawn together for support and to advance fellow Maori in that profession. There are specialist organisations funded by Government. Te Puni Kokiri, Maori Land Court, Maori Trustee, Maori Language Commission, Waitangi Tribunal, Maori Fisheries Commission and Maori advisory groups within most government departments. There are significant Maori institutions in the area of education with Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Whare Wananga. There are Maori health groups. There are Maori political parties or Maori divisions within parties that are contesting local and national body elections.

It is not the purpose of this part of the paper to name every organisation in which Maori are involved or to comment on the effectiveness of any organisation named. The purpose is to show the range and extent of Maori decision-making bodies and then to draw some observations and conclusions that will assist in providing principles and guidelines for future Maori decision making and leadership.

For ease of classification, the various decision-making bodies have been grouped into National, Regional/Tribal, Church, Recreational/Cultural, Professional and Political bodies as well as specialist government organisations.

## National Bodies

### *New Zealand Maori Council*

Following a government conference of leading Maori citizens in June 1961, it was agreed to provide a permanent consultative body for Maori. District Maori Councils (based in Maori Affairs Departmental District areas which had been allowed to form on an experimental basis in 1959), were legislated and delegates from such councils comprised a New Zealand Maori Council. Enabling legislation was passed in 1961, and in 1962 the new Maori Welfare Act was passed, repealing the 1945 Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act. The new Act created a four-tier system of Maori committees, tribal executives, district councils and New Zealand Maori Council. The Department of Maori Affairs Welfare Officers who had set up the experimental body in 1959 ceased to be part of the structure and the tribal nature of the organisation was deliberately removed. Instead, all four tiers were

described as territorial associations to which Pakeha could be elected. The chief functions of these associations were "to consider and discuss matters of relevance to the social and economic advancement of the Maori race" and to promote "harmonious and friendly relations between members of the race and other members of the community" (A.J.H.R. 1961).

### *Maori Women's Welfare League*

The Maori Women's Welfare League was formed in 1951 as an Incorporated Society with government support. Amongst its activities was the teaching of mother crafts and hand crafts as well as working closely with the Department of Maori Affairs female Welfare Officers on such matters as child welfare, hygiene and housing. It provided a focus for women to organise activities, exchange information and to promote their own view point.

When the Maori Women's Welfare League was formed, it was the only national Maori organisation, since tribal committees and tribal executives were not permitted by Government at that time to organise on a national basis.

### *Federation of Maori Authorities*

In 1975, a hui held in Gisborne attempted to form a Federation of Maori Incorporations. A large number of remits were passed and a special committee formed to consider the creation of such a federation. However, the Labour Party's defeat in the 1975 election meant the loss of a Minister who was committed to bringing the federation into being and the proposal died. The idea was resurrected following Hui Taumata in 1984 and a Federation of Maori Authorities was formed as an Incorporated Society drawing its members from 438 Land Trusts, Land Incorporations and Trust Boards. The kaupapa of the Federation of Maori Authorities (FOMA) was to foster Maori economic development.

### *Maori Congress*

The National Maori Congress was formed in 1989 as a forum for tribes to discuss all matters which contribute to the social, cultural and economic advancement of Maori. The Congress is a voluntary organisation of approximately 50 iwi and attempts to present a unified voice in dealing with the Crown. The Congress is an independent organisation and is primarily financed by levies on the participating iwi. Its mandate comes from the people and has no supporting legislation behind it.

### *Maori Wardens' Association*

In 1945, the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act made provisions to formally establish the office of Maori Wardens. Prior to that, Maori policing (pirihimanatanga) had flourished for years among different tribes and religious groups. In 1962, the Government enacted the Maori Community Development Act which provided the constitution and defined the powers and functions of the Maori Wardens' Association. Maori Wardens are well-known for their useful and necessary work at hui, large and small, all over the country. They patrol city streets, visit hotels, assist Maori youth at courts and are often asked to assist at dances and socials.

### *Maori Development Corporation*

The Maori Development Corporation was formed in 1987 with both Government and corporate funding. It was formed to provide equity capital, loans and even more importantly, expert financial and marketing advice to assist Maori business ventures.

### *Maori Tourism Association*

The Maori Tourism Association evolved out of the Maori Tourism Task Force. It is an independent organisation with a wide membership of Maori individuals, companies and organisations involved in the tourism field.

## Regional Bodies

### *Land Trusts*

The 1953 Maori Affairs Act was based on a central assumption that Maori land title law as it stood, embodied the remnant of "a communal way of life, according to which land was owned by the tribe" (Butterworth/Young 1990:27). The Government of the day dismissed this as not appropriate for the modern world and opted for the principle that land should be owned "by one person or by a comparatively small group of substantial owners with whom it is easy to deal" (Butterworth/Young 1990:27).

This Act enabled the establishment of many land trusts and incorporations. Trusts were formed under section 438 of the 1953 Maori Affairs Act with Trust Deeds and elected Trustees that provided for land management on behalf of the land owners or beneficiaries.

The 1953 Maori Affairs Act, section 439, also allowed land to be set aside for community use whether that be an urupa, marae, meeting place, fishing or recreational ground, church site, or wahi tapu. As with 438 Trusts, Trustees are elected and manage the 439 Reservations on behalf of the owners.

These appointed Trustees assume considerable responsibilities and authority which have been prescribed by legislation and regulations and play an important leadership role in the management of Maori land.

### *Trust Boards*

The first two Trust Boards to be established were the Te Arawa Maori Trust Board in 1924 which was created under section 27 of the 1922 Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claim Adjustment Act 1922 and the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board constituted under section 16 of the 1926 Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act. These two Trust Boards were established to administer annual grants that resulted from the settlement of the question of ownership of Rotorua and Taupo lakes.

The 1955 Maori Trust Board Act allowed for additional Trust Boards to be formed, primarily to provide a vehicle for Government to pay land compensation. In the 1980s more Trust Boards were formed. Some preferred to be called Runanga while others kept the English name of Maori Trust Board.

Members are elected to the various Trust Boards and assume responsibilities and authority according to the regulations laid down in the various Acts of Parliament under which they have been constituted. In some Runanga and Boards members are represented on a hapu basis.

### *Tribal Runanga*

Following the Hui Taumata, a conscious attempt was made to transfer responsibility and accountability for a wide range of social and economic programmes to Maori tribal groups away from government departments. Out of the intention, arose the policy Te Urupare Rangapū which was aimed at developing the operational base of iwi and devolving resources and responsibilities to them.

In the late 1980s new Tribal Runanga were established as legitimate legal entities, some under the Maori Trust Board Act, and became recognised by the Crown as appropriate bodies through which to deliver government programmes such as Mana and Maccess. Other Runanga were to be established under the Runanga Iwi Act that was passed in 1990 by the then Labour

Government but this was repealed in 1991 by the new national Government. Under this Act, Runanga could write up their own charters and business plans. The Act enables Runanga/Trust Boards to become involved in a wide range of activities designed to promote the economic, social, physical and cultural well-being of its beneficiaries

After the Runanga Iwi Act was repealed most Runanga became constituted as incorporated or friendly societies or charitable trusts.

There are many Tribal Runanga constituted throughout the country, each with their elected members who derive their responsibilities and authority from the constitutions governing their operation.

### *Urban Authorities*

The late 1980s also saw the emergence of non-tribally based urban Maori authorities. These urban Maori authorities were formed to serve the number of Maori who were living in large areas away from their tribal rohe. A number of these urban authorities were recognised by Government and have been able to deliver government funded services to Maori living in their area.

Like the tribal runanga, urban authorities have been constituted as legal entities under various means and have elected members with responsibilities and authority derived from their particular constitution.

### *Marae Trusts*

The land on which most marae now stand is classified as a Maori Reservation under Section 439 of the 1953 Maori Affairs Act. Trustees are appointed and responsible for their particular 439 Trust.

Section 439 of the 1953 Maori Affairs Act provides for Maori freehold land or any general land to be set aside as a Maori reservation for various purposes including marae and urupa. Land set aside in this manner has become known as 439 Trusts with Trustees appointed to administer the land according to section 439 of the 1953 Maori Affairs Act.

### *Church Bodies*

Maori today are participants in most religious movements operating in New Zealand. A number are actively involved in the governing bodies that control these religious movements.

Furthermore there are three religious groups where Maori involvement and control is most significant. Within the Anglican church there is a separate Maori tikanga - Te Pihopatanga. Te Pihopatanga operates as an independent body within the Anglican church. The Ringatu and Ratana religious movements, are almost totally Maori in membership and Maori controlled.

### *Recreational*

The principal sporting and recreation codes within the country have Maori not only as participants but also have Maori associations, committees or advisory groups as part of their overall structure and constitution. Maori rugby, rugby league, golf, netball, hockey, touch rugby and waka taua groups have Maori decision-making bodies contributing significantly to the development of Maori participation in their particular activity.

Maori decision-making bodies are also associated with the performing arts, traditional cultural clubs, and chorale singing groups.

### *Professional Groups*

Many Maori professionals have grouped themselves into associations. They have varying aims and aspirations but the Maori lawyers, doctors, nurses, artists, university teachers and history associations all are involved in fostering and supporting Maori initiatives and other Maori professionals within their particular association.

### *Political Bodies*

Maori political groups are evident at both national and local level. A Kia Ora ticket contained a number of Maori candidates contesting seats in the 1992 Auckland Local Body elections.

In national politics there are well established groups within the main political parties of the nation. Over recent years Mana Motuhake has emerged as an independent Maori party expressing Maori ideals and aspirations.

## Specialist Government Organisations

### *Te Puni Kōkiri*

Te Puni Kōkiri was established under the Ministry of Maori Development Act 1991 with "the purpose of Te Puni Kōkiri being to assist with the

development of an environment of opportunity and choice for tangata whenua, consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi" (Corporate Plan).

Te Puni Kōkiri is principally involved in providing policy advice. It provides some facilitation services, has a reduced role as a funder and is responsible for the monitoring of the performance of other departments.

### *Maori Trust Office*

The Maori Affairs Act 1953 is the principal legislation affecting the work of the Maori Trustee. The Act defines five principal roles for the Maori Trustee: collecting and distributing alienation moneys; administration of leases of Maori land; acting as an agent of the owners; acting as a trustee of Maori freehold land, customary land or general land owned by Maori; and acting as trustee for a Maori person under a disability.

The Maori Trustee and his staff are all employees of the Crown although the Maori Trustee is also responsible for managing private Maori funds on behalf of known beneficiaries.

### *Maori Land Court*

The Native Land Act 1862 made provision for a Maori Land Court to decide the ownership of Maori land. Since then a number of Acts have been passed which have added to or altered the role and authority of the Maori Land Court. The Court today is quite unlike other courts in the New Zealand system.

In most of its proceedings it does not deal with adversary situations. Much of its work is administrative in the sense that it takes, indeed often initiates some action leading to the use of land.

Presently the Maori Land Court sits as part of the Justice Department with offices throughout the country.

### *Waitangi Tribunal*

The Waitangi Tribunal was formed in 1975 to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, but excluding grievances arising prior to 1975. In 1985 the Waitangi Amendment Act was passed, allowing the Waitangi Tribunal to recommend on claims dating right back to the Treaty's enactment in 1840.

The findings of the Tribunal have had a major impact on the settlement of Maori claims and have encouraged many iwi to engage in researching their own histories and so reclaim knowledge that many of them had lost.

### *Maori Language Commission*

The Maori Language Act 1987 sets out the Commission's statutory powers and functions. In November 1988 the Commission adopted the following Mission statement:

- to contribute to a New Zealand society where the Maori and English languages share equal legal status, where New Zealanders are free to use Maori or English in all public contexts, and
- to promote and maintain the Maori language as a living language so that it is used as an everyday means of communication.

The Maori Language Commission is a government funded commission with a commissioner and small secretariat.

### *Maori Fisheries Commission*

The Maori Fisheries Act 1989 saw the establishment of the Maori Fisheries Commission. The Commission under the Act has been given five principal functions:

1. To facilitate the entry of Maori into, and the development by Maori of, the business and activity of fishing;
2. To grant assistance to any Maori or group of Maori for the purpose of enabling that Maori or group of Maori to enter into or to continue in or to develop the business and activity of fishing;
3. To form a public company to be called Aotearoa Fisheries Limited;
4. To hold all the shares in Aotearoa Fisheries Limited;
5. To transfer to Aotearoa Fisheries Limited at least 50% of all quota and all money transferred or paid to the Commission by the Crown.

### *Maori Advisory Committees*

In addition to the government agencies and commissions mentioned so far are the numerous Maori advisory committees included in a number of major government departments.

## Education Initiatives

- Kohanga Reo  
The first Kohanga Reo, was opened on 13 April 1982, at Pukeatua Marae. Over the following 12 months, 107 more centres were established. By the end of 1983, 267 centres, catering for some 3000 children, had been established. At the end of 1990, 616 Kohanga Reo had been established. It is projected that almost 19,000 children will have participated in Kohanga Reo by 1994.
- Kura Kaupapa Maori  
As a flow-on from Kohanga Reo, a specifically Maori learning style (with all instruction being in Maori language) has been extended to primary education in the form of Kura Kaupapa Maori. The first Kura Kaupapa Maori, the Hoani Waititi Kura, was established in 1985 at the Hoani Waititi Marae. Initially some Kura Kaupapa Maori operated without state funding. At the beginning of 1990 six Kura Kaupapa Maori received state funding. At April 17, 1991 there were nine Kura Kaupapa receiving state funding. These schools catered for an estimated 250 students.
- Whare Wananga  
The procedures for establishing a wananga are set out in the Education Amendment Act 1990. To date, there have been four applications received by the Ministry of Education from Maori groups intending to establish whare wananga. Te Wananga o Raukawa has been providing an alternative for Maori within the tertiary sector for the last 12 years. Te Wananga o Raukawa, the Aotearoa Institute and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi are all in the process of becoming fully established as wananga.

## Modern Characteristics

This part of the paper has set out to show that many decision-making organisations covering a wide range of kaupapa have been established in the country. While the relevance and positive contributions of many of the modern organisations can be debated, what cannot be argued is the increased level of Maori representation on decision-making bodies. Many of these organisations have been formed as a reaction to Government policies while others have been formed at the direction of government. A number have become established with little if any association with Government.

What is common to most organisations is that they are legal entities.

The Maori representatives on these modern organisations have normally been appointed or elected and acquire their mandate and authority from the constitutions under which they function. The traditional system of acquiring rangatiratanga has not been followed and, as a result, it would be purely by coincidence that an appointed representative came from a rangatira line and displayed traditional chiefly qualities.

The lines of accountability for the modern appointed Maori representatives are also often different. They are generally accountable to the members who elect or appoint them and not to a particular iwi or hapu. Also the method of reaching decisions used is more likely to be based on a process of voting with majority rule rather than the traditional process of reaching decisions through consensus.

## Summary

The evidence above can be summarised by focusing upon the key characteristics:

- There are many organisations
- Many organisations were formed in response to government policies and programmes.
- There appears to be little coordination between organisations and most are working in isolation from others.
- Many Maori individuals are engaged in decision making roles.
- Most Maori individuals are elected or appointed to these roles.
- Few elected or appointed representatives are accountable to iwi.
- Most decisions are based on the Western model of democracy.

In summary, Maori decision-making roles are widely dispersed over many and varied organisations all purporting to be Maori. Few of such organisations arise out of, and are accountable to whanau, hapu and iwi. The majority of Maori decision makers today cannot claim to be leaders under the traditional system. There are many Maori leaders but few rangatira.

# Part V

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## GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES FOR MAORI LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING IN THE FUTURE

### Introduction

The findings in the previous section indicate a very busy and active scene of numerous organisations and individuals participating in decision making that in varying degrees affect Maori.

There is a sense of fragmentation and a lack of coordination and unified action. It is no wonder that there is often confusion when non-Maori organisations are trying to determine the appropriate Maori body with which to deal. It is also understandable that even when contact has been initially made doubts still exist as to the legitimacy of a particular group or representative to negotiate on behalf of other Maori.

From a Maori point of view there is often resentment shown towards appointed Maori representatives who speak and make decisions without prior notice and consultation or who make decisions without reporting back to the people. There is also resentment of decision-making bodies that coopt a Maori member to satisfy a regulation that requires Maori input. In most of these cases Maori groups have no say in either the selection or the appointment.

Some Maori would also lament the diminution of the traditional system of leadership and decision making and the loss of real authority and power. More importantly Maori society was in charge of its destiny and it made decisions that were binding on its people. This is no longer the case. It is Government and the institutions of the land that have the authority and the power to make decisions.

But while there are obvious problems with the present situation there cannot be a return to the system that existed in the nineteenth century. Conditions then were different and the Maori faced the possibility of extinction.

Today there is an expanding population, the people are locked into an uneven and unequal relationship with a dominant ruling population, and thus the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics are different. Leaders have to operate within a complex, fast changing and often politically hostile environment. Different problems require a range of responses rather than one.

The present situation is not satisfactory but the most urgent need is not so much to modify the traditional leadership system or invent a new one. Rather the need is for a philosophy of leadership and decision making that will provide some guiding principles for the leaders of today.

### *Key Elements to be Included*

Various people who spoke to us pinpointed some key elements that should be included in a philosophy of leadership and decision making. Many used traditional proverbs to reinforce their points and in doing so reminded us that basic truths encapsulated in these proverbs are as relevant today as they were generations ago.

These key elements have been grouped together under various headings and should prove to be a useful checklist to guide Maori leaders, Maori representatives and participants in any consultation or decision-making process. The provision of a Maori leadership list of key elements alongside a Maori representative list, has been done to make the distinction that it should not be assumed that a person appointed or elected to represent Maori is a Maori leader. As defined here a Maori leader is a person who gets out in front and leads the people and derives mana from them. The leader is also a person with a vision.

## Leadership Guidelines

1. Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini. The strength of a leader is the strength of the group.
2. A leader is a "kanohi kitea", that is, the leader's face is often seen among the people served.
3. A leader should serve the people, care for the people, listen to the people and speak on behalf of the people.
4. The primary obligation of a leader from traditional times, to the present and into the future is to ensure the continuity and development of Maori society and culture for the generations yet unborn.

5. The leader who stands within a pa tuwatawata (fortified pa) is a strong leader, while the leader who stands alone out in the field is "food for fire" (he kai na te ahi). That is, to say, a leader cast adrift from the people is easily assimilated, manipulated and intimidated by others.
6. A leader strives to enhance and strengthen the integrity of Maori society and culture.
7. A leader has a mandate from the people and is therefore accountable to the people.
8. A leader is the servant of the people.
9. The modern leader needs to consult frequently with the iwi base.
10. Modern leadership and decision making depend upon a reliable flow of information and sound advice.
11. Leadership now is a cooperative venture with the traditional leaders and the specialist leaders working together.
12. Iwi need to be flexible in their response to varied issues. On some matters it is the chief who leads while in others a specialist leader is appointed by the iwi to carry the mana of the group.

## Maori Representatives

1. Representatives are those who carry the mandate of whanau, hapu and iwi and of the people generally to act and speak responsibly on their behalf in given situations or forums for specific purposes.
2. The duties and functions of representation on behalf of whanau, hapu and iwi or on various indigenous issues carry an obligation to consult at regular intervals with the people and report back.
3. A representative may be appointed or elected by the people and terms of reference may also be given, that is, the mandate is defined.
4. Representation may be filled by one or more persons.
5. A representative should have knowledge of one's own background, the roots, history, reo and must be familiar with the tikanga of one's iwi.
6. A representative must always be aware of the duty to safeguard the integrity of the iwi and the obligation to represent them with due regard and honour.

7. The role of a representative carries with it the mana and ihi of the people and has to be nurtured and reflected in the person of the representative.
8. A representative must be aware of the limitations of the mandate, that the mandate is not personal.
9. A representative cannot commit the assets or the rights of the people without specific instruction from the people.
10. A representative must never compromise whanau, hapu and iwi and Maori people generally by allowing his/her vote to be manipulated.
11. Once appointed the representative has a duty to report back to whanau, hapu or iwi.

## Organisations with the Authority to Appoint Maori Representatives

1. There is an obligation to consult before representatives are appointed.
2. Select people who have the appropriate knowledge, ability and standing to carry the particular task.
3. If an appointment is to represent a specific Maori group then appropriate means of consultation and endorsement need to be established with that group.
4. Allow time and space for representatives to remain in touch with the people they represent.
5. Do not limit the contributions of a representative solely to traditional and ceremonial functions.
6. One Maori voice in a sea of many voices is easily drowned.
7. Allow Maori representatives to represent Maori views without fear of recriminations.
8. A representative whose cultural integrity is respected by the group will serve the group well.
9. The vote of a solitary Maori representative is a non-vote and is not democratic.

## Consultation

1. Consultation should be in person, to be in person.
2. Adequate time should be given that the representative has to be in person.
3. Allow sufficient time for the consultation to be in person.
4. Consultation should be appropriate to the situation.
5. So that the representative can be in person early and agree on the terms of the agreement.
6. Subject to the provisions of the form of the agreement.
7. With the representative in person.
8. There should be a representative in person.
9. Maori representatives should be in person and influential.
10. The representative should be in person and influential.

## Decision

1. Decision should be in person, to be in person, fair and equitable.

10. The representative must never compromise their whanau, hapu and iwi, nor the Maori people generally by allowing his/her vote to be manipulated.

## Consultation

1. Consultation is only a part of the decision-making process. Maori need to be involved in the total process.
2. Adequate information needs to be provided to the consulted party, so that they can make intelligent and informed decisions.
3. Allow sufficient time for the participation of the consulted party and for the consideration of the advice given.
4. Consultation should involve the widest range of Maori representation appropriate to the specific issue.
5. So that it is not purely a token gesture, consultation should begin as early as possible in the process and continue until a solution is mutually agreed upon.
6. Subject to issues such as commercial confidentiality, the Crown should provide as much detail as possible to enable Maori to develop an informed view on proposals.
7. Without full disclosure, consultation will remain incomplete.
8. There is an obligation to consult in good faith.
9. Maori responses must have the capacity to be fully considered and to influence policy development.
10. There is no point in consulting iwi if decisions have already been made and when there is no room for change.

## Decision Making

1. Decision making involving Maori issues should never exclude Maori participation and should be done with mutual respect and utmost good faith.

2. In terms of tino rangatiratanga Maori must appoint their own negotiators.
3. Imposition of a process or appointed personalities upon Maori will cause resentment.
4. Remember that Maori is not yet a single unified entity.
5. All elements of the society need to be harnessed in decision making so that the work of the iwi can be accomplished.
6. Ma whero ma pango ka oti te mahi. To ensure that wise decisions are made, men and women need to work closely together.
7. If the people are to own the decision made on their behalf they must be involved in the process of reaching it. That is to say the "runanga principle" of traditional times, the hui, is still the most effective way of involving people.
8. It is no longer acceptable to allow one or a small group of negotiators to make decisions on behalf of all Maori. The negotiator/s must be supported by a team of iwi advisers who are on hand throughout the process.

## A Philosophical Base

All that is needed to finalise this paper is to add a philosophical statement that can link together and make sense of the key elements of leadership and decision making listed earlier. There are two distinct areas which a philosophy ought to embrace: one which targets Maori obligations and the other which focuses upon Pakeha responsibilities.

## Maori Obligations

The environment in which Maori leaders operate and in which decisions are made is largely hostile to Maori interests and this fact needs to be addressed honestly and bravely. Efforts to organise the Maori nation into a politically strong entity have usually been undermined and so starved of funds that they tended to fail. There is a need for a clearly Maori-driven national organisation such as the National Maori Congress which unifies the whole of Maoridom and has a clear mandate.

Clearly a greater degree of accountability to iwi is required of all Maori in order that the integrity of whanau, hapu and iwi is enhanced and not compromised. Indeed there is a demand for it.

Maintaining the integrity of Maori society, its values, its knowledge base, its reo and its tikanga must be a fundamental premise of a new philosophy. A new philosophy of leadership built on kaupapa Maori ideals must refer back to, and be informed by a traditional cultural base. It must also speak to Maori needs and aspirations in regard to present-day demands and conditions. This is the first obligation. But the philosophy must also embrace new ideas, new technologies and new strategies of leading.

Collective talents, expertise and energies need to be fully harnessed from across Maoridom as a whole. Space and opportunities are provided in order to include both traditional chiefs and new specialist leaders so that they are able to contribute to the collective responsibility of taking Maoridom into the twenty-first century and beyond. Leadership and decision making will include men and women who represent the diverse social, political and economic interests of Maori society. Such a philosophy is inclusive, positive, proactive and culturally responsive to Maori needs and aspirations. There is an obligation to work together for the common good.

As a measure of accountability performance in leadership and decision-making must be measured against the benefits for Maori people generally, and for whanau, hapu, iwi and waka. An important obligation is that all such activities contribute to the survival, the continuity and the future development of Maori culture and identity and that all Maori must work towards these ends.

The new philosophy encourages a spirit of goodwill, of meaningful engagement and of support from Pakeha groups.

## Pakeha Obligations

In addressing Pakeha obligations some important understandings need to be developed.

The imposition of pre-determined processes and unequal power relations must be replaced by a fairer, more equitable and more flexible environment. Maori input into the decision-making process should be actively sought and valued. The omission of an appropriate Maori response must be seen to be a glaring oversight and an example of bad faith. Rather, the aim is to develop strategies for ensuring that consultation does take place, that it is done effectively and sensitively.

Decision-making processes should be tailored to meet differing situations. The diversity and the decentralised nature of Maori society requires strategies which take account of the realities on the ground.

A new philosophy of decision making must reflect Pakeha willingness to embrace concepts of power sharing, understanding of and sensitivity to modern Maori society and of the creation of an environment devoid of a meanness of spirit and suspicion.

## Ngā Toka Tū Moana (Rocks Standing in the Ocean)

The future leaders need to be well-educated, politically astute, firmly grounded in their Maori cultural base, sophisticated, very able, strong, and committed to their iwi and their people. They must be able to withstand whatever difficulties come before them, including the factor of racism which is a reality every Maori leader must learn to cope with. They must be able to accept criticism both from their own people and from Pakeha society and know how to deal effectively with it.

The metaphor of "he toka tu moana" has come from the heritage of the people. It is not a new metaphor but it is an old one to bring forward and apply to the leaders of the future. The strong leaders of iwi were described this way.

Ko rātou ngā toka tū moana. Ka ākina rātou e ngā ngaru o te moana. Ka ākina e te tai, ka ākina e ngā hau. Engari ahakoa pēhea ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu. They are the rocks standing in the sea. They are bashed by the waves of the ocean. They are dashed by the tide. They are struck by the winds. But no matter what hits them they stand and they stand.

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