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Author: Jonathan H. A. Te Rire
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**THE DISSIPATION OF INDIGENEITY
THROUGH RELIGION**

by Jonathan H.A. Te Rire MML MMMgt

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Abstract

This thesis report examines a theory that Christianity has contributed to the dissipation of Māori culture including their form of religiosity. Pākehā missionaries preached the biblical view of one God, eventually erasing and supplanting the many gods concept of Māori spiritual beliefs. The missionaries had initiated and severed the spiritual relationships of Māori with their lands, and contributed to the disintegration of Māori society.¹ This research report also studies the role of Māori ministers as leaders of the parish community as well as leadership of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, and the interaction of *taha Māori* and religion and the challenges, if any, faced by Māori clergy. In answering the thesis statement this paper begins by discussing challenges faced by Māori in particular living according to the tenets of the Christian church alongside *tikanga Māori*. In addition this report looks at responses from Māori towards Christianity and the application of *tikanga Māori* within and outside of their church activities. Towards this end research focuses on Māori clergy, more so on what they now do and how they think, and how their *taha whakapono* impacts on their *taha Māori* with particular emphasis on those people who work as priests, ministers and lay workers in the Presbyterian, Catholic, and Anglican churches of the Eastern Bay of Plenty.

Keywords: dissipation, indigeneity, *tikanga Māori*, Christianity, religiosity.

¹ Betty Williams, *The Passage of Māori Land into Pākehā Ownership – A Māori view*, NZ: Books in Print, 1983, p 8.

Preface

First and foremost, I would like to thank the many people with whom I have worked in a variety of ways since beginning this research topic. I begin with paying compliments to my wife and children whose enduring support enabled me to complete this thesis. The many long nights and times away from home were quietly suffered by her, and so my thanks and gratitude are boundless and without end. *The Dissipation of Indigeneity through Religion* is a provocative title some may think, for a study of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous studies concerning the operation of the church in the contemporary times. It is in fact an accurate description of inculturation and colonisation that had a dramatically adverse impact on the *tikanga* and way of life of Māori *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* during the early years of the nation. Conversely, the introduction of religiosity has at the other end of the scale had a favourable affect on the lives of many indebted Māori who welcomed with open arms the kind, humble, and unselfish love of the missionaries into their homes.

I am most grateful to the many church priests and ministers who assisted me with this paper. Indeed I must pay tribute to Te Ahorangi Rev Wayne Te Kaawa of *Te Aka Puaho*, the Māori arm of the *Hāhi Perehipitiriana* (Presbyterian Church) for his patience and tolerance, and also my thanks to the Moderator of *Te Aka Puaho* Millie Te Kaawa for her advice and up-front critical analysis of my work. I would also like to record my thanks to Ms Matekitāwhiti Tangitu of the Catholic Church for her tolerance of this at times insistent researcher; furthermore I acknowledge the heartfelt generosity of the clergy from the *Hāhi Mihinare*, in particular Reverend Canon Bob Schuster from *Ngāti Umutahi* of Matatā. I thank them all and the many other contributors, and I hope that my footnotes provide due acknowledgement for any specific contributions. Finally I would like to acknowledge Dr Nathan Matthews and Dr Lachy Paterson for their enduring assistance and guidance in helping me to complete this assignment. Heoi, e aku rangatira, e kore e mimiti te puna o te mihi me te aroha noa o tō tātou Matua Nui i te Rangi ki a tātou katoa.

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INTRODUCTION

The ancestors of the Māori were fishermen and farmers who made Aotearoa their new homeland sometime before 1000BC. Nowadays some of the descendants of those famous voyagers are fishers of men and shepherds' tending to their flock. The ancestors of Māori came as Polynesian, and they adapted to the new surroundings and environment; they developed a distinctive Māori culture. They had developed and enhanced their understanding of their new home over a substantial period of time and altered and adjusted their knowledge and life style accordingly. In Aotearoa the new explorers discovered a much larger and colder archipelago, greatly varied in its landscape, soils and climate.

Over another thousand years the arrival of the *Pākehā* brought to Aotearoa another culture that would alter that landscape. Their lives would be affected by the acquisition of new resources, technology, culture and religion. By the 1820s, Māori life and thought were rapidly changing. The *Pākehā* God is seen as powerful and *tapu* (sacred) and could cure all but Māori afflictions. Yet the spiritual beliefs of the Māori had no place in the *Pākehā* world as they understood it. However Māori understanding of *Te Ao Pākehā* (the western culture) is enhanced by the work of the early missionaries by teaching Māori to read and write through the medium of Christianity. Initially the missionaries did not succeed in turning the Māori into Christians like themselves, but instead the Māori people became Māori Christians.

This research report discusses the interaction of *tikanga Māori* and Christianity, and its impact, or not, on the application of *tikanga Māori*, such as whether the current descendants of the early Māori Christians comfortably promote the work of God alongside *tikanga Māori* as servants of the word and sacrament. Do Māori Christians find issue in applying *Te Ao Karaitiana* (Christianity) and *taha Māori* (Māori culture) in their work as ministers of the church? In the past thirty years Māori had begun learning about themselves as a people through research, *iwi wānanga* (tribal learning), or through attending tertiary education institutions. This growing awareness has to some extent had an influence on Māori and their interaction with the mainstream church. This thesis attempts to unpack some of those influences.

CHAPTER ONE

THESIS TOPIC AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Project Outline

This thesis topic seeks to examine a theory that the dissipation of indigeneity and its relationship with religion is based on the proposition that religion converted the souls of the indigenous culture, but took away their indigeneity, and that the Enlightenment and Western notions of “civilisation” and progress were the catalyst for the dehumanisation of the indigenous cultures and their epistemologies. In particular research will focus on Māori religious participation. Father G. Arbuckle of the Catholic Church in his research paper states that, ‘experience teaches us that man, uprooted from his native land and transplanted in a foreign soil, loses much confidence and even his human dignity’². Colin Knox in his PhD thesis states that the relative wealth of the European testified to the superiority of their God over the Māori.³ Indeed Māori realised the superior technology of the Pākehā and welcomed their religion.

This thesis has seven chapters. This introduction addresses the research topic and the methodology of research to be used in engaging the thesis question. Chapter two discusses the terms of reference; in particular it draws on some existing theories and definitions around indigeneity, for example Jeremy Waldron’s idea in a paper presented to the American Political Science Association in 2005 that indigenous peoples are the descendants of the first human inhabitants of a land or indigenous peoples are the descendants of those who inhabited the land at the time of European colonization.

Chapter three investigates the impacts of dehumanisation on the indigenous cultures and finds comparisons in terms of the work of the Church in its goal to convert people to Christianity. For example Paulo Freire talks about dehumanisation as being an oppressive act towards other humans. That the church in its role to convert the Māori

² G. Arbuckle, *The Church in a Multi Cultural Society - Pastoral Needs of Maoris and Polynesian Immigrants in New Zealand 1976, 1969.*

³ Colin Knox, (Ngāti Raukawa) *The Dynamics of Māori Society - Post 1800*, Part of a Thesis for PhD, Massey University, 2005. Paper held in confidence by the author.

may have neglected his culture and worldview is a major point of this thesis report. Chapter four investigates through collation of data and deductive research the number of Māori clergy currently practicing nationally, as well as a sample group operating within the Eastern Bay of Plenty region in the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Chapter five addresses issues around being a Christian and Māori in terms of practicing Christianity and practicing tikanga within the realms of Christianity. The crux of the thesis topic will be highlighted in this part of the paper. Chapter six investigates the influences or otherwise of Christianity on tikanga Māori within the three main denominations that this thesis covers. Those religious groups are *Te Aka Puaho*, the *Hāhi Mihinare*, and the *Hāhi Katorika*, they being the Māori arms of the Presbyterian, Anglican and the Catholic Churches. Finally, chapter seven will summarise the findings found in the research in terms of the extent religion has had an impact on the culture and way of life of those Māori that are Christians.

In short, the overall aim of this research paper is to investigate the challenges faced by the indigenous Māori culture in terms of their cultural survival by Christianity. In particular it will seek to examine the challenges faced by *whānau* (extended families) in terms of living according to the tenets of the Christian church, and how these religious values are impacting on their belief systems and worldview.

Proposed Research Methodology:

The proposed research is quite broad in its scope. Because I wanted to answer not only what the state of indigenous religiosity looks like currently, but also how it got to the current state, I employed a number of different methods in order to analyse this topic, including reviewing and critiquing the current literature; obtaining official records and statistics on Māori religious participation; accessing data for quantitative analysis and conducting qualitative research interviews, all of which are discussed below. The research methodology was also guided by a *Kaupapa Māori* approach to research that guided the way in which I interacted with the participants of the research and in some cases how these participants were chosen. The methods I employed will be discussed in depth in the next paragraph.

An overview of Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori theory is based on *tikanga Māori* (ethics) and is a means of analysing the world from a Māori perspective. To apply *Kaupapa Māori* within the context of research (*Kaupapa Māori* Research) is to take the current western ideologies from which the notion of research was derived, and supplement them with Māori epistemologies, ideologies and knowledge continuums.

Kaupapa Māori assumes that:

1. Māori knowledge and Māori ways of ‘doing’ or behaviour are valid and legitimate in their own right;
2. Tikanga Māori (ethics, philosophies and principles) informs the process of research, and the theoretical foundations of the research; and
3. Research undertaken with or about Māori is for the benefit of Māori and in-line with Māori aspirations.⁴

In the context of this research, a *Kaupapa Māori* approach is important in establishing this thesis as beneficial for Māori themselves. To understand Māori behaviours, particularly in the process of interacting with the Christian religion, is important as it enhances Māori knowledge about themselves and the world around them, and provides the opportunity for new knowledge to be created.

Kaupapa Māori is also important in informing the process of the research. As a Māori researcher, I am privy to ‘insider knowledge’ in regards to Māori behaviours and actions in terms of religious participation and history. This provides me with three advantages. In the first instance, it provides me with a means of gaining access to Māori knowledge and to Māori people who may otherwise be wary of participating in such a research project. Secondly, the principle of *whakawhanaungatanga*⁵ allows me to utilise Māori networks within this research, such as the identification of the participants for my qualitative research. Finally, being Māori means that I am better able to interpret some of the behaviours, knowledge and processes that I will be immersed in and observing.

⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999, pp 115-122.

⁵ To interrelate and behave as a family.

These three principles are an inherent part of the research process that I have undertaken and are important to mention here, because it is often taken for granted by Western academia that the researcher should not be personally involved in the research. It is often assumed that an outsider is better able to observe and interpret behaviours as being of interest, or important. I would argue however, in line with the *Kaupapa Māori* theory, that this outsider approach to research is certainly not the only way of working with Māori people. Because of Māori mistrust of Western researchers, the inability to correctly interpret certain behaviours, the possibility of missing certain subtleties which do signify issues of importance and finally due to the inability to relate to the participants at the very basic level of *whānau*, it is clear that *Kaupapa Māori* is a particularly effective methodology for Māori research.

As the participants in this research are all Māori it is important that I clearly state my intention to use a *Kaupapa Māori* approach to this research project. Although it is important to acknowledge that Western research methodologies are also just as effective. In many ways the methodology of this research will be similar or identical to other research processes, and the quality of the outcome of this research will not be compromised due to the utilising of this theoretical framework. The methods I have used in this particular research are outlined as follows:

Literature

This research report incorporates an extensive review of current literature related to the thesis topic. As mentioned previously, the key theoretical areas that I have explored have been cached within the theory of indigeneity. In particular I have focussed on the literature concerned with Christianity in Aotearoa, Māori and Missionary, Māori, Missionary and Settlers, and Reason and Religion in an Age of Science. An extensive review was also conducted for literature related to indigenous religion in general. Within this area I am concerned both with historical documents that give detailed accounts of Māori interaction and engagement with various religious organisations; as well as more contemporary writings on Māori religion. This body of literature is relatively small in comparison to the vast library of indigenous religiosity and therefore it has been my intention to scope as much of this literature, and related documents as possible. Accordingly this thesis has referenced work around indigeneity and religious studies from writers and academics such as

Linda Smith, Lachy Paterson, Murray Rae, Brendan Hokowhitu, Nathan Matthews, Graham Smith, Franz Fanon, Poka Laenui, Haunani-Kay Trask, D. Turner, A. Moreton-Robinson, Phillip Cody, Charles Hita-Browne, Dominic O’Sullivan, Ranginui Walker, Mason Durie and Judith Binney. This paper also refers to others as required in the report, suffices to say that the list of names is extensive and has not been exhausted.

This research, although focused primarily on Māori religious participation cannot be written in total isolation from the experiences of other cultural groups. I have therefore drawn on information related to the religious participation of the Western culture where required. I do not discriminate from which group this literature is sourced so long as it meets certain criteria which I believe places their situation in a similar context to that of Māori. These are:

1. That the Māori people be acknowledged as the *tangata whenua* in Aotearoa
2. That the indigenous culture is a minority in their country, presenting them with a similar experience of difficulty in affecting change within their religious context.

These criteria are the basic rules in determining which cultural groups I will use for comparison to the Māori case in this research. This is not to exclude or to diminish the rights of other indigenous cultures, but rather to provide comparisons of value due to similar circumstances. This will enable me to make assumptions where necessary based on the experience of these other cultures, as the possible variables that may affect the outcomes of these experiences have been diminished as much as possible. Although I acknowledge that there will always be differences in the context of different indigenous people and groups. The overall intention of the review and critique of these bodies of literature is to provide me with a full understanding of the field of study, and also to enrich the proposed research with lessons learnt by others.

Official Records and Statistics

As it is my intention to examine the state of indigenous religion in terms of the dissipation of indigeneity, I have striven to obtain statistics and information that is truly representative of the total Māori religious population. The limited resources at

my disposal did not always make it possible for me to carry out large quantitative surveys and analysis on the population required in order to gauge the data required for this study. Nevertheless, I sought to use any official records and statistics related to Māori religious participation to their full extent. The main sources for this information came from the Alexander Turnbull Library, Te Aka Puaho Archives, Knox College Archives, church organisations, Statistics New Zealand, university and public libraries. These records were able to provide me with some of the qualitative data required to assist in creating a portrait of the Māori people and religious participation, though it cannot account for the full picture that I sought to convey.

Qualitative Data and Analysis

I conducted three individual interviews, and three focus group interviews. The reason for conducting qualitative interviews is to gain a deeper level of insight into why Māori participate in religion, and why they have chosen to participate in the way that they do. The reason I had chosen to conduct a mixture of both focus group interviews and individual interviews is because each of these processes provided a different means of understanding in terms of the issues that were raised. Focus groups provided me with the opportunity to observe and analyse social interactions that were important to the thesis topic, while the individual interviews allowed me to seek an even deeper understanding of the issues through the exploration of issues in a focused one-on-one environment. The author was aware that given that the interviews were drawn from a limited group of people that there was an obvious risk of imbalance in terms of the overall data collated. This thesis report set-out from the beginning to gain information from those people that resided in the Eastern Bay of Plenty area.

Focus Groups

The focus group approach allowed for groups of eight people to discuss issues amongst each other and was a means of establishing dialogue amongst participants, giving the researcher insight into group patterns or behaviour. It also allowed for any social issues related to Māori religious participation to come to the surface. Within this type of interview there was also a certain level of observation that needed to be undertaken by the researcher as there were often expressed feelings of awkwardness, eagerness, discomfort, or suchlike that were unspoken, but very relevant to the research.

The following focus groups were approached:

- The Presbyterian Church (Te Aka Puaho);
- The Catholic Church (Te Rūnanga o Te Hāhi Katorika); and
- The Anglican Church (Te Hāhi Mihinare).

Having interviewed three focus groups over a period of four months I then collected the information and began to transcribe the interviews as well as carrying out an analysis of the data. I had conducted the focus group interviews before the individual interviews, so that if any issues of interest arose out of the focus group discussions then issues could be further explored during the individual interviews. The focus group data underwent both a thematic analysis as well as a certain amount of discourse analysis. It is important to keep in mind that this was because in the focus group dynamics were apparent and often there were times of silence. It was therefore important to be able to accurately interpret these dynamics alongside the language used, the level of social interaction and of course the content of discussion. The dynamics mentioned concern levels of knowledge to varying degrees of perspectives in terms of what each person within the focus group knew, and the baggage that each brought with them had to be taken into account. For example the baggage could be life experiences and attitudes from one's past, as well as new knowledge learnt from tertiary education or other persons.

Individual In-depth Interviews

The individual in-depth interviews allowed me the opportunity to speak *kanohi ki te kanohi* (one on one) with informants. This is useful in drawing out a depth of information and allows for open discussion regarding issues that may be of a sensitive nature. For this thesis I conducted three individual in-depth interviews, with people from different religious affiliations. The objective of these in-depth interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of what motivated these people to belong to a Christian church, and also to have an opportunity to look back on their experiences and get a unique perspective on their religious participation. It is important to note that I have access to the informants as my *whānau* (family) connections extend to these informants. In Māori terms this is *whanaungatanga* (close kin relationships), however in research method terms, it is known as utilising existing networks. I have used the *whanaungatanga* method.

In summary this thesis sought to investigate whether religion had impacted on the ability of Māori to express their worldview according to their values and belief systems. In particular it investigated Māori who are active members of the Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican churches, more so those who work as priests and ministers within those mentioned churches. Outcomes from individual and focus group interviews, and literature reviews highlighted whether there was any validity in the thesis statement. The overall outcome of this thesis report indicates whether involvement as a Māori minister in the Christian Church impacts on one's ability to express *tikanga Māori* as described by the individual and or the group.

CHAPTER TWO

A DEFINITION OF INDIGENEITY

This chapter began by exploring some terminology that defines indigeneity; the word will also be used as a reference point, as it is used extensively throughout this thesis report. A consensus dictionary definition for indigeneity is a local inhabitant or a person originating or occurring naturally in a particular place, and also as an aboriginal inhabiting in a land from earliest times or before the arrival of colonists.⁶ According to Jeremy Waldron⁷, a law professor at Columbia University, there are two main schools of thought on the definition of indigeneity. First, indigeneity is a comparative term where people are described as indigenous in relation to a country, region or territory. Sometimes the descriptor, indigeneity, can be perplexive, where people are called indigenous, first, in relation to a certain territory. Second in relation to other people, who arrived in the land at a time subsequent to them. Another definition according to Professor Whatarangi Winiata⁸ is to mean “*tangata whenua*” (original inhabitants), and Māori educationalist Pem Bird⁹ refers to its true meaning, as he would see it, as being, “*ngā iwi taketake* (similar to *tangata whenua* in that it denotes the true original inhabitants of the land).¹⁰ For example modern narrative and oral traditions recognise that Maori are the indigenous inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand,¹¹ because they were its first human inhabitants: thus we say they are its indigenous inhabitants relative to the Europeans, who settled there as part of the imperial enterprise. So immediately, you have two types of definition. This paper will refer to both definitions as prescribed by Waldron.

Interestingly a definition that emerged at the World Council of Indigenous Peoples Conference (WCIP) in 1975 stated that indigeneity refers to those descendants of the earliest populations living in the area. But the same organisation also defined indigeneity as referring to the descendants of the original inhabitants who lived in the

⁶ The Oxford Dictionary. Available at <http://www.askoxford.com/dictionaries/?view=uk> (Sept 2008).

⁷ Jeremy Waldron, “*Why is Indigeneity Important?*” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, Omni Shoreham, Washington Hilton, Washington DC, 1st Sept 2005. Available at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p39787_index.html

⁸ Pers comm. with Prof Whatarangi Winiata at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Campus, Ōtaki, June 2005

⁹ Pem Bird QSM is the Tumuaki (Principal) of Te Kura Māori Motuhake o Tawhiuau, Murupara, NZ.

¹⁰ Pem Bird QSM, speech at the Kura-a-Iwi o Aotearoa Hui, Hirangi Marae, Turangi, 26 June, 2008.

¹¹ Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, NZ, 1995, p 12.

territory before the early arrivals of the colonists.¹² This second view is consistent with Winiata, Bird and Waldron's definition and will be the preferred term of reference in describing indigeneity throughout this thesis paper. The two concepts may be co-extensive, as in New Zealand and Australia, where the populations that confronted European colonists from the late eighteenth century are plausibly regarded as the descendants of the first inhabitants of these lands. But still it is necessary to be aware of these alternative styles of definition, because indigeneity in Waldron's second definition may ground different sorts of claims than indigeneity in the first, and it makes a difference which ones we rely on, because in some circumstances the ideas will come apart. In India, for example, if indigeneity is defined in terms of literal first occupancy, we have to go way back before the Mughal Empire of the sixteenth century BC, before the Vedic¹³ period on which present Hindu nationalist mythology is presently based.¹⁴ It therefore makes sense that we must tread carefully when seeking a starting point in terms of defining indigeneity.

Existing Theories on Indigeneity

What exactly does it mean to describe a people as the *indigenous* inhabitants of a land and why is indigeneity important? I begin by giving a view about *tikanga Māori*. First, it is way of life, it is the *whakapapa* of a specific group of people, and it encapsulates the *whanaungatanga* aspects that make up this group. Second, *tikanga* is an evolving thing that changes with the environment that a group finds itself in, for example when *Māori* ancestors arrived to *Aotearoa* they had to change their way of living to adapt to the new environment that was different from where they came from. *Tikanga* is like a living document that evolves with change. In assisting with an explanation on *tikanga*, Hirini Mead helps by explaining indigeneity, where he says, "indigeneity" is a recently coined term used by some indigenous people in place of "indigenouness" with its near redundant final two syllables. As such, it carries the same set of meanings as the earlier term, i.e., anything pertaining to native peoples in general, or a native people specifically."¹⁵ How have the Maori been able to maintain

¹² WCIP Conference, Port Alberni, British Columbia, Canada, 1975. Available at http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/World_Council_of_Indigenous_Peoples

¹³ Vedic people were related to the original inhabitants of India namely the Hindu.

¹⁴ Collier's Encyclopaedia, William D. Halsey and Bernard Johnston (eds.) Macmillan Educational Company, P.F. Collier, Inc, 1990, p 268.

¹⁵ Hirini Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1970, p 4.

their indigeneity? The Maori are recognized as a colonized group that has maintained a good part of its culture. However, it has not been a given, and today they believe that there is much they have lost and are thus attempting to revive and re-create what they can. Māori were greatly aided by leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata who, in the early 1900s, managed to convince the government schools to include aspects of Maori culture in their curriculum. Hirini Moko Mead mentions in his book *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* about the absence of *tikanga Māori* in school curricula for over a century.¹⁶ The point here is that Mead initiated the importance of understanding Māori knowledge and the environment of the indigenous culture. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Maori people initiated a large-scale cultural renaissance, which included a revival of the Maori language.

There are two possible ways of defining indigeneity: First, indigenous peoples are the descendants of the first human inhabitants of a land; and second, indigenous peoples are the descendants of those who inhabited the land at the time of European colonisation. Waldron proffers arguments for indigenous rights based on a “*Principle of First Occupancy*” (PFO), which he describes as giving moral recognition to the fact that a people have taken possession of land without disturbing any other occupants; and a “*Principle of Established Order*” (PEO), that is a conservative principle that commands us, and should have commanded the colonisers, not to disturb established arrangements.¹⁷ I support Waldron’s view in terms of defining the position of indigenous people and their land. However, the principle of PFO should also include ethical recognition as well as moral, simply because morality could not sit on its own as a principle obligation. The distinction between moral and ethical is the notion of ‘doing what you feel is right to another person.’ In the context of this chapter the view is that people who established the land first should be recognised always not only when required to by law or otherwise. Cultural groups, ethnic or otherwise, as well as individuals have different standards and levels of morals depending on their lived experiences and backgrounds. To accept a moral obligation on its own merely negates the PFO principle in terms of recognising the rights of first occupation of the indigenous group. Furthermore, the coloniser or later arrivals where there was no significant disturbance to the original occupants of the land could challenge the PFO

¹⁶ Hirini Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, p 3.

¹⁷ J. Waldron, *Why is Indigeneity Important*. Available at www.allacademic.com/

principle by stating that the later arrivals were not to take away the occupational rights of the indigenous occupants but to fit in as part of the society. The debates and arguments in this respect could be endless. History has shown the occupations to be otherwise. For example PFO aside the coloniser still settled occupied lands whether by scrupulous sales or enacted land legislation like the Native Lands Acts.

Often there is confusion as to which of these theories mentioned in the previous paragraph is meant when theorists of indigeneity talk about “*an indigenous people's original occupancy of a territory.*” And once we distinguish the two principles, we begin to see that the First Nations Peoples’ movements have adopted them opportunistically and loosely. For example Haunani-Kay Trask of the Hawaiian people concludes that, “*We have a common heritage as aboriginal peoples*”, and further adds, “*... as First Nations of the world ... we are ... people ... who are attuned to the rhythms of our homeland.*”¹⁸ Indigeneity as Haunani-Kay states reaffirms the position of First Nation Peoples as the genesis of its generations and those yet to be born. This position can never be changed although some New Zealand historians would argue that the indigenous culture flourishes because of the intervention by colonisation.¹⁹ PEO, as Waldron espouses, might be used to condemn colonial invasion as disruptive of an existing indigenous order, but as a contemporary principle it cannot be used now to justify any sort of reversion to the status quo ante.

The conservative protection that PEO offered to the status quo in 1840 for example could now be offered to the status quo in 2002. It condemns historic injustice, but it blocks radically disruptive remedies for indigenous issues. PFO seems more promising as a basis for radical remedies, but it is a difficult principle to apply, inasmuch as it makes tremendous demands on our historical knowledge, and it assumes lack of conflict and conquest among so-called indigenous peoples. In any case, PFO is problematic in ways that theorists of property have understood for a long time. It legitimises occupancy which is not disruptive of anyone else's occupancy.

¹⁸ Haunani-Kay Trask, “Neo-colonialism and indigenous structures.” In *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993, p 132.

¹⁹ Michael Adas, 1943- *Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology*. *Journal of World History*, Vol 15, Number 1, March 2004, pp. 31-63

Turner's paper on *Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*²⁰ adopts the view that indigenous intellectuals must participate in activities that continue to resist colonialism, that protect and defend indigeneity, and that they must engage the legal and political discourses of the state in an effective way. The point here is that the minority culture must constantly be on the alert to preserve its indigenous existence and worldview according to its own eyes and not that of another

What is the Dissipation of Indigeneity?

The title of this thesis report lends itself to a topic written by Archdeacon Walsh that describes *The Passing of the Māori* (1907) where he states that the declension of the Māori population must soon reach a vanishing point. The “dissipation of indigeneity” as described in this report is far removed from Archdeacon Walsh's prediction but provides a focus point and a thematic approach for this thesis in terms of the challenges faced by *tikanga Māori* to survive. Indeed “dissipation” may be a provocative term, some may think, for a study of indigeneity and religion concerning the operations of the Christian church. For the purposes of this study the dissipation of indigeneity refers to the loss or fading away of *tikanga* and *mātauranga Māori*.

This thesis topic seeks to examine the dissipation of indigeneity particularly in relation to religion, and explores the hypothesis that religion converted the souls of the indigenous culture, and attempted to replace their identity. Father G. Arbuckle of the Catholic Church in his research paper (1969) states that, “*experience teaches us that man, uprooted from his native land and transplanted in a foreign soil, loses much confidence and even his human dignity.*” The “foreign soil” that I refer to in this report focuses on the assimilation of the minority culture to the hegemonic culture of the West. This research paper further expresses the sentiments of Arbuckle by stating that the early missionaries to Aotearoa were the crusaders of cultural deprivation.²¹ The dissipation also focuses on the changes encountered by Māori in terms of their belief systems of *atua*²², ceremonies such as the opening of a *whare tipuna*²³,

²⁰ D. Turner, “Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy.” In *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, p 96.

²¹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books, 1990, p 9.

²² The Māori word for a Deity or a God-like figurehead.

²³ A carved meeting-house belonging to the tribal chief.

*karakia*²⁴ when taking a *rākau*²⁵ from the forest, and the *tohi*²⁶ ceremony when a newborn reaches adulthood. The *wairuatanga*²⁷ of the Māori took on a different face when *iwi* encountered Christianity. In addition this paper takes the view that both Christianity and Māori belief systems are important and so respects those views: it is not for this paper to distinguish one from the other. The essence of this paper also encapsulates issues around the work of the churches when converting Māori to Christianity, where the Bible for example focussed on the importance of the Holy Trinity, and that other gods should not be part of that focus. The Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible as an example says, “Do not turn to idols or make for yourselves molten gods: I am the Lord your God.”²⁸ The challenge for Māori was to accept that acknowledging their departmental gods was a great sin and that they would be caste into darkness forever. This approach by the church is dehumanistic, which I use here to describe as behaviour that is demoralising and demeaning towards other human’s. Linda Tuhiwai Smith contends that, “*The whole process of colonisation was a stripping away of mana.*”²⁹ Smith is possibly pointing us to the colonisation processes and not the processes of the church. The view of this paper includes the religious activities of the missionaries in the formative years of the colonisation of Aotearoa; these activities continue to permeate societies today. Smith goes on to mention that the colonisation process was concerned with defining knowledge; the knowledge as Homi Bhabha contends of the Other.³⁰ The Other refers to the indigenous inhabitants and their culture. The church regularly defined knowledge according to their worldview that is through Western eyes, and this is acknowledged, however engaging with Māori also means to view the world as they understand it. The church in its early ministering and today engages with Māori through understanding their culture very well. For example Te Aka Puaho through its Te Wānanga-a-Rangi amorangi training programme engages with pupils from a

²⁴ The Māori word to mean prayer.

²⁵ Literally means a stick but in this context refers to a tree.

²⁶ Similar but not the same as a European baptismal ceremony.

²⁷ Spirituality.

²⁸ The Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible, 1952; Leviticus, 19:4, p 103.

²⁹ Linda Smith, “Imperialism, history, writing and theory.” In *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999, p 26.

³⁰ Homi Bhabha (ed.) “DissemiNation: Time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation.” In *Nation and Narration*, New York: Routledge Printers, 1990, p 292.

totally Māori perspective, and achieving the aims of the church in providing bilingually trained ministers.

The dehumanisation as espoused by Freire and explained further in Chapter three, and framed within the context of this paper, posits the view that an indigenous traditional belief system has no place within the Church of God, or for that matter alongside Western religious epistemology. Surely this view further promotes dissipation by excluding the belief systems of the other culture. The traditional belief system of the Māori had been their norm for centuries. Freire's view accentuates the statement of Archdeacon Walsh in that the vanishing point he speaks of is possibly nigh; Walsh further contends that without people there would be no culture. The Rev. Samuel Marsden in his memoirs wrote, "[T]he heathens must be brought into the house of God by expunging their barbaric ways."³¹ Marsden was adamant that to leave their barbaric ways the Māori must first be won over, and this could be achieved through conversion to the Christian faith and its practices. For example the *mana* of the chief depended on his ability to enhance inter-*hapū* and inter-*iwi* relations, therefore by marrying a wife from another *hapū* or *iwi* the chief could weave together a powerful relationship. This relationship had economic as well as defensive values. Conversely, Walker contends the missionaries as "*religious crusaders carrying the Bible in one hand and the cross in the other dismantled the mana of the rangatira.*"³² The chiefs were told that marrying more than one wife was blasphemous and against the tenets of the Church. Like the veiled messages conveyed by the carriers of the cross and the Bible, dissipation comes in many guises and spreading the word in the name of God may be one of its tools.

Conversely, there were those *iwi*, in particular some *rangatira*, who supported Christianity for a number of reasons. One of those reasons, this paper will cover in more depth further on, was for economic gain, sustainability and more so for purposes of warfare, where past inter-tribal scores were settled. Those *rangatira* who had Pākehā friends, such as the missionaries, traders, and whalers, inevitably had access to the muskets, a much superior weapon than the hand-to-hand weapons of the Māori.

³¹ A. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*. Uniprint: Auckland, 1990, p 10.

³² Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, 1990, p 9.

The Church Missionary Society on the other hand was playing politics with the French Catholics and therefore had a vested interest in securing a foothold within the indigenous communities. Aotearoa/New Zealand history will show that both the French and the English were not only vying for the souls of the heathenistic Māori, but were also securing an economic presence within Aotearoa/New Zealand.³³

In summary this chapter has covered aspects of how indigeneity informs the overall context of this thesis report, including a definition of indigeneity in terms of the relationship between local inhabitants and their worldviews and those of immigrants. The chapter specifically engages with concepts of mana-diminishing acts that criticise and suppress the indigeneity of others, more so their spiritual and religious belief systems, Gods, and various other forms of guardians. The overall context of this thesis report is to investigate whether religion impacts or suppresses the ability of those Māori who practice Christianity to express tikanga Māori in whatever shape or form that may be.

The following chapters investigate further issues such as oppressive behaviours that dehumanise other cultures, and the outcomes from being continually oppressed, such as the formation of Māori Christian churches. The enlightenment period was a change for Māori insofar as the introduction of new technology, social status, and economic sustainability, where the lifestyle of Māori changed because of the environment as well as the arrival of another culture to the land. The impacts were both advantageous and disadvantageous, for example the missionaries brought the written word to Māori, which enabled Māori to store information in another form other than oral. However, the following chapter engages with the spectre of dehumanisation and its affects both good and bad on the Māori people.

³³ Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

A DISCUSSION ON DEHUMANISATION

While the problem of humanization has always, from an axiological point of view, been humankind's central problem, it now takes on the character of an inescapable concern. Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality...

- Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1996

On the 25th December, Christmas day, 1814, a service of holy worship to God was held at Rangihoua in the far north by the Reverend Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).³⁴ Although not the first service in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it was certainly one of many services to be provided for the *tangata whenua*³⁵ of the country.³⁶ The transplanting of Christianity to New Zealand began with nineteenth century missionary activity. But the first attempts to introduce Christianity amongst the Māori represented impositions from a foreign way of life and epistemology. However, the religious experience of the Māori did not begin at Rangihoua on Christmas day in 1814. *Tapu* and *noa* were an essential part of the Māori spiritual experience and religious practices; indeed it was an integral part of their daily lives, from birth to death it governed their very existence.³⁷ But the early missionaries like Marsden *et al* showed little regard of the Māori and his pre-European religious activities. Elsmore in her research mentions that during the early 1830s there was a growing decline in Māori self-image as they realised they were becoming captive to foreign ways and materialism, including a rise and real interest in Christian religion.³⁸ This chapter researches the effects of Christianity on those Māori religious activities, and therefore will leave the debate on atua Māori, black magic and sorcery for others to discover.

³⁴ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*. Peter Dowling (ed.) Reed Books: NZ, Reprinted 2004, p 5.

³⁵ The original inhabitants.

³⁶ Rev J. Venn, *The Thoughts of the Evangelical Leaders, 1798-1814*, J. Pratt (ed.) Eclectic Society: London, 1978, pp 96-97.

³⁷ Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, p 35.

³⁸ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, p 7.

As a starting point, I refer to Paulo Freire's writings in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*³⁹, in particular his definitions concerning humanisation and dehumanisation where he states in terms of unequal power relations that, "while both humanisation and dehumanisation is an alternative, only the first is the people's vocation", meaning that people have a propensity to enhance a person's status rather than the opposite. I propose the opposite view in that people have a propensity to evoke the latter which is the dehumanisation of the other. I therefore seek to weave Freire's perspectives together in terms of expressing the context of the thesis topic, "The Dissipation of Indigeneity through Religion." I begin with defining dehumanisation, which in my view is an act of degradation or the violation of a person's basic human rights. Freire agrees by describing similar acts, such as discriminating against a culture's language, as the violation of another's rights.⁴⁰ Therefore in the context of this paper my view is that religion has been a catalyst of change for the indigenous people, and I use the Māori people as a case study to illustrate this. Since the introduction of Christianity in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1814, where the missionaries mission was to find a method that they could effectually promote the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen,⁴¹ the Māori people have experienced a major shift in religious activities as well as in their tikanga.

Freire in his writing mentions that dehumanisation has led the oppressed to engage in acts of violence, or as the writer postulates acts of reasoned radicalism.⁴² This is not surprising given the length of time of the oppression of Māori, in particular the severity of that subjugation being inflicted on groups or individuals; it seems the agenda promulgated by the missionaries was not far from the truth in terms of promoting religion. That is the agenda of converting the heathen souls of the Māori.⁴³ The frustration of the oppressed had led to the formation of radicalist behaviour amongst iwi Māori in terms of religious activity, for example the Pai Marire faith now practised by the Kingitanga, and in later years the introduction of Te Kooti's Ringatū faith to name a few.⁴⁴ I use the term radical in this sense to describe an activity other than a mainstream activity; it is not for this paper to say that Māori religions were

³⁹ Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London, England: Penguin, 1996, p 25.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p 26.

⁴¹ Rev J. Venn, *The Thoughts of the Evangelical Leaders*. 1978, pp 96-97.

⁴² Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1996, p 28.

⁴³ A. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p 10.

⁴⁴ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, p 3.

born out of violent radicalism but it could be said that they were born out of frustration in adhering to another's tikanga. Their reason for engaging in radical activities was, as this paper postulates, because of the pestilence of dehumanisation, in particular its ability to suppress the cultural values of another culture.

Freire further mentions that the oppressed and the oppressor were both agents of dehumanisation, and that these agents validated power over another through ensuring poverty of the oppressed, thus ensuring vindication and validation for stealing another's humanity. His readings suggest that the oppressed in turn become like their oppressors, or as he mentions, sub-oppressors.⁴⁵ The oppressed [in this case Māori] have been colonised by living a way of life for many years that had suppressed their own. Having been colonised and conditioned into a false sense of identity the oppressed would sometimes be reluctant to seek a change from their lifestyle, and so continue to live a dual life, one that keeps them in a downward spiral towards oblivion. Freire goes on to say that the central problem for people is the problem of 'humanisation'.⁴⁶ Linda Smith postulates in her research into the improvement of social and health outcomes for Māori⁴⁷ that assimilation is a condition imposed on the indigenous culture that separates them from their lived experiences and realities, in effect a dehumanising condition. Smith further states that this condition can only be defined and reconstructed from a Kaupapa Māori base. This comment is true in this context because all cultures have a propensity to describe each other in ways that are negative. Smith further mentions that dehumanisation marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also those who have stolen it.⁴⁸

Freire mentions that liberation from oppression can only be carried out by the oppressed because by freeing those from oppressive behaviour only then will the oppressor cease those acts and turn from that behaviour. Dehumanisation is the result of an unjust order that engenders violence and radicalism; however, it has been through the actions of the radicals that the oppressor has been turned.⁴⁹ In the New Zealand situation Māori through their radical actions have turned the mindsets of the

⁴⁵ Paulo Freire, P *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 1996, p 26

⁴⁶ Ibid, p 25.

⁴⁷ Linda Smith, *Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 1999, p 115-122.

⁴⁸ Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 1996, p 26.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

oppressor, this process continues today. Freire suggests an important factor in this movement for liberation, is the development of ‘true consciousness.’⁵⁰ True consciousness is about self-belief, self-esteem and being who you are as a person, as a community and this paper endeavours to engage with true consciousness by commenting on the effects of living by other culture’s laws and values that are foreign. Freire explains well the effects of humanisation through direct commentary, but also recommends viable solutions that bring cultures together, with better understanding going forward. This paper suggests that the enlightenment is about the knowledge gained by groups and individuals around the impacts and affects of subjugation, colonisation, and dehumanisation by other hegemonic cultures as evidenced in the imperialistic behaviours of the West towards indigenous cultures.

The Culturally Oppressed

Appleby et al describes the Enlightenment as a time when elite Westerners constructed first an image of nature, then an industrial reality, directly expressive of the power of Western science.⁵¹ In years past it was the clergy who had controlled the minds of the people when they preached that the universe was designed by the providential hand of the Deity, out of which emerged the institutions of church and state.⁵² Appleby et al also propose that the enlightened philosophes had risked martyrdom battling with clergy and churches as they penetrated a fog spread by centuries of ignorance. Science, in effect, was a victory of reason over superstition, heralding in an era of industrial and technological changes that saw the end of the cottage industry and the peasant workers, and the end of the agricultural labourer.

These changes had an impact on Māori during the eighties. The connection between the Enlightenment discussion previously and the impact of decisions made by the Labour Government of the 1980s is around change, and during the 1980s Māori were affected by change. For example pre-Rogernomics, Māori were around 78% of the workforce in employment areas such as roading, forestry, farming, railways and telecommunications. However due to Rogernomics, Māori suffered greatly in areas of unemployment, health, crime, education, housing and poverty, dropping by 30 points

⁵⁰ Freire, P *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 1996, p 49.

⁵¹ J. Appleby, L. Hunt, & M. Jacob, “The Heroic Model of Science.” In *Telling the Truth about History* J. Appleby, L. Hunt, & Lynn & M. Jacob (eds.) New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1994, p 30.

⁵² Ibid, p 31.

of the total percentage of the workforce in the 1986 to 1991 census period. The point made here is that the dehumanisation of Māori was further added to by the ensuing effects of unemployment which led to poverty, ill health, diminished education, and low self-esteem. Māori were open to more challenges to survive physically, mentally and spiritually. Religious activities were also affected; those affects will be discussed further in this thesis report.

As mentioned above, Appleby et al stated that science was a victory of reason over superstition; I add further that the Enlightenment meant victory of reason over superstition, or as the philosophes of the time put it, of light against the powers of darkness. In comparing the above phrase with the life and worldview of the indigenous people this naturally followed through to defining their folk tales and *purākau* (traditional stories) or *waiata mōteatea* (traditional songs) and *ngā Atua* (Māori Gods) stories as nothing but myths and legends, and superstitious stories from people who lived in darkness. Appleby *et al* further describes the Enlightenment period also described by Kant as the era where modernity began, that it got its name from the enterprise of spreading light into the dark corners of the human mind.⁵³

In fact by the time the Pākehā had arrived on the shores of Aotearoa the affects of the Enlightenment had already begun to show the effects of dehumanisation on the *tangata whenua* of the land. For example the early whalers, traders and missionaries had already begun to categorise the lifestyle and beliefs of Māori as heathenistic, backward and sprinkled with an abundance of superstitious folklore. Furthermore these early settlers and traders characterised Māori as cannibalistic savages hell-bent on vengeful warfare for the better part of their lives.⁵⁴ To add to the perspective that the Enlightenment era gave birth to dehumanisation was the view that some philosophers thought gods and their myths to be barbarous, the imaginative handiwork of deceitful storytellers and priests.⁵⁵ During the early 1800s the CMS and other flag-carriers of faith promoted the belief that Māori gods and *tohunga* activities were the works of black magic and evil sorcery, and that Māori should turn to the Bible for salvation. Furthermore, carvings showing genitalia and woman's breasts

⁵³ Appleby et al *Telling the Truth about History*. 1994, p 36.

⁵⁴ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. 1990, p 9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p 37.

were an abomination before the eyes of innocence and should be discarded as food for the fires forever.⁵⁶ Many carvings such as those of Ngapuhi were buried in the swamps to be hidden from innocent eyes, and the eyes of the church.

The Enlightenment may have spread light into the dark corners of the human mind; however, it also left a trail of darkness in its wake as it was spread either by the Bible, technology, politicians and foreign settlers. Dehumanisation knew no bounds in the minds of the hegemonic culture of early settler Aotearoa/New Zealand, accordingly the affects of Heroic Science and its tenets spread across the globe and into the communities of indigenous cultures worldwide. Although the writings of Appleby *et al* demonstrate that Kant celebrated the emancipation of the individual mind from the fetters of prejudice and superstition,⁵⁷ I view it as a damnation of Christianity and a mask for colonial oppression and greed for the economic resources of other's lands. On the other hand the emancipation mentioned by Kant also allowed for the indigenous culture to advance in technology and skill, with the arrival of steel and food products like the potato, the pig and fowl to name a few. The indigenous cultures were able to advance forward with the modern world.

In summary this chapter conceptualises the perspective that, as Kant argues, the Enlightenment allowed an exit from immaturity into the improved condition of maturity,⁵⁸ however as Foucault contends we have not yet reached that stage of maturity.⁵⁹ I postulate the view that maturity that as both theorists use is beyond our reach and that as we continue to learn about the world we live in. New knowledge gives humans the opportunity to advance their position in an ever-changing environment. The position for the indigenous culture follows this pattern, as history for the Māori has proven that since the 1800s Māori have adopted ways that have advanced their state of being and survival. For example the humble potato has enabled food-gathering expeditions to be prolonged beyond the normal timeframe, as it did with warfare. The introduction of steel has changed the physical and social landscape of the Māori immensely: some critics say for better and some for worse.

⁵⁶ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Māori*. 1952, p 509.

⁵⁷ Appleby et al *Telling the Truth about History*, 1994, p 40.

⁵⁸ Cited in L. Ghandi, *Postcolonial Theory: Critical Introduction*. NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998, p 30.

⁵⁹ M. Foucault, "Power and Strategies." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Michael Foucault & C. Gordon (eds.) New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, p 42.

The research methodology of science where a distinctive method of experimentation requiring both evidence and theories that seek to find patterns or laws at work in nature is not new to the indigenous culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example it was through experimentation that the Hawaikian immigrants were able to survive in a land vastly different in climate and food supply from their own. New medicines were discovered through scientific experimental processes over a period of time, weather patterns were observed and plotted for future predictions and so forth. It was the Western enlightenment theories and their view of technological superiority that began the dehumanisation and oppression of Māori in the early eighteenth century with the arrival of missionaries, traders, whalers, and early settlers. I proffer the view that Māori had been enlightened since the arrival to Aotearoa of the great voyager, Kupe, in 950 AD,⁶⁰ and consequently further arrivals of others some centuries later. The great thinkers of the time were people like Toi and Whātonga, and the powerful tohunga, Ngātoroirangi,⁶¹ others like, Te Tahī-o-te-Rangi⁶² and Tūwharetoa-i-te-Aupouri of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa people. More modern historical figures who fit the category of great enlightened thinkers include Hongi Hika⁶³, Patuone⁶⁴ and Heke of Ngāpuhi. Indeed there are many more great enlightened thinkers of *Te Ao Māori* (The Māori world).

The Human Impact

Dehumanisation is a process by which members of a group of people assert the “inferiority” of another group through subtle or overt acts or statements.⁶⁵ The indigenous cultures have faced years of this type of behaviour, for example in the 1990s the U.S. government defined a Native Hawaiian as someone with fifty percent blood quantum⁶⁶, and as Haunani-Kay further mentions, it was a subtle device the colonial power used to minimise the powers of the tribe. No tribal power meant lack of definition which ultimately led to loss of lands, as occurred in New Zealand. Indigenous people worldwide suffered immensely, as seen in the near extinction of

⁶⁰ Ngāti Hei History, *The Arrival of Kupe*. Available at <http://www.ngatihei.iwi.nz/history.html>

⁶¹ The High Priest on the Te Arawa canoe.

⁶² The High Priest of the Ngāti Awa people who lived around Whakatane.

⁶³ Ngāpuhi Chief of the Northern Tribes of Aotearoa/New Zealand from 1807 to 1828.

⁶⁴ Eruera Patuone of the Ngāpuhi, Hokianga people, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

⁶⁵ The Oxford Dictionary. Available at <http://www.askoxford.com/dictionaries/?view=uk>

⁶⁶ Haunani-Kay Trask, “Neo-colonialism and indigenous structures.” In *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*. Monroe Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993, p 134.

the Māori people in the late 1890s where the entire population was below 45,000.⁶⁷ This fall in population was caused by diseases, poor health and sanitary conditions, and below standard housing, but in the main the genesis for this near holocaust lay at the feet of the government who through Acts of Parliament implemented dubious laws, such as the Native Land Act 1864 that dispossessed Māori of their birthright. Legal expert and Professor of Law at the University of Auckland, David Williams, in his book, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua* (The land-taking Court), cites Sir Hugh Kawharu in his doctoral research, “[T]hat it (The Court) was, ‘a veritable engine of destruction.’”⁶⁸ Indeed the dehumanisation of another can be compared to a parasite that eats away at the living flesh until the bare bones are exposed, the skeleton has no glue or support to keep it together, finally the whole structure crumbles.

It comes as no surprise that state-organised dehumanisation has been directed against perceived racial or ethnic groups; nationalities or foreigners in general; women; some fringe religious groups; minorities of various sexual orientations, for example homosexuals; and disabled people. Such efforts often depend on pre-existing racist, sectarian or otherwise biased beliefs, which governments play upon through various types of media, presenting “enemies” or those that might be a threat, as barbaric, undeserving of rights, and a threat to the nation. Alternately, some States sometimes present their government or their leadership as barbaric and childlike, and incapable of managing their own affairs. The events occurring in Iraq at the present time are an example of this theory. Such arguments have been used as a pretext for colonialism. Some historians argue that the arrival of the CMS missionaries to Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1814 had an underlying pretext for the cultural invasion of its shores.⁶⁹

The holocaust⁷⁰ of World War Two and the Rwandan Genocide have both been viewed as atrocities predicated upon government-organised campaigns of dehumanisation, while crimes like lynching, especially in the United States, are often thought of as the result of popular bigotry and government apathy. Likewise the Police raids on Maungapōhatu in 1916 were driven by media hype, public fear, and

⁶⁷ Mason Durie. *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori futures*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003, p 20.

⁶⁸ Hugh Kawharu cited in David Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909*. Huia Publishers: Wellington, New Zealand, 1999, p 17.

⁶⁹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 1990, p 9.

⁷⁰ Refers to the mass extermination of the Jews by Nazi Germany in the 1940s.

government agendas. Anthropologists Ashley Montagu⁷¹ and Floyd Matson famously wrote that dehumanisation might well be considered “the fifth horsemen of the apocalypse”⁷² because of the inestimable damage it has dealt to society. When people become things, the logic follows, they become dispensable, and any atrocity can be justified. Dehumanisation can be seen outside of overtly violent conflicts, as in political debates where opponents are presented as collectively stupid or inherently evil. Then again such “good-versus-evil” claims help end substantive debate. In spite of this society in general accepts dehumanisation as requisites for a normal and just society. As an aside society must not accept any form of dehumanisation, as it is an affront to another person’s existence, culture, and belief systems. According to Leroy Little Bear from his writings in “Jagged Worldviews Colliding”⁷³, he states that,

*No matter how dominant a worldview is, there are always other ways of interpreting the world. Different ways of interpreting the world are manifest through different cultures, which are often in opposition to one another. One of the problems with colonialism is that it tries to maintain a singular social order by means of force and law, suppressing the diversity of human worldviews*⁷⁴

Dehumanising another because of differences in worldviews leads to individualism, selfishness, and disrespect. This chapter has discussed the overall effect of dehumanisation and its impact on another culture’s lifestyle and belief systems. There is evidence that religion has impacted on the worldview of the Māori and that this is dehumanistic and oppressive behaviour, however other evidence suggests totally the opposite view in that missionaries were focussed on giving Māori a better chance both spiritually and temporally. For example Māori were taught how to read and write, and how to live healthy lifestyles as well as treating diseases and caring for young and elderly members of the tribe. There were missionaries, such as Sister Annie Henry who ventured into the wilderness of the Urewera’s in 1917 and became an angel of hope to the many sick and infirm people of Tūhoe, she brought the faith to people whose lives were harsh; it was the word of Hihita that brought salvation.⁷⁵

⁷¹ 1905-1999; along with Floyd Matson wrote the book “The Dehumanisation of Man.”

⁷² The Horsemen of the Apocalypse were referred to in the Bible as foreboding signs of gloom.

⁷³ Leroy Little Bear, “Jagged Worldviews Colliding.” In *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices*, Marie Battiste (ed.) University of British Columbia Press: Vancouver, 2000, p 77.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Rev Wayne Te Kaawa, *Hihita & Hoani: Missionaries in Tuhoeland*, Karl Chitham (ed.) Whakatane Museum & Gallery, 2008, p 11.

CHAPTER FOUR

A MĀORI RESPONSE TO THEOLOGY

This chapter begins by introducing Māori theology from the perspective that *tangata whenua* (the local inhabitants) had their own theories on how they viewed religion. First, the chapter begins with defining theology as described by Shirres, in particular his account of transposing a Western concept of religion into Māori. Second, it follows with comparative discussion on Māori religion in terms of traditional concepts about *atua* (Māori Gods) and how they related to the Māori and his worldview. The rationale for the comparative analysis is to understand Māori and religiosity from his viewpoint, and to link traditional religious activity to the contemporary. It then briefly describes how Māori reacted to the Christian message from 1814 through into the twentieth century.

The next part of this chapter introduces findings from surveys conducted as part of this report on Māori participation in religious activities, and whether as participants of the church there is any indicative impact on their ability to express their indigeneity. Furthermore this chapter highlights the position of Māori clergy from three major denominations in terms of their activity and experiences in the church. This research binds together a view of where Māori are placed within the Christian churches they belong to and their role and responsibility within it. It seeks to paint a picture of Māori who are practicing Christianity, and those who are not and why not. The final part of this chapter will summarise those findings and an overall summary in terms of the context of this paper.

Shirres and Māori Theology

Father Michael Shirres, a noted theologian on Māori religion, states that a primary step in the process of inculturation is the working out of an indigenous theology, in this case, a Māori theology.⁷⁶ Shirres' definition of inculturation as a theological term is taken from two words, enculturation (which he defines as taking on a culture) and incarnation. Shirres says that incarnation is a theological term used to express God becoming man, so in the context of this report, that man is Jesus Christ. Inculturation

⁷⁶ M. Shirres, "Māori Theology." Available at <http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/>

therefore signifies the taking on of a particular human culture by God.⁷⁷ Shirres makes an interesting point in that Māori thinking about pre-contact theology consists of religious belief systems, in which there is a close connection of human's with *ngā atua Māori* (Māori gods), such as Tumatauenga, Tāwhirimātea, Tangaroa⁷⁸ and others. My view is that Shirres possibly confuses Māori theology with European theology and its monotheistic approach to religiosity. Shirres, according to John Charlot, uses a Western philosophical and theological language to describe traditional Māori religion,⁷⁹ a problematic issue in any field of indigenous studies. For example Shirres' perspective does not take into account the Māori holistic worldview as described by Marsden and Royal, where Māori culture and religion were synonymous, and that from a Māori perspective of the world, one could not be separated from the other in terms of that worldview.⁸⁰ So as a basis for defining inculturation of God as a Māori I have sought to understand Māori culture and his religious belief systems as it is lived today, as it was at the time of colonisation and, as far as possible, as it was before colonisation.

The Māori gods⁸¹ were ever at hand, continually called upon to assist in the dealings of humankind in his day-to-day activities.⁸² They were the connection between the spiritual and the temporal universes. *Karakia* was a natural and necessary activity among the Māori in terms of communicating with the *atua* (gods). These gods and other super-natural beings were the creators and rulers of many natural objects, water, rocks, trees, animals and the elements to name a few.⁸³ The *atua* were the agents of Io-matua-te-kore, the supreme being of *Te Ao Māori* (Māori Worldview) who resided in the twelfth heaven, also known as *Te Toi-o-ngā-Rangi*. The oft quoted contentious writings of Te Mātorohanga⁸⁴ and Nepia Pohuhu state that Io is not a Christian

⁷⁷ M. Shirres, "A Christian Māori Theology." Available at <http://crash.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/>

⁷⁸ The Māori Gods of War, Wind, and the Sea.

⁷⁹ J. Charlot, "The Māori-Christian Theology of Michael Shirres" Paper for a group presentation on issues in Hawaiian and Polynesian Theology at *Global Christianities in Comparative Perspective: A Colloquium*, Honolulu, Hawaii, 2006.

⁸⁰ Charles Royal, *Mātauranga and the writing of māori history*. A paper presented to Pouhere Kōrero at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki, 19-21 March, 1999, and Māori Marsden, *Woven Universe Selected Writings of Rev Maori Marsden* (Estate of Rev Māori Marsden, Edition 1, 2003),

⁸¹ Elsdon Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2*. Wellington, NZ: Govt Printer, 1924-1982, p 34.

⁸² Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, *Seeing The Prism in the Water, Hearing The Voice in the Forest*, Building Research Capacity and Capability in Whare Wānanga, Te Taihū-o-Ngā Wānanga Research Conference, Wellington, May 28, 2004. Available at <http://www.charles-royal.com>

⁸³ M. Shirres, "A Christian Māori Theology." See reference at footnote 71, page 29.

⁸⁴ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 1999, p 150.

concept borrowed from the Holy Bible, but an *atua* born of *Te Ao Maōri*.⁸⁵ There has been much dispute as to where the Io tradition comes from. However it is supported by written evidence, stemming from the Ngāpuhi oral tradition as espoused by the late Rev. Māori Marsden, and from Te Mātorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu of the Wairarapa-Ngāti Kahungunu clans.⁸⁶ The *karakia* are so ancient that they predate Christianity and there is no mention of the Trinity or anything remotely Christian in them. Io's name was only spoken of by the *tohunga* who dealt with the realm of the *Kauae-runga* (Esoteric Knowledge), the world pertaining to the *atua*, and not the world of the common man. This knowledge was *tapu* or sacred, and so most people never heard of the name Io.⁸⁷

The Māori speak of *Ngā Kete e toru o te Mātauranga* (three baskets of knowledge), the knowledge that came from the *Ngā Rangi Tuhāhā* (the Heavens), and was brought to earth by Tāwhaki, or some *iwi* (tribes) say Tāne.⁸⁸ Needless to say the world of Man was brought out of darkness and into the world of *Māramatanga* (knowledge) through the acts of these Māori gods. In my Masters of Māori Laws and Philosophy paper with Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in particular the paper about *Tikanga o ngā Atua*⁸⁹ (the customs of the Gods) I mentioned that humans derived their blueprint of life from the *atua* that is the life experiences of those *atua* as they lived. For example, as Walker describes, the demi-God, Maui,⁹⁰ was an adventurer, mischievous and cheeky who modelled for human-kind the behaviours of daring, inquisitiveness, the lack of fear to give it a go, patience, and so on. Thus Maui laid an exemplar for natural human behaviour, because through his actions he set a precedent for all humans to follow.⁹¹

Two key concepts included in this model are the concepts of *tapu*, which I identify with sacredness and purity, and spiritual restriction, and its opposite, *noa* or freedom

⁸⁵ Percy Smith “*Te Kauae-runga - Ngā kōrero a Te Mātorohanga rāua ko Nepia Pohuhu*.” Translated by Percy Smith. *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 3, Printed by Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1913, p 110.

⁸⁶ Māori Marsden, *Woven Universe Selected Writings of Rev Maori Marsden* ,

⁸⁷ Percy Smith, *Te Kauae Runga – Ngā kōrero a Te Matorohanga rāua ko Nepia Pohuhu*, pp 110, 111.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp 94-99.

⁸⁹ Hone Te Rire, LAWS 4.20 *Tikanga: Ngā Atua*, Masters of Māori Laws & Philosophy paper, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki, 2005.

⁹⁰ Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga was half-human and half-God in the Māori pantheon of *atua*.

⁹¹ Ranginui Walker, “The Relevance of Māori Myth and Tradition.” In *Tihe Mauriora-Aspects of Māoritanga*, Michael King (ed.) Methuen: New Zealand, 1978, p 8.

from restriction. The knowledge that emanates from the baskets of knowledge gave humankind the knowledge to experience and to learn. Shirres further asserts that this experience is especially found in Māori participation in ritual and in their use of the *karakia*.⁹² *Karakia* are the ritual chants of the Māori and cover every aspect of life. Conversely *karakia* were the medium of conversing and issuing of commands to the *atua* in times of need and guidance, whether that need was for guidance in war, planting and harvesting of crops, burial and birth rituals, as it was important for Māori to thank or pay homage to their *atua*. The gods expected recognition and priority in accordance with their status.⁹³ At the core of this world, and of the whole of the universe, is Io, Io-matua-kore, Io the parentless, and Io-taketake, Io the root cause of all. The richness of the Māori understanding of Io is seen in his different names.

Te Rangi Hiroa states that [Māori] religion was so interwoven with social and material matters that priests [*tōhunga*] were absolutely necessary to the proper functioning of Māori society.⁹⁴ James Irwin further contends that the concepts of *mana* and *tapu* mentioned earlier regulated Māori religious beliefs and that these values emanated from a divine source. Given that missionary Christianity also provided a blueprint for daily life, most Māori, after some misgivings, eventually converted to Christianity by the end of the 1840s. Māori had a choice to accept or reject Christianity and many did use their agency and accepted the Christian God. Māori could have remained with their traditional religious beliefs or accepted Christianity, but many chose to convert. James Belich says that in converting to Christianity Māori in effect converted Christianity.⁹⁵ They interpreted the Christian message through Māori eyes, and therefore received the messages of the missionaries with little or no difficulty. Paterson in his thesis states that the Christianity introduced by the missionaries was not dissimilar to Māori religious beliefs, and that Māori converts accepted and adapted this Western religious system.⁹⁶

The New Zealand land wars of the 1860s and 70s caused much angst for Māori, which affected their relationship towards the church and missionaries during the time.

⁹² M. Shirres, "A Christian Māori Theology." Available at <http://crash.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/>

⁹³ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Māori*, 1952, p 485.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p 476.

⁹⁵ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986; reprint, Auckland: Penguin, 1986, p

⁹⁶ Lachy Paterson, *Ngā Reo o ngā Niupepa, Māori language newspapers 1855-1863*. PhD Thesis Otago University, Dunedin, 2004, p 149.

For example the aftermath of the wars saw Māori land being confiscated and used for the settlement of Pākehā and Māori soldiers as payment for their services to the Crown. Māori affected by war and confiscation thought that the church had abandoned them, leading some tribes to form their own millennial forms of religion, based on Māori identification with the Biblical Hebrews, for example the *Pai Marire*⁹⁷ in the 1860s, the *Ringatū* from the 1870s,⁹⁸ the *Iharaira* in the early twentieth century.⁹⁹ These religious movements were in effect a response by Māori to the land wars and confiscation, and their belief that the Church had aligned itself with oppressor. While most Māori felt uncomfortable returning to pre-contact belief and practice, these new religious responses allowed a spiritual response that allowed them to exist culturally as Māori in the face of colonialism.

Colonisation and war affected Māori tribes differently, and this had important influences in terms of their relationship with the Church. Tribes which had not opposed the Crown militarily were more likely to remain with the missionary churches. Some Māori returned to the mainstream churches during the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was due to a number of reasons, including dissatisfaction with Māori responses which may not have retained their relevancy. However, the rise of the Rātana movement from the 1920s shows that, while many Māori may have desired a more orthodox Christianity they preferred to practice their religion within a more overtly Māori cultural environment.¹⁰⁰

Past New Zealand statistical information¹⁰¹ has indicated a significant increase of Māori adherents of Christianity, who over the years have been brought up within the bosom of European Christian traditions and values. Today a growing number of Māori in accepting their being Māori want to be Māori first and then Christian. For example Catholic Māori are saying that to be Catholic they must first be Māori.¹⁰² Māori Theology sources its beginnings from the experiences of people living a Pākehā Christian life and according to its tenets.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ The religion established by Te Ua Haumene from Taranaki.

⁹⁸ The religion established by Te Kooti.

⁹⁹ The religion established by the Rua Kēnana of the Tūhoe tribe in Ruatāhuna.

¹⁰⁰ Discussion with Lachy Paterson at his home in Dunedin, 7 June, 2009.

¹⁰¹ J. Metge, *Rautahi: The Māori of New Zealand*. Routledge Publishers: London, 2004, p 183-184.

¹⁰² M. Shirres, "A Christian Māori Theology." See reference at footnote 71, p 29.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

This report gathers data on Māori clergy within the Presbyterian, Anglican and Catholic Churches at a national level and from a sample group within the eastern Bay of Plenty¹⁰⁴ in the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand, as well as accessing census data. It strives to provide an insight into the number of Māori who are practicing Christians, in particular those who are priests and ministers of the three religions that this thesis is researching. Further to this the analyses highlight those aspects of *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs and behaviour) that are practiced by Māori followers of Christianity, or conversely those who are Christians but do not follow or practice *tikanga Māori*. I begin by relating to those Christian Māori who reside in the Bay of Plenty region of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the denominations they belong to. I refer mainly to the Māori religious groups known as Te Aka Puaho, Te Hāhi Mihinare, and Te Taumata Katorika, Māori components of the Presbyterian, Anglican and Catholic churches respectively.

Māori Christian Clergy - Findings and Response

A survey conducted during August to October 2008 as part of this report highlights the number of Māori who are active in the church ministry, nationally and in the Bay of Plenty. The following data was collated from the survey¹⁰⁵

Nationally

1. Presbyterian Māori clergy - at the national level, two fulltime ordained ministers, Rev. Te Ahorangi Wayne Te Kaawa, Rev. Hariata Haumate, and 23 part-time amorangi (ministers). Rev Rā Koia is retired;
2. Anglican Māori - estimated 65 Māori clergy, made up of different levels, e.g. Arch-Bishops, Regional Bishops, Canons, Priests, Arch-Deacons, Deacons, and Lay-Readers from the Pihopatanga o Aotearoa list of clergy;¹⁰⁶ and
3. Roman Catholic Priests - two full-time priests, Father Tony Brown, Vicar-General of Auckland, and Monsignor Bennett of Maketu. Father Henare Tate of Te Rarawa is retired. There are also a number of brothers, sisters and nuns, but the exact number of Māori cannot be ascertained.

¹⁰⁴ An area that includes Waiohau and Ruatāhuna as part of the Eastern Bay of Plenty.

¹⁰⁵ Rev W. Te Kaawa, interview with author at Te Aka Puaho Office, Whakatane, 7 Sept, 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Anglican Clerical Directory, Available at

<http://www.anglican.org.nz/Resources/Clerical%20Directory/FRONT%20PAGES%202007.pdf>

Eastern Bay of Plenty¹⁰⁷

1. Presbyterian (Te Aka Puaho) - one fulltime minister, Rev. Te Ahorangi Wayne Te Kaawa, and 11 amorangi, six of whom are from Onepū, Kawerau;
2. Anglican (Mihinare) - one canon, seven priests, one archdeacon; and
3. Roman Catholic - 4 catechists.

Table 1

Māori Clergy Nationally

| Church | Clergy Full-time | Clergy Part-time | Lay Workers |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Presbyterian | 2 | 23 | |
| Anglican | 2 (1) | 63 (2) | |
| Catholic | 2 | | Nos Unknown |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Note: (1) the Most Reverend William Brown Turei and the Right Reverend Ngarahu Katene; (2) made up of canons, clergy, archdeacons, and lay workers.

Table 2

Māori Clergy Eastern Bay of Plenty

| Church | Clergy Full-time | Clergy Part-time | Lay Workers |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Presbyterian | 1 | 6 | |
| Anglican | 8 | | 1 |
| Catholic | | | 4 (1) |

Note: (1) The Catholic Church refer to these people as catechists

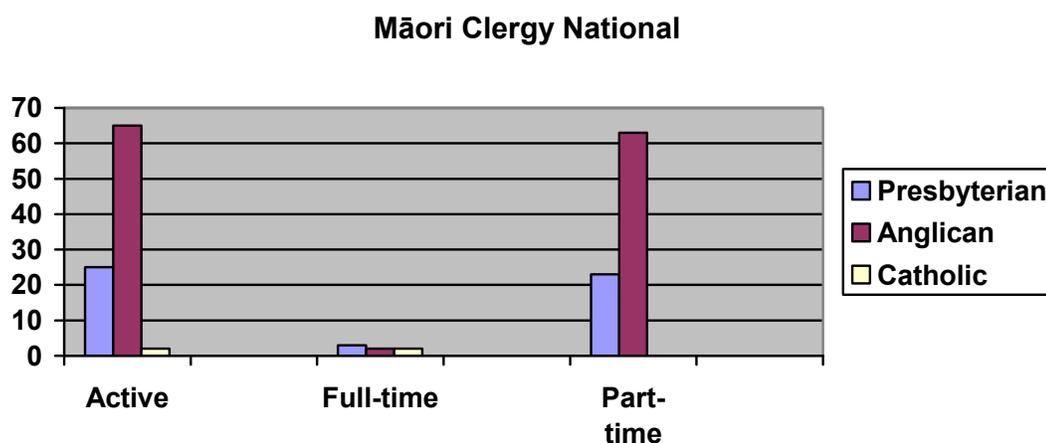
Findings and Analysis

The following findings come from a questionnaire given to 20 people who actively participate in a Church ministry in the Eastern Bay of Plenty; 15 participants responded. The questions are as follows:

- Are you an active Christian?
- Which denomination do you belong to?
- What status or position do you hold within your Church?
- Are you full-time or part-time in the church?

¹⁰⁷ Rev W. Te Kaawa, interview with author at Te Aka Puaho Office, Whakatane, 7 Sept, 2008

Graph 1



The above graph highlights a strong percentage and presence within the Anglican ministry in terms of Māori clergy followed closely by Presbyterian and a small portion from the Catholic Church. Proportionately and in comparison with their Pākehā colleagues the number of active Māori clergy within the three ministries is very low. The survey was deliberately targeted towards Māori participants within the Presbyterian, Anglican and Catholic Churches as mentioned in the introductory chapter. This survey does not compare its findings with the population statistics of the mainstream churches. Out of the 15 people that responded over half gave a positive perspective about the role of Christianity in preserving or enhancing *tikanga Māori*, whereas the remainder gave a negative response. For example the negative response was that the Pākehā church does not allow for traditional karakia in its services at marae. Another respondent said the mainstream church was boring and ridiculed Māori as dumb heathens with no values, others have said that the mainstream churches are out of date with the modern times.

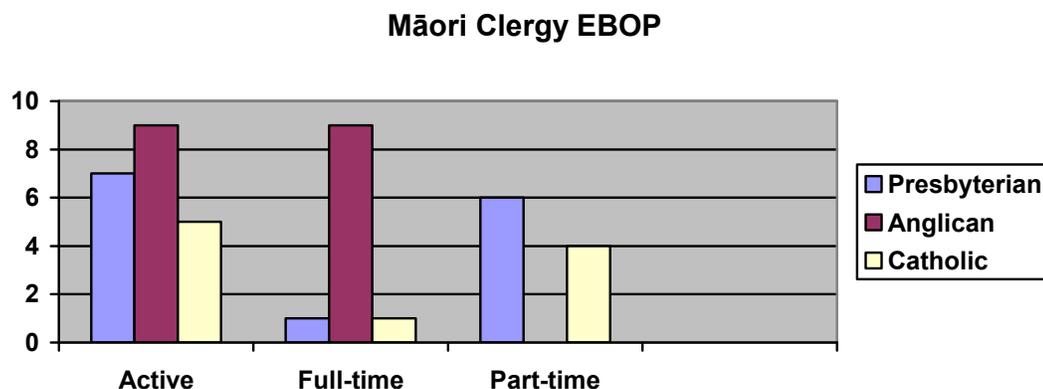
In the context of this thesis report it can be ascertained that for various reasons Māori are statistically not major participants within the mainstream Christian churches. It is interesting to note that according to the 2006 census the Maori population was 565,329 of which 54% described themselves as Christian.¹⁰⁸ Overall the population statistics for the Christian denominations studied in this paper are: Anglican – 17%, Catholic – 14% and Presbyterian – 11% of the national population. The number of

¹⁰⁸ Statistics NZ, Available at <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/>. This figure indicates Māori who belong to all types of religious organisations.

Catholics increased by 12,900 between 1996 and 2001, while the number of Anglicans and Presbyterians decreased, by 46,971 and 38,895 respectively.¹⁰⁹ These percentages and population statistics are inclusive of Māori.

Others I've had discussions with contend that the Māori renaissance was a catalyst, where many Māori young and old began to take up the challenge to learn *te reo Māori*, and research their *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* history and *whakapapa*. Consequent to the hunger for *mātauranga Māori* was the inevitable connection to *atua Māori* and *karakia tūturu* (traditional Māori prayers). This may have added to the decline of Māori adherents to Christianity. For example the *Te Kōhanga Reo* (Māori language nests) movement, *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Māori total immersion school) and *Whare Wānanga* (Māori University) were, in effect, public statements made by Māori to regain and revitalise traditional forms of learning. Religious activity is no different in this regard as most Māori saw themselves as Māori first and then Christians in terms of their allegiances, for example with regard to their religious background,¹¹⁰ whether they belong to mainstream religions such as Catholic or Presbyterian, or to a Māori religion such as Ratana or Ringatū.

Graph 2



¹⁰⁹ Statistics New Zealand, Available at <http://www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/>

¹¹⁰ M. Shirres, “*A Christian Māori Theology*.” Available at <http://crash.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/>

Findings and Analysis

Graph 2 indicates the number of practicing Māori clergy within the eastern Bay of Plenty region, showing higher numbers of active Anglican ministers, followed by Presbyterians and then Catholics. However, these figures should not be taken out of context because the differences are mainly due to the governance structure and set-up of these three churches. For example all the Anglican clergy are considered as paid employees of the Church, whereas the Presbyterian ministry is organised around one full-time minister being responsible for the spiritual and pastoral care of the part-time ministers under his care. However, although the Catholic membership has been increasing somewhat over the years, their Māori clergy in terms of priests has been somewhat stagnant or decreasing. A Pākehā Catholic Priest had recently been inducted at the Opōtiki Parish in 2008, which has been without a resident priest for a number of years. The findings around full-time and part-time membership for the three churches surveyed indicate financial issues, which has impacted on the number of paid full-time staff. For example the Presbyterian Church during the 1960s had a farm at Te Whaiti, four hostels in Auckland, a printing office, two schools, and fifteen active missions around the country with paid staff.¹¹¹ However, compared to 2008/09 the situation is bleaker in that the number of paid staff has dropped significantly as indicated on the above graph and collated data. Te Aka Puaho is currently reassessing its financial situation and making incremental adjustments that would see it survive better in these tough economic times given the impacts of the global recession.

Further analysis from research indicates a positive shift of Māori in the Bay of Plenty towards the priesthood of *Te Aka Puaho*, which has its base at *Te Maungarongo Marae* in Ohope, located eight kilometres east of Whakatane.¹¹² *Te Aka Puaho* has strong links to Māori communities in Whakatāne, Opōtiki, Waimana, Waiohau, Onepū, Te Teko and Ruatāhuna.¹¹³ It is in these communities that *tikanga Māori* is very strong and vibrant, and Christianity found its place among people who are steeped in Māori traditions and *tikanga*. As Rev Wayne Te Kaawa points out in a

¹¹¹ J.G. Laughton, *From Forest Trail to City Street: The Story of the Presbyterian Church among the Māori People*, (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1961), 91-94.

¹¹² Whakatane is a major township in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand.

¹¹³ These townships are all located within the Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand.

monograph entitled *Hihita & Hoani*¹¹⁴ few *Pākehā* were accorded the status given to Christian missionaries, like Sister Annie Henry, commonly known as “Hihita”,¹¹⁵ due to her unselfish love for the destitute people of Tūhoe (a tribal group of the Eastern Bay of Plenty region). Apart from her ministry work, Hihita was like a loving and caring mother fussing over her brood, caring for their health and education, as well as a wide range of other non-religious issues.¹¹⁶ The point I attempt to elucidate is that in 1917 Hihita brought Christianity to the Tūhoe people through compassion and commitment to her calling. The people of *Tūhoe* welcomed her and the Bible with open arms, so much so that when Hihita died the people of Tūhoe buried her with honour in their cemetery at Ruatāhuna.

Iwi Māori are religious people and find strong inseparable links between the spiritual domain and the world of man, and for centuries have maintained these linkages through *karakia* (Prayer). Whether traditional or contemporary the manifestation of religiosity is the same, albeit the words and hymns may have altered somewhat. Whether religion is on a mission of spiritual redemption or advancement of European technology at some point Christianity and *tikanga Māori* must confront each other head-on. The meeting of *tikanga Māori* and Christianity has for many years taken place on marae throughout the North and South Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Māori and Pākehā view this meeting as normal: Māori because the marae is the place where *wairua* (spirituality), the dead and the living for a moment meet. The expression of *tikanga Māori* from the *dais* (lectern in the church) is more in *te reo*, the Māori arms have certainly enhanced the use of *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the Māori language and customs, usages and protocols) in church services and sacraments.

¹¹⁴ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Hihita & Hoani: Missionaries in Tuhoeland*, Karl Chitham (ed.) West Print: Whakatane, NZ, 2008, p 9.

¹¹⁵ Sister Annie Henry of the Presbyterian Church was stationed at Ruatāhuna. Hihita is a transliteration for ‘my sister’ the name given to her by Tūhoe.

¹¹⁶ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Hihita & Hoani: Missionaries in Tuhoeland*, 2008, p 9.

Conclusion

Theology literally “the science of God,” is derived from the Greek *Theos* (God) and *logos* (study). The Stoics¹¹⁷ used the term in the third century B.C. to describe a reasoned analysis of the deity.¹¹⁸ Māori theology mirrors Christian monotheism according to the contentious writings of Percy Smith on the cult of Io;¹¹⁹ however *Māori* religion also encompasses a traditional belief system that has been long forgotten over time due to the work of the missionaries from 1814 to the current times. Modern church life for many Māori however encompasses *tikanga Māori* services and structures as highlighted in this chapter, therefore some aspects of traditional indigenous culture continues as in the past to permeate the pews of the modern mainstream churches of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Furthermore there are those who work as ministers within the aforementioned churches who find no problem with having indigenous culture working side-by-side in their respective churches. However qualitative analyses from surveys for this thesis report do indicate a wide gap in terms of indigenous participation within the three mainstream churches mentioned in this report. The following chapter covers a period of time where the *tangata whenua* (original inhabitants) assert their dominance within the church insofar as expressing themselves in their own traditional language and thinking in terms of Christian theology.

¹¹⁷ Stoicism was a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium in the early third century BC.

¹¹⁸ Collier’s Encyclopaedia, William D. Halsey and Bernard Johnston (eds.) Macmillan Educational Company, P.F. Collier, Inc, 1990, p 268.

¹¹⁹ Percy Smith, *Te Kauae-runga - Ngā kōrero a Te Mātorohanga rāua ko Nepia Pohuhu*, p 110.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TIME OF THE NATION

This chapter named “The Time of the Nation” portrays my perspective about a point in time where Māori adherents of mainstream Christianity begin to assert their dominance and independence, and a time where indigenous genuflection becomes more focussed on being indigenous as opposed to looking indigenous but acting non-indigenous within the environs of the Christian church. One example of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) which emerged in the Anglican Church in the early 1980s was when Māori members of the Anglican Church agreed on a governance model that saw better relationships based on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.¹²⁰ In addition collation of information from interviews and surveys indicate some desire amongst Māori to adopt *tikanga Māori* (customs and protocols) in their church protocols, for example bilingual services or *te reo* in church services. Some historians and critics would say that churches have implemented bilingualism or *te reo* since the arrival of the missionaries to Aotearoa. Notwithstanding this, the years 1864 to 1975 saw the near loss of the Māori language and their status as *tangata whenua* diminished. The mainstream Pākehā activities of the church became increasingly dominant throughout religious life in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the early years of the country.¹²¹ However, the infusion of *tikanga Māori* within religious activities is becoming more prominent amongst Māori membership across all mainstream denominations.¹²² The purpose of this chapter is to capture the thinking of those participants in individual and focus group interviews in terms of this infusion and the strength of that blending in the modern context of the church. Therefore I begin by introducing a brief background about the work of the missionaries from 1815 that captures and highlights their purpose amongst the Māori people other than spreading the word of God. Secondly, I will cover outcomes from discussions with my informants from within three mainstream churches selected for this thesis report, and their thoughts around the ability to express *tikanga Māori* and their role as ministers or workers within their respective churches. The purpose here is to find

¹²⁰ Principles of partnership and two cultures development proposed by Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, the *tikanga Māori* arm of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa/New Zealand to its General Synod in 1996.

¹²¹ Bishop Selwyn - “The Muscular Christian,” in *New Zealand’s Heritage Encyclopaedia*, p 411.

¹²² See Te Aka Puaho (Presbyterian), Hāhi Mihinare (Anglican), and Te Rūnanga o Te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa (Catholic) as examples of Māori religious activities in church services and pastoral care.

validity and credence around the main topic of this thesis, which is whether religion has dissipated the ability of Māori to express their *tikanga* as adherents of Christianity. Next, I will cover the outcome of interviews with focus groups from the aforementioned church groups with the aim of highlighting issues that these groups may have in terms of mixing indigenous values within the church and how much of Māori culture is infused within their particular church activities.

As mentioned previously in this report at a Christian service at Rangihoua in 1814 the missionaries under Samuel Marsden believed that Christianity would be the saviour for Māori, and that faithful adherence to the word of God would deliver their souls from darkness.¹²³ In the earlier years *rangatira* from various tribal groups welcomed the Christian faith, and the Bible carrying messengers of God's word into their midst. This was no surprise and certainly was applicable during the times because firstly Māori chiefs saw a need for the missionaries in many ways, and the expansion of the church in the 1830s as due to the Māori belief in the superiority of European civilisation and their desire for its material goods.¹²⁴ Otago University academic, Lachy Paterson adds that the missionaries were useful and a source of *mana* for Māori tribes.¹²⁵ Māori identified the new God as a source of material wealth and ventured the thought that obedience of the new religion would bring them material as well as spiritual wealth. Māori thinking was that if one obeyed the tenets of the Bible and lived good Christian lives then they would be wealthy like the Pākehā. I am of the view that acceptance of Christianity was a good thing for Māori as it allowed them to focus on other important needs in order to sustain themselves, for example learning new knowledge about economic development, technology, and horticulture to name a few.¹²⁶ This chapter also attempts to weave together the findings from Chapter Four in terms of the questions around the activities of Māori clergy in the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches, in particular their ability or inability to express *tikanga Māori* (customs and protocols) within their ministries. Furthermore an analysis of the findings will assist in highlighting whether Christianity had an impact

¹²³ J. Pratt (ed.), *The Thoughts of the Evangelical Leaders*. Notes of the discussions of the Eclectic Society, London, during the years 1798-1814, Edinburgh, 1978, pp 96-97.

¹²⁴ "The Expansion of the Missions." In *New Zealand's Heritage*, p 281.

¹²⁵ Lachy Paterson, "Māori "Conversion" to the Rule of Law and Nineteenth-Century Imperial Loyalties." In *Journal of Religious History*, Vol 32, No 2, (June 2008), p 220.

¹²⁶ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, A.R. Shearer, Government Printer: Wellington, NZ, 1972, p 368.

on the indigenous culture and the ability to express cultural values. These findings offer some explanation of the strength and rationale of Māori religious participation as they also account for socio-economic status, social context of the day and some aspects of intertwining culture. I believe however that the process of colonisation, which may have informed Māori methods of participation, is not adequately articulated through some existing theories in that they do not seem to acknowledge the role of Māori communities itself in shaping the way in which groups and or individuals choose to participate.

Taking Te Aka Puaho as an example, Rev. Ahorangi Wayne Te Kaawa argues that participation is made first by the individual and then by the direction and guidance of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, in particular the directives given by senior members of the *iwi*, the *kaumātua* (elders). Thereafter the students attend a two year Amorangi training course run by Te Wānanga-a-Rangi¹²⁷ and on successful completion of this course student's graduate as trained ministers. Practicing as a minister is not compulsory but the graduates are encouraged to serve their people as leaders of the church. Other factors that encourage them are the desire to uphold the high ethical standards and values set by their predecessors such as their fathers, uncles, or grandparents'.¹²⁸ Te Aka Puaho is the Māori arm of the Presbyterian Church and has a long and illustrious history as a voice of Māori within that church.¹²⁹ What is important for Te Aka Puaho is its nurturing and encouragement of its members to participate: furthermore the gains are significant in terms of Māori community leadership through the church. Te Aka Puaho provides a vehicle for strong Māori leadership through its Te Wānanga-a-Rangi Amorangi training programme, therefore adding another dimension to the role of religion in motivation and method of personal engagement.

At this stage of the research this is no more than the author's theory, however it is one that I wish to further investigate through this thesis report. So far there has been very little critique from an indigenous minority perspective and I believe there is scope for an investigation of this nature. It is my intention that this thesis report not only extends our knowledge of Māori religious participation, but also tests the current

¹²⁷ The Māori arm training people to become Amorangi (part-time ministers) for Te Aka Puaho.

¹²⁸ Interview with Rev Wayne Te Kaawa of Te Aka Puaho, August 2008.

¹²⁹ Te Aka Puaho began as an entity of the Presbyterian Church in 1945.

theories of participation and how well they fit in the case of indigenous minority religious groups within mainstream church structures. In conducting the research interviews with individuals and focus groups the following conclusions may assist in answering the thesis statement that indigeneity has been dissipated by the participation of Māori in mainstream religious activities. In most cases dialogue with the participants has highlighted that *tikanga Māori* has been enhanced by participation within the church and that the status of Māori ministers is elevated among Māori communities. For example Participant B explains quite fervently that *tikanga Māori* is not compromised by Christianity but in fact it is increased,¹³⁰ Participant A agrees with the latter by adding that religion enhances his worldview of the Māori, and lastly Participant C supports with similar views.

Feedback from Interviews

The questions for each participant were around status, position and role within the church, more so the strength of their participation within their respective denominations. The participants of the survey were also asked questions around other church activities that they engaged in besides the normal Sunday church services. The responses to the following questions are as follows:

Questions for each participant referenced from chapter four, page 6. (i) Are you an active Christian? (ii) Which denomination do you belong to? (iii) What status or position do you hold within your Church? (iv) Are you full-time or part-time in the church?

Table 1

| Participant | Q (i) | Q (ii) | Q (iii) | Q (iv) |
|-------------|-------|--------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| A | Yes | Presbyterian | Ahorangi | Full-time |
| B | Yes | Anglican | Priest | Retired |
| C | Yes | Catholic | Taumata Katorika Delegate | Full-time |

¹³⁰ Rev. Canon Robert Schuster, interview with author at Umutahi Marae, Matatā, 7 Sept, 2008.

The participants were encouraged to discuss other activities within their respective churches other than Sunday services. The rationale for this approach was to gauge the participant's level of activity in the community, the Māori community, marae, and *hapū* and *iwi* affairs. In particular the survey was to gauge whether their roles as ministers or lay-workers of the church had an impact, if any, on their role as members of their respective *iwi*. This report now introduces the responses from these informants from interviews conducted over the previous four months in terms of the thesis question.

First I begin with Participant A of the Presbyterian Putauaki Parish¹³¹ based in Onepū¹³² and Te Teko.¹³³ This participant resides in Onepū, a small Māori settlement eight kilometres north of the present mill town of Kawerau. His parents are both prominent leaders in their own right of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa *iwi* and of the Presbyterian Church. Participant A had an upbringing steeped in *tikanga Māori* where for most of his life he was raised by his parents, grandparents, koro and nannies. Participant A mentioned that he was reminded by a fellow minister of the church about his responsibilities as a minister, "*I was in the kitchen cooking dinner when Nehe Dewes¹³⁴ entered and said, what are you doing in here, ministers are released from marae duties. I replied to Nehe saying, unfortunately the cooks have not released me from kitchen duties.*"¹³⁵ Participant A learnt the art of leadership not from a textbook or in a classroom but on the marae from learned elders with years of experience.

Participant A further points out that the experience learnt from watching and listening to elders and implementing this learning on the marae was never lost when he entered the ministry. "*It grounded me, he says, I could be a big star out the front (an analogy referring to marae leadership duties), but someone still needed to peel the potatoes and clean the toilets.*" During the interview Participant A always referred to his life on the marae at Onepū surrounded by *whānau* and learning from the grown-ups. A place where Participant A says he can stand tall and proud, a place where he can

¹³¹ Putauaki Parish covers the Onepu, Te Teko and Kawerau districts of the Eastern Bay of Plenty of the North Island, New Zealand, centered on the main city of Whakatane.

¹³² Settlement 40km southwest of Whakatane, Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Reverend Nehe Dewes (rtd) is from Te Araroa on the East Coast of the North Island, New Zealand.

¹³⁵ Interview with Participant A at the Te Aka Puaho Office, Whakatane, New Zealand, 10 Aug 2008.

breathe *tikanga Māori* (customs and protocols). In serving the people Participant A is guided by a motto taught to him by his father, it says, “Only in serving God can you truly serve the people, only in serving the people can you truly serve God, love God, love your people, love your marae.”¹³⁶ Religion has enhanced his view of the world and part of that world was at a marae in Onepu called Hāhuru.¹³⁷ This world knows only a Māori worldview full of Māori history, songs, folk stories, and elder’s tales of yesteryears, and so it was in this environment that Participant A was raised. In proffering the question had religion dissipated his indigeneity as a servant of God the response was a resounding - no!

The next person in the survey is Participant B of the Anglican Church, also known as the Hāhi Mihinare. Participant B has been a servant of God for well over thirty years of his life, an honest and humble person with personal values that encapsulate a person of *mana* and standing within the religious communities throughout the nation. Currently Participant B is retired as an active minister within the Anglican Church, although he continues to support various activities and will conduct services when able. On the other hand Participant B is an active member of his *iwi* (tribe), *Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau*¹³⁸, and *hapū* (sub tribe), *Ngāti Umutahi*¹³⁹ where he is one of the leading *rangatira*. Participant B explains that *tikanga Māori* and the ability to express the Māori culture has never been an issue throughout his life as a minister of the church, and indeed that religion enhances *tikanga Māori*. For example prayer services are held in both Māori and English, and that the Māori arm of the Anglican Church (the Pihopatanga o Aotearoa) delivers tertiary degree programmes that are entirely *tikanga Māori* focussed. Participant B also points out that the Anglican Church has an historical tradition of delivering the “word of God” in the language of the *tangata whenua* (local inhabitants). However Participant B went further to say that the Anglican Church went through a process of re-structuring that encapsulated an indigenous input into the church’s affairs, such as theology, administration, management, and decision-making to name a few. Those important points aside he

¹³⁶ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Chapter Two: With a Mop in my Hand*, August 2008, p 15.

¹³⁷ Hāhuru Marae is located at Onepu, 30km southwest of Whakatane in the North Island of New Zealand, and is the principle marae of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau tribe.

¹³⁸ A tribal group that live in the Eastern Bay of Plenty of the North Island, New Zealand, mainly centered on the townships of Kawerau and Matatā.

¹³⁹ A sub tribe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau whose marae is located close to the township of Matatā.

explains that Māori have a lot to thank the church with regard to delivering education, health programmes and general welfare schemes that ensured Māori a reasonable chance in the challenging world.

The third interviewee is Participant C of Ngāti Awa, Tūwharetoa, Te Arawa and Ngāti Ranginui descent and is from Matatā.¹⁴⁰ Participant C is a member of the Hamilton Diocese of the Catholic Church,¹⁴¹ and is a member of Ngā Wahine i Roto i te Wairua Tapu, a Catholic group of women who assist the needy. Participant C assists Te Ahi Kaa o Te Wairua Tapu, which consists of representatives of the Maori parishes within the Hamilton Diocese, which includes the Bay of Plenty region. Participant C was raised as a Catholic with strong personal values of family and respect for others; in addition these values encapsulate a view of the world including the expression of *taha Māori* (values pertaining to things Māori). Participant C's position in the church is as a delegate of Te Rūnanga o te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa (TRHkoA), an organisation of the Catholic Church whose members are mainly Māori. TRHkoA's main role is to advise the New Zealand Council of Bishops Conference (NZCBC) and individual bishops on matters concerning Māori within the Catholic Church and in society in general. Its role is also to seek the assistance of experts in *tikanga*, *reo* and in theological, pastoral, liturgical, canonical and civil matters.¹⁴² TRHkoA is funded by the NZCBC. Raised in the environs of the church Participant C has no issues with its mainstream philosophy as she views God as the father of all mankind regardless of ethnicity. However Participant C does have a view that *tikanga Māori* is suppressed in some Catholic Church activities. For example leaders of the church do not allow a requiem mass¹⁴³ to be held on a marae, explaining that the service can only occur inside a house of God, i.e. a church. The marae is a place where Māori weep for their dead at a service called a *tangihanga* (a three day funeral service), but the church leadership do not allow a service of this nature to occur on our marae. This is suppression of our ability to express *tikanga Māori*, which is not good in these modern contemporary times. Nevertheless, Participant C expects there might be some changes from the Bishops' Council in the near future. On the one hand Participant C is a strong advocate of the Catholic Church

¹⁴⁰ A settlement located fifteen minutes south of Matatā in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, NZ.

¹⁴¹ A Catholic Church district or region.

¹⁴² Hāhi Katorika Māori o Aotearoa website. Accessed at: <http://www.catholic.maori.nz/index.php>

¹⁴³ Catholic Church services for the dead, i.e. a funeral song, lament for the dead or eulogy.

and the values it espouses, on the other hand speaks out on issues of the church that impact on Māori values, customs and protocols. Participant C's response is that the love of God will bring blessings to our Māori people and that any servant of God, Māori or otherwise, will be blessed.

Conclusion

Despite over a century and a half of assimilation and colonialism the ability to express *tikanga Māori* (customs and protocols) within mainstream churches has been part of the Aotearoa/New Zealand's religious system for many years. Further to this are the educational attitudes and goals of the various religious denominations that encouraged Māori towards participation. Each Church has had their reasons for the establishment of the Māori arms and the way in which they operate, which will be described in the following chapter. Whilst these Māori arms are similar in character for each church they represent there are stark variations related to the difference in religious belief and application. Despite these dissimilarities these Māori arms throughout their existence have provided Māori *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* with opportunities to express spirituality in their own way and in their own environment. Many prominent Māori leaders across the whole spectrum of New Zealand society can be attributed to the Christian Churches, in particular their Māori divisions. Whether these Māori divisions can continue to provide such prominent leadership in a continually changing and evolving society remains to be seen. In the new millennium with less control and influence from the mainstream sections of their churches perhaps these Māori divisions and their Māori adherents will become more effective in the provision of their style of Christian service, or as Māori in look and feel, not only for their faith communities, but for Māori society as a whole whilst still retaining their special character.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ASCENDENCY OF TIKANGA IN THE CHURCH

This part of the thesis report articulates the position of *tikanga Māori* within the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches as highlighted in the previous chapters of this report. It also covers a period where *tikanga Māori* takes an ascendant role within the mainstream churches, in particular the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches. Therefore the first part of this chapter will cover the Anglican Church and its three *tikanga* and bicultural Treaty of Waitangi constitution,¹⁴⁴ and issues and concerns within the church because of this constitution. The second part will look at the Presbyterian Church and how the *tikanga Māori* arm of that church has developed a workable solution with Māori of that church, and how well the congregation as a whole accepts this arrangement. Lastly the Catholic Church has within its ranks the *Te Rūnanga o te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa*¹⁴⁵ as a mouthpiece for Māori Catholics within that church. The last part of this chapter will summarise and give an overview of the three churches discussed in this chapter with regard to the structure and ability to express *tikanga Māori* within the mainstream churches that these Māori organisations affiliate to.

The Anglican Church

In 1992 the Anglican Church in New Zealand changed its constitution, creating three *tikanga* (customs and protocols) groups as equal partners, each with its own social structures, language, laws, principles and procedures. Individuals are free to practice their faith in any of these *tikanga*. The driving force behind the three *tikanga* is the bicultural Treaty of Waitangi and, by association, issues of Māori sovereignty. *Pasifika* (Pacific Island people) also make up one part of this three-*tikanga* association. Other cultural groups, such as Chinese Anglicans who have their own missions and pastors, are not part of the constitution. Although there is no mention of the church in the Treaty of Waitangi, many leaders of the Hāhi Mihinare argue that it is “implied” and therefore the treaty is a religious covenant. Interestingly there has been some discussion around the “fourth article” of the Treaty where it is believed

¹⁴⁴ See footnote 82 for more information. .

¹⁴⁵ Hāhi Katorika Māori o Aotearoa website. Available at: <http://www.catholic.maori.nz/index.php>

that the church wanted surety from the governor of New Zealand at the time, Hobson, that their work amongst the natives would be protected. The instigators of the three-*tikanga* model say that because the Anglican Church acted as midwife to the signing of the Treaty in 1840, it has a responsibility to adopt it.¹⁴⁶ Roman Catholics, along with other churches in New Zealand, have not adopted the *tikanga* approach of the Anglicans. However many New Zealand Anglicans discontented with the model want to scrap the idea completely. This discontented group say it is unchristian, highly political, and does not work.¹⁴⁷ For example this group said that in 1990, the South African Dutch Reformed Church repented of its earlier belief, which underpinned apartheid in South Africa, that the Bible sanctioned separate cultural development. It concluded, “That in the light of the scriptures and Christian conscience, apartheid, and this would also apply to any other system which functioned similarly in practice, was unacceptable and, being sinful, should be rejected”.¹⁴⁸

I use this example of the Anglican Church as an example of the challenges faced by *tangata whenua* to establish protocols and processes within the modern Christian churches in order to express an indigenous flavour within the mainstream church. Another example is when a media release from Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops in 2006 stated that they recognised the Treaty as a living document because alongside the Gospel of Jesus Christ it shapes the activities of the church. However, some Anglican churchgoers argue that this kind of attitude is nationalist thinking and belongs to an earlier imperial age, and leads to the church compromising itself for cultural and nationalist interests.¹⁴⁹ The point here is that there is some divisiveness within factions of the Anglican and Catholic churches in terms of support given towards a treaty that is supposed to unite two cultures, however, an overall acceptance and understanding of the Treaty separates the church as it does in other socio-political organisations within Aotearoa/New Zealand society today.

The main architect of the 1992 *tikanga* model, Professor Whatarangi Winiata, now President of the Māori Party, has the backing of many in *tikanga Māori* when he argues that the Anglican constitution should serve as a model for our nation’s

¹⁴⁶ The Hāhi Mihingare Constitution, 1992.

¹⁴⁷ The Theological Edition, “Is it Anglican to practice apartheid?” G. J. Davidson, Oct 2005. Available at <http://www.theologicaleditions.com/Features/3tikanga.htm>

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

parliament. He suggests two lower houses, one for each partner to the Treaty, who develop legislation within their respective *tikanga*, and a third upper house that encapsulates both *tikanga Māori* and *tikanga Pākehā* legislation. I agree and accept the view of members of the church where the *tikanga* model is seen to split its congregation if taken from a western perspective, but if the *tikanga* model is understood from an indigenous perspective then I will disagree. However at pew level, the segregated church has resulted in the right hand not knowing what the left is doing.¹⁵⁰ There is concern from the Pākehā congregation that the *tikanga Māori* partners want to include Māori spirituality and traditional animist gods in their Christian faith, and leadership based on mana has clashed with Christ's call to humility. Most lament the loss of the rich interaction of the cultures in parish life and fear that political correctness is dominating church affairs. Recently, lay representatives at the Wellington Diocesan Synod voted overwhelmingly for the following motion:

*“That this Synod respectfully requests our General Synod representatives, at the next meeting of the General Synod in Christchurch in 2006, to put forward the case for the dissolving of the present three tikanga constitution, and to press for its replacement by an inclusive constitution that embodies the teachings of Colossians 3 that our collective identity in Christ takes precedence over our ethnic origins, blood lines and gender.”*¹⁵¹

When put to the house of clergy it lost by two votes. It seems the issue of separate entities within the mainstream congregation might surface again at some point in the future. This attitude from mainstream organisations within Aotearoa/New Zealand is nothing new and seems to elicit some form of uneasiness from Pākehā New Zealanders at least towards Māori who acquire some form of self-determination even within the church. Anglicans in the pews have an uneasy sense that they belong to a church that has instigated a benign form of religious apartheid, the three *tikanga* acting like church Bantustans.¹⁵² Instead of acting as a single coordinated body, they

¹⁵⁰ The hierarchy of the *tikanga* model meet with each other and not with its congregation to determine policies and procedures within the Anglican Church.

¹⁵¹ A vote by the Wellington Diocese at the Anglican General Synod meeting in Christchurch, 2006.

¹⁵² Bantustans are a loosely organised confederation of semiautonomous chiefdoms.

do their own thing, in their own way, under the control of their own bishops and a remote General Synod. There is also duplication of administration and clergy while overall church membership decreases and puts pressure on scant resources.¹⁵³ Though the Diocese of Wellington is autonomous, it is an integral part of a local, national and international Anglican family known as the Anglican Communion. The Anglican Communion is a fellowship of duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces or regional churches around the world, in communion with the See of Canterbury (Church of England), sharing together their life and mission in the spirit of mutual responsibility and inter-dependence. This global community of Anglican churches is bound together by a common history and also by its unity in Christ through the Scriptures and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. The Anglican Church in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Polynesia is unique for its cultural character and richness. The church's origins in New Zealand date back to 22 December 1814 when Rev Samuel Marsden, representing the CMS, arrived on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Te Aka Puaho the Māori Presbyterian

James Duncan of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland was the first Presbyterian missionary to Maori.¹⁵⁴ Over a twenty-six year period from 1843 to 1870 he laboured away on his own with little or no support from any of the other Presbyterian churches.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately little is known of James Duncan due to his ordering the destruction of his journals and notes before his death. What has been written about Duncan and his mission to Maori is meagre and scattered yet his efforts became the forerunner to the Presbyterian Maori Missions, which eventually became the Maori Synod and today's Te Aka Puaho.¹⁵⁶ The work of James Duncan should be better known and respected especially within Presbyterian circles. Te Aka Puaho indeed owes its gratitude to its predecessors for having the vision to extend its mission into the heart of Māoridom. For example these predecessors worked tirelessly in their godly efforts to minister to the Māori people as can be evidenced in that some never left the Māori communities and lie in their *urupā* (cemeteries) shoulder to shoulder

¹⁵³ Anglican General Synod conference, Christchurch, 2006.

¹⁵⁴ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Presbyterian - Māori Interactions in the 1800s*, July 2008, p 4.

¹⁵⁵ The other Presbyterian Churches in Aotearoa were the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, and another group under the leadership of Norman McLeod.

¹⁵⁶ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Presbyterian - Māori Interactions in the 1800s*, July 2008, p 4.

with those they ministered to. Towards the latter part of the 1800s Abraham Honore, George Milson and then a young Henry J. Fletcher succeeded James Duncan. In the South Island despite brave attempts by a few people the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland lacked any real interest in mission to Maori and was quite content in their snug new Edinburgh of the south, Dunedin. If anything the Free Church that became the Synod of Otago and Southland owed a debt of gratitude to the North German Mission Society for shaping them today. Without the labours of Wohlers, Honore, Riemenschneider and Alexander Blake the efforts of the southern Presbyterians would have been non-existent. After these brave men moved on in the 1870s the Presbyterian mission to Maori basically ended completely in the South Island of New Zealand.

Te Aka Puaho had its origins in 1918 but became official in 1945 through the tireless work of the Rev. John Laughton. In 1918 Rev Laughton was selected as part of a delegation to the Urewera to investigate the viability of establishing a mission and school at Maungapōhatu. After much contemplation and meetings with Rua Kenana, Rev. Laughton finally accomplished his goal of establishing a church and school at Maungapōhatu. Rua Kenana told Rev. Laughton, “You can have the children, but leave the old people to me.”¹⁵⁷ This was how Rua and Rev. Laughton came close to each other as lifelong friends. The Māori Mission gained a strong foothold amongst the hardy people of the Urewera and it was a relationship that still holds strong to this day. Their descendants became *amorangi* (ministers) of Te Aka Puaho of the Presbyterian Church, servicing the people, as did Rev. Laughton and Sister Annie. That their flock were strong in the *tikanga* and *kawa* of Tūhoe did not affect their work in ministering to the spiritual needs of the Tūhoe. The Tūhoe chief Rakuraku’s *kōrero* (words) can still be heard today when he said to Rev. Laughton, “Leave the old ways to us, you teach the ways of the new world.”¹⁵⁸ The acceptance of the Christian faith amongst these strong advocates of the traditional world of the Māori indicates that there was no issue with *tikanga Māori* and the Christian religion inter-mixing in their daily activities.

¹⁵⁷ Rev W. Te Kaawa, *Hihita & Hoani: Missionaries in Tūhoeland*. Whakatane District Museum & Gallery, 13 July - 15 August 2008, p 24.

¹⁵⁸ Personal interview with Rev W. Te Kaawa at Te Aka Puaho office, Whakatane, Nov 2008.

The Catholic Church and Tikanga Māori

As a brief background to the Catholic Church and its presence in Aotearoa/New Zealand history informs us that the first Catholic priest to visit the Eastern Bay of Plenty on the 24th March 1840 was Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, Bishop of New Zealand.¹⁵⁹ The journey into the Bay of Plenty region was prepared for Pompallier by a northern Chief named Nuka (or Moka) who had married into the Te Whakatōhea¹⁶⁰ tribe of Opōtiki. Nuka had advised the Opōtiki Māori to not only welcome the Catholic Bishop, but also to turn to his religion. The Catholic Church was well received by the Eastern Bay of Plenty Māori and today maintains a strong presence in Opōtiki, Matatā, Murupara, Whakatāne, and the Rangitaiki areas.¹⁶¹ The transformation of the Catholic Church in the Eastern Bay of Plenty gained strength over the years from 1840 to the present day more so amongst the Māori people of the district.

Te Rūnanga o te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa (council of Māori Catholics) is a commission of the New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference (NZCBC), it represents the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Its nature and purpose is to advise the NZCBC and individual bishops on matters concerning Māori within the Catholic Church and in society, and to seek the assistance of experts in *tikanga, reo* and in theological, pastoral, liturgical, canonical and civil matters.¹⁶² The *Rūnanga* is funded by the NZCBC and unlike the Anglican and the Presbyterian Churches it is not separate and acting autonomously, but more as a vehicle of communication for the Māori congregation of the Catholic Church. The *Rūnanga* (council) continues its good work today by seeing to the pastoral care of its Māori congregation. For example its objectives are to advise the NZCBC and individual bishops on all matters relating to the pastoral care of Catholic Māori, promote the evangelisation of Māori, promote and defend the spiritual, cultural, educational and social well being of Māori, to stimulate a Christ like response to the spiritual, cultural, educational and social issues and needs of the Māori people and foster racial and cultural understanding, and to promote among Māori, vocations to the priesthood, religious life; deaconate and lay

¹⁵⁹ C. Watson (ed.), *Celebration and Memories: 150 Years Opotiki Parish*. Auckland: Mann Printing Ltd, 1990, p 8.

¹⁶⁰ A tribe who arrived on the Mataatua canoe during the great fleet migration to Aotearoa.

¹⁶¹ Townships located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region in the North Island of New Zealand.

¹⁶² Hāhi Katorika Māori o Aotearoa website. Available at: <http://www.catholic.maori.nz/index.php>

leadership.¹⁶³ The mission of the Catholic Church to evangelise the Māori was fraught with challenges but the outcome was to prove worthwhile for the resident *iwi* (tribes) of the region. Today the church maintains a sizeable congregation inclusive of Māori within the Bay of Plenty region with Māori church representatives in key decision-making positions of the Catholic Church hierarchy.

Summary

The ascendancy of *tikanga Māori* within the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Church's can be summarised as being strong in some areas and weak in others. This research report has focused on collating information from individual and focus group interviews, as well as information from various literatures around the impact of religion on *tikanga Māori*. This report has found sufficient information relative to the topic insofar as garnishing information from the three mainstream churches in terms of the ability to express *tikanga Māori*. What can be ascertained is that there seems to be no issue from the Anglican and Presbyterian churches or at least from those informants and focus groups that were interviewed, but the Catholic church participant did find some issues around the ability to express *tikanga Māori* in that church. The mainstream churches have been a catalyst in some respects for *Māori* insofar as spiritual and temporal needs are concerned but also a vehicle that has kept *tikanga Māori* alive, where for example *te reo*, *waiata* (songs), *pepeha* (proverbs) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) have been kept alive within the precincts of church services and pastoral care to name a few. Māori suffered greatly in the 1860s to the point of nearly becoming extinct; maybe Māori also owe their gratitude to the missionaries and the Christian churches they brought to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

¹⁶³ Objectives of Te Rūnanga o te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa Constitution.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DISSIPATION OF INDIGINEITY

This chapter continues the discussion begun in chapter six of the ascendancy of *tikanga Māori* within the church, and explores the impact of Christianity on the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It identifies critical changes that have affected the way Māori groups and individuals have accommodated *tikanga Māori* within the mainstream church environment. It considers the situation of Māori spirituality and theology in the contemporary environment in terms of the ability to express *tikanga Māori* within the mainstream church.

Culture

The arrival of the missionaries as mentioned in previous chapters of this report proved to be a mixed blessing. Conversion to Christianity was initially slow, and missionaries tolerated Māori customs while providing access to desirable goods. Until the 1830s most Māori shared the opinion of the Ngāpuhi chief Hongi Hika that the new religion was not suitable for warriors.¹⁶⁴ However, the missionaries offered something new in the way of relationships between ordinary people and their *atua*, based on language and ritual, considerably more accessible than the often unintelligible rituals of the traditional *tohunga* (Māori priest), which according to Best¹⁶⁵ were confined to the “higher class of priestly experts and of the principal families”. To the inherently independent and competitive Māori, acquiring European skills and participating as a lay preacher in the new Christian religion offered another path to enhancing mana, both personally and for the immediate *whānau*. In linking the latter perspective to the contemporary times and the qualitative research methodology exposed earlier on in this thesis report the following findings and theories come to light.

Many Māori families have generational links to the church, and have been involved as ministers in the various churches for some years, and for most it has been a way of life. Involvement in the church, in particular as priests or ministers, has given these servants of God a high status in the community, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. When

¹⁶⁴ “The Expansion of the Missions.” In *New Zealand’s Heritage Encyclopaedia*, Vol 1, N.1. p 281.

¹⁶⁵ Elsdon Best, *The Māori as He Was: a Brief Account of Māori Life as It Was Pre-European Days*, 3rd impression 1952, Government Printer: Wellington, 1924, p 76.

required for *tangihanga*, *hura kōhatu* (unveiling of headstones), weddings or spiritual guidance, these servants are called upon. As ministers of the church these people also hold leadership roles within the *iwi* as in the case of Participant B of the report survey who is also a *kaumātua* (elderly person) and sits on the *paetapu* (speaker's bench) of the marae. These Māori ministers say that practicing *tikanga Māori* within the church comes with the territory, and for most Māori ministers and priests this is the norm. Therefore expressing *tikanga Māori*, whether that is at a church service or as a *kaumātua* speaking at a marae function, is viewed as a normal part of everyday life. The *tikanga* that is understood by Māori ministers is not dissipated in any form by Christianity rather it is enhanced as mentioned by the three interview participants and those within the focus groups that were surveyed.¹⁶⁶

The findings from the focus group survey indicates that all three groups agree that *tikanga Māori* is not dissipated by religion, however there were two people from the Catholic Church who indicated that the church does suppress Māori ability to implement *tikanga Māori*. The example given by these two was the practice of *whakatuwhera whare hou* (prayers to open a new building, e.g. a meeting-house) where the *karakia/inoi tahito* (ancient prayers) were not to be used; only the Christian prayers of the Catholic Church would be used. A Māori Tōhunga was not to be consulted according to these two people from within the Catholic Church focus group.¹⁶⁷

There are exponents of *tikanga Māori* and those who grew-up during the Māori renaissance who say that Christianity has impacted on the indigenous culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand and that the Pākehā culture, which includes religion, has dissipated *tikanga Māori*. For example Hugh Kawharu, Ranginui Walker, Bronwyn Elsmore, Mason Durie, Whatarangi Winiata *et al* who have all spoken about the ineffectual work of the Pākehā and its impact on the Māori communities over the last 160-years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Religion in this regard has been no exception. For example the Taitokerau tribes in terms of their culture suffered greatly at the hands of the missionaries: carvings were dismantled and hidden in swamps because the northern Māori were told by the religious zealots that the

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix 1 of this report.

¹⁶⁷ Focus group interview held on 14 August, 2008 at Matatā, Eastern Bay of Plenty, NZ.

carvings were of idolised gods and were blasphemous to the Christian God, and therefore should be erased from their lives forever. Most *whareniui* (carved meeting-houses) of the Taitokerau are bare buildings devoid of any traditional or contemporary carvings and resemble community public halls all similar to each other. The reason is because the far north tribes were the first to acquiesce to the missionaries and receive Christianity. However, the northern Māori tribes under Hongi accepted Christianity with open arms and viewed the blending of Pākehā religion and *tikanga Māori* as mana-enhancing,¹⁶⁸ although, from another perspective the inquisitive mind would view this acquiescence as an acceptance of the coloniser's worldview. Therefore Māori were caught in a clash of cultures where on the one hand Christianity was accepted because it was deemed superior to Māori religion and brought wealth and prosperity to all who followed its tenets and word, and on the other hand, Christianity had brought despair and colonised the ignorant indigenous mind and assisted in expunging Māori culture from the history books in favour of another culture's worldview and customs.

Elsmore in her book *Mana from Heaven* states that the differences in understanding of religious matters between the missionaries and the Māori were major.¹⁶⁹ Elsmore went on to mention that the missionaries concluded that the Māori had no religion and were free to adopt or reject the new teachings without any theological conflict within their minds.¹⁷⁰ This perception further highlights the theory that the missionaries' main focus was to eliminate any trace of indigenous religiosity which they considered as mere superstitions and absurd opinions. The problem however was one of understanding the differences in what made up Māori religion.

The dissipation of indigeneity highlights the implementation of another culture's worldview over the other regardless of any desire to understand the other's worldview. Māori were told that their religious doctrines were heathenish and their natures depraved.¹⁷¹ However Māori saw the many benefits of Christianity and eventually over time changed their old habits in favour of the new religion, so in essence Māori were the agents of change in terms of their indigeneity, although

¹⁶⁸ Andrew Sharp, *Crises at Kerikeri*, Wellington: A.H & A.W Reed, 1958, p 15.

¹⁶⁹ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, p 3.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

kaupapa Māori was never far from their thoughts and was occasionally used when the need arose. The results from the survey indicate that the modern *tikanga* are not averse to the odd challenge of expressing ones worldview; however the difference is that Māori practitioners have a choice to freely express themselves according to their culture. Religious services incorporating Māori language are accepted alongside Pākehā services, and most services are bilingual. Indeed Māori have some autonomy as separate arms of the mainstream churches in New Zealand.

CONCLUSION

This thesis report has focused on the “Dissipation of Indigeneity through Religion” as its main topic, in particular the impact of religion on *tikanga Māori* in the contemporary times. The findings of this report inconclusively states that religion does not affect the ability of Māori to practice *tikanga Māori*, in particular those Māori ministers that belonged to the Presbyterian, Anglican and Catholic churches. The information from those that were interviewed and the focus group reports reinforce these findings. This report also notes that other ministers and laypersons, Māori and non-Māori will have other views in respect of these findings, and this report respects their views. The question has indigeneity been dissipated by religion finds no physical evidence in this report given the surveys and research conducted, however there are many pathways that will raise other questions around the main thesis topic which have not been covered by this report. I’ll leave those pathways for others to traverse.

The expression of *tikanga Māori* within the mainstream churches of Aotearoa/New Zealand has been in existence since the first arrival of the CMS missionaries in 1814. In support of this arrival Māori welcomed Christianity into their religious lives and this continued into the twenty-first century. This report has highlighted various viewpoints in terms of the strength of that expression from Māori participants of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches. In particular this thesis concentrates on the relationship of *tikanga Māori* and Christianity focussing on aspects such as *te reo* (language), *tangihanga* (funerals), *atua Māori* (Māori Gods), *whaikōrero* (speaking on the marae), *whakapapa* (genealogy), and *tino rangatiratanga* (Māori self determination). This list has not been exhausted as this paper has also covered other aspects in terms of *tikanga Māori*. On the other hand this paper had set out to explore theories around the impacts of Christianity on the day to day lives of Māori who work as ministers and lay workers of the mainstream churches covered in this report.

Each Church had and has their own reasons for the establishment of Māori organisations and the way in which they operate. This means that whilst these organisations may have similar reasons for their establishment there are small differences related to the variation in religious belief and application. In general

Māori took on roles as priests and ministers firstly and primarily as servants of their people, and secondly because it was in the family line. They therefore had expectations from *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to carry out leadership roles both within and outside church activities. Furthermore, and concurrent with their roles as church and *iwi* leaders was the requirement to have a balanced approach and viewpoint towards the pastoral care of the church communities regardless of ethnicity. Despite the differences in religious belief and application, the Māori arms of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches have provided Māori communities and society in general with some influential leaders. In fact some of Māoridom's most prominent leaders have belonged to the Christian church. Whether these Māori arms desire to remain autonomous and separate from the main body of the church, the essence of promoting and enhancing *tikanga Māori* will remain as a key focus for the church as a whole. The new waves of Māori ministers have an academic background and focus on challenging not only the theological direction of the church but also its epistemology.

GLOSSARY OF WORDS

Māori

English

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Whānau | Family |
| Hapū | Sub tribe, related families |
| Iwi | Tribe or group of hapū |
| Tikanga | Custom, protocol |
| Taha Māori | Being Māori |
| Te Aka Puaho | Māori Presbyterian Arm |
| Hāhi Perehipitiriana | Presbyterian Church |
| Hāhi Mihinare | Māori Anglican Church |
| Hāhi Katorika | Catholic Church |
| Rūnanga | Tribal Council |
| Pākehā | European person |
| Te Ao Pākehā | European world |
| Tapu | Sacred |
| Te Ao Karaitiana | Christian world |
| Wānanga | University, to create ideas |
| Kaupapa Māori | Pertaining to Māori |
| Whakawhanaungatanga | To relate as family |
| Mātauranga | Knowledge, education |

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Appendix

1.

