RESILIENT COMMUNITIES MURUPARA

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PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Resilience is the ability of individuals, families, whānau[1] (extended family), communities and institutions to cope and persevere through adverse conditions (e.g., a natural disaster or economic shock), and their ability to recover ('bounce back' or adjust to a changed post-event reality) and resume their lives. The period of adjustment and recovery may be weeks, but more often than not it is years, and in the case of Māori, resistance and perseverance has stretched across decades into centuries.

This report reflects on what I have learned from participating in a research project looking at key factors that enable individuals, whānau, communities and institutions to cope, adapt, change and progress after adverse events. The report focuses on just one component of the whole research project: the resilience of the people of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare, who live in and near Murupara, a rural village in eastern Bay of Plenty, New Zealand.

The full research project was funded by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment[2] in 2013-14 called *Building community resilience: understanding the characteristics, determinants and drivers of strong and resilient communities*[3], and follows several strands. These include:

- community resilience in a post-disaster situation within a large urban area (Sumner, Christchurch) and the secondary urban area of Kaiapoi (within Waimakariri District)
- the resilience over a thirty year period (1984-2014) of farming families in two rural districts (Central Hawke's Bay District and Waitomo District) to economic shocks and climatic events such as droughts and floods (Pomeroy 2015)
- a school research competition for years 10-13 run over two consecutive years through the New Zealand Geographical Society and New Zealand Board of Geography Teachers which gave secondary students the opportunity to consider individual and community resilience within the context of the social and physical characteristics of their local community (Pomeroy and Holland 2016)
- this component which documents the resilience of the people of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare to economic and natural disasters, and even more insidious socio-cultural and psychological turmoil
- a final dedicated module of the research which focuses on Ngāi Tahu understandings of resilience (Kenney *et al* 2015).

The resilience of communities is important in a world which is frequently overwhelmed by natural disasters. Much is being learned about how people, their institutions, and the communities in which they live (particularly urban communities), respond to natural disasters like earthquakes, floods and volcanic eruptions.

Extensive international research on resilience in the context of disaster management has identified eight key generic attributes or domains of resilience (Paton 2007). At the outset of this research project these eight domains were expected to provide a framework for the Murupara case study. The eight domains do have some explanatory power in accounting for the resilience of this community. They do not, however, explain the resilience of people who have faced on-going catastrophic cultural, social, psychological, political, and economic

[1] Māori words are translated when they first appear, and are listed in the glossary.
[2] MBIE contracted GNS Science to undertake the work, and in turn, GNS Science subcontracted the Centre for Sustainability at Otago University to carry out components of the analysis.
[3] Short title: *Understanding factors that build resilience in New Zealand*

shocks, additional to natural disasters, over a 150-year period. They do not explain how these iwi (tribes) have coped with resource alienation, racism, and attempts at assimilation and still persevered in maintaining their own identity, integrity and strength. They do not explain the drivers that facilitate resistance and recovery, and enable their resilience.

This study began within a western research framework, and has been conducted by a Pākehā[4] (non-Māori, and in my case with no Māori language) outsider. It quietly took on a life of its own. I am privileged and grateful for the support, advice and help I received from community members. I was also fortunate to have the time to access a range of source material so could explore the topic of resilience from perspectives which emerged as the work progressed. The story of the people of Murupara is instructive. It introduces a cultural dimension to understanding resilience. It also highlights the value of what Boulton and Gifford (2011) call 'collective efficacy', that is, the shared understanding, strength, effectiveness and worth of groups of people bound by deeply-held values.

The outcome is a research report which attempts to show Pākehā some critical ideas on resilience from a Māori perspective which we could borrow from to strengthen the resilience of all New Zealanders. For the people of the Murupara Community Board area it brings background material on their history and culture together in one place.

Background and methodology

Murupara exemplifies how whānau who maintained their identity and cultural values across generations have persevered and coped with extreme adversity. The people of this community lost their lands and resources in the 19th century, and their main source of employment in the 20th century. They have also coped with floods, famine, epidemics and volcanic eruption. Despite this, their strength of attachment to their whakapapa (foundations), tikanga (value system/way of doing things), te reo (language), kaupapa (principles), their taha Ngāti Manawa (or taha Ngāti Whare i.e. their Ngāti Manawa or Ngāti Whare perspectives), and connectedness with whānau and to the marae (the meeting house/community venue of each hapū), has enabled those who live in this community to adapt and maintain their social and cultural integrity. This connection also draws many people who have moved elsewhere for work to maintain close links with their ancestral lands and people, and to retain their resilience as people of Ngāti Manawa or Ngāti Whare.

Murupara was selected due to the local knowledge of colleague and friend Paddy Twist, with whom I had worked years before in the Ministry of Agriculture. When she became involved in a 2011 project I was developing on community resilience she suggested that one of our case study communities should be Murupara, on the basis that "if you want to understand resilience, there is no better place than Murupara to learn about it". Timing difficulties meant Murupara was not selected for the earlier project, but I made a commitment that if funding became available for further research on resilience, we would ask the residents of Murupara if they would like to participate.

In early 2012 colleagues from Otago University's Centre for Sustainability suggested I work with GNS Science to develop a funding proposal for a Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment research project *Understanding factors that build resilience in New Zealand.* I saw this as an opportunity to learn about resilience from the Murupara community and

[4] Pākehā are non-Māori New Zealanders. The collective term Māori is used to refer to the indigenous population of New Zealand. Prior to colonisation, communities were known by their iwi and hapū affiliations, rather than as a homogeneous population (Simmonds 2014:1)

discussed the idea with my colleagues from the 2011 project. This resulted in an introduction to members of the community and an invitation to meet with the principal of the former Rangitahi College.

I met with Principal Dawn Matai-Pehi, Awhina Rangitauira, Puhi Kydd, Louis McManus, Paul Fell and others, on 14 March 2012. We discussed what value a project on resilience might bring to the community, and what the community might look to achieve by being involved. It was agreed that a useful way of understanding resilience was to learn about it through recording the histories of local people. These histories would provide a resource for tamariki (children) – enabling the younger generation to hear their parents', grandparents', and other relatives' stories of their whānau and hapū (sub-tribe).

Some months later we were advised that we had been successful in securing funding for the resilience project. A contract was signed in February 2013 and work began. In the meantime, at the end of 2012, Rangitahi College closed. From February 2013 the College's students were to attend what had been the Murupara Primary School, now converted into the Murupara Area School. With much appreciated support from Awhina Rangitauira, I was able to meet with the principal of Murupara Area School, Amanda Bird. Mrs Bird was most helpful and agreed to support the project. At this stage I also met with some of the local service providers in Murupara and joined the Murupara Community Services Collective as an observer, attending bi-monthly meetings over the following two-year period..

At this stage I discovered that one of the members of the wider research team (Sylvia Tapuke) not only spoke te reo, but was from Murupara (Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu, Ngāti Manawa). At that point my research assistant left the project for full time employment opportunity, so it was fortuitous and a relief that Sylvia agreed to help out.

The planned approach to the research was to:

- record the histories of local people
- interview some of the service providers
- interview long-time residents of the district, and
- summarise the findings within the framework of the internationally defined generic multi-level model of community resilience (Paton 2007).

While I was happy to interview service providers (people who, like myself, mainly came from outside the district), the stories that needed to be told were stories from insider participants and their whānau. To obtain these histories it was agreed that an oral history project would be started in the community.

At the suggestion of Murupara Community Board Chair, Jacob Te Kurapa, it was decided to see if it would be possible to run some oral history training sessions in Murupara itself to enable as many local people as possible to actively participate and learn the techniques of recording, abstracting, and transcribing oral histories with each other, their relatives and friends. The Oral History Curator at the National Library agreed to this and two training sessions were held in Murupara by Outreach Services, Alexander Turnbull Library on audio recording on 4 July 2013 and on 7 October 2013. A third workshop was held on video recording on 8 October 2013. Some of the people who had attended the training then came together to formalise what has now become the Murupara Oral History project: *Ngā kaiwhakaruruhau o ngā taonga tuku iho*. A steering group (roopu whakaruruhau) was established to develop a structure to oversee the project. Key aspects of this included:

- finding an organisation to look after recording equipment (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whare)

- ensuring that recorded histories follow the Code of Ethical and Technical Practice of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand
- developing protocols around archiving, building credibility and trust (e.g. recordings held locally are stored securely)
- capturing kōrero (talk) that is beneficial to the people and can be used to help resolve local issues through self determination
- peer reviewing the report and articles based on it.

The roopu whakaruruhau then began work on recording the stories of their whānau, while I interviewed service providers and some of the older residents of Murupara.

By the start of 2014 it was clear that life had overtaken good intentions. With on-going treaty work plus personal and community responsibilities for all of us, the pace at which histories could be recorded was obviously not going to fit into the research timeframe. For this reason I decided to cast my net more widely and began to access already publicly available research, information and stories about the people of Murupara (particularly Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare), and Māori in general to provide context. Nevertheless, 30 semi-structured interviews (including some oral histories) were completed by September 2015. They ranged in length from 30 to 120 minutes, and were conducted using the protocols of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand.

Also, fortuitously, legislative documents recording the Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims between the Crown and Ngāti Manawa[5] and the Crown and Ngāti Whare[6] became available at this time, on-line. Of exceptional value, the information in these documents became the guide to my journey to understanding the injustices the two iwi had been subjected to over the past 150 or so years. The information should have been part of my education as a New Zealander. Instead, like many others, I unquestioningly absorbed the official dogma that accompanied the colonisation of this country and which is still perpetuated in many quarters. These views perpetuated the idea that the culture, knowledge, ethos and approach of the English colonial settlers was superior to that of the indigenous population, and that all memory of Māori traditions, knowledge, sovereignty and rights should be expunged in favour of the newcomers. Furthermore, I had no idea of the illegitimate methods that had been used to separate New Zealand's indigenous population from their resources so that the 'peaceful' foreign invaders (my ancestors) could have them. That these injustices are real is reflected in the fulsome, seven page acknowledgement and apology to Ngāti Manawa recorded in the legislation, and four page acknowledgement and apology to Ngāti Whare, also recorded in legislation.

The meaning of resilience

To quote Zolli and Healy, defining resilience is complicated by the fact that different fields use the term to mean slightly different things:

> *In engineering, resilience generally refers to the degree to which a structure like a bridge or building can return to a baseline state after being disturbed. In emergency response, it suggests the speed with which critical systems can be restored after an earthquake or a flood. In ecology, it connotes an ecosystem's ability to keep from being irrevocably degraded. In psychology, it signifies the capacity of an individual to deal effectively with trauma. In business it's often used to mean putting in place backups (of*

[5] http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2012/0027/22.0/whole.html#DLM3276816
[6] http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2012/0028/latest/DLM4339902.html

> *data and resources) to ensure continuous operation in the face of natural or man-made disaster (*Zolli and Healy 2012:6).

The current research is set within a social science paradigm. As Boulton and Gifford (2011:285) contend, the focus of analysis undertaken from this perspective tends to be on the individual. This may take a psychology perspective (social cognitive theory asserts individuals are agents experiencing and shaping events), or ecological perspective (resilience is dependent on, or can be lessened by the relationship between individuals and their environment).

Recognising that an individual's capacity for resilience depends on more than some innate characteristic of that individual leads to consideration of community and societal responses. This in turn requires analysis of how structures, systems and processes perpetuate or mitigate adversity (Boulton and Clifford 2011:286-287, 289). In this respect Paton (2007:7) suggests:

> *Resilience refers to the capacity of a community, its members and the systems that facilitate its normal activities to adapt in ways that maintain functional relationships in the presence of significant disturbances. This can facilitate the development and maintenance of community resilience and contribute to a societal capacity to draw upon its own individual, collective and institutional resources and competencies to cope with, and adapt to, and develop from the demands, challenges and changes encountered during and after disaster.*

Paton's analysis is predominantly grounded within western cultures. Within this framework activity is generated and controlled by individual values, philosophies and behaviour, even in a community setting. Within a kaupapa Māori setting, however, activity is entirely generated and controlled by the group (OCVS 2007:19). The current study shows how the solidarity of a collectivist philosophy, underpinned by a strong values system, enables resilience.

Report outline

Part 2 of this report provides a brief history of the multiple adversities which the people of the land of Murupara, the tangata whenua (Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare), have faced.

A snapshot of the current situation to which their history has brought the people of the Community Board area of Murupara, and the way in which this is being managed, is then considered in Part 3.

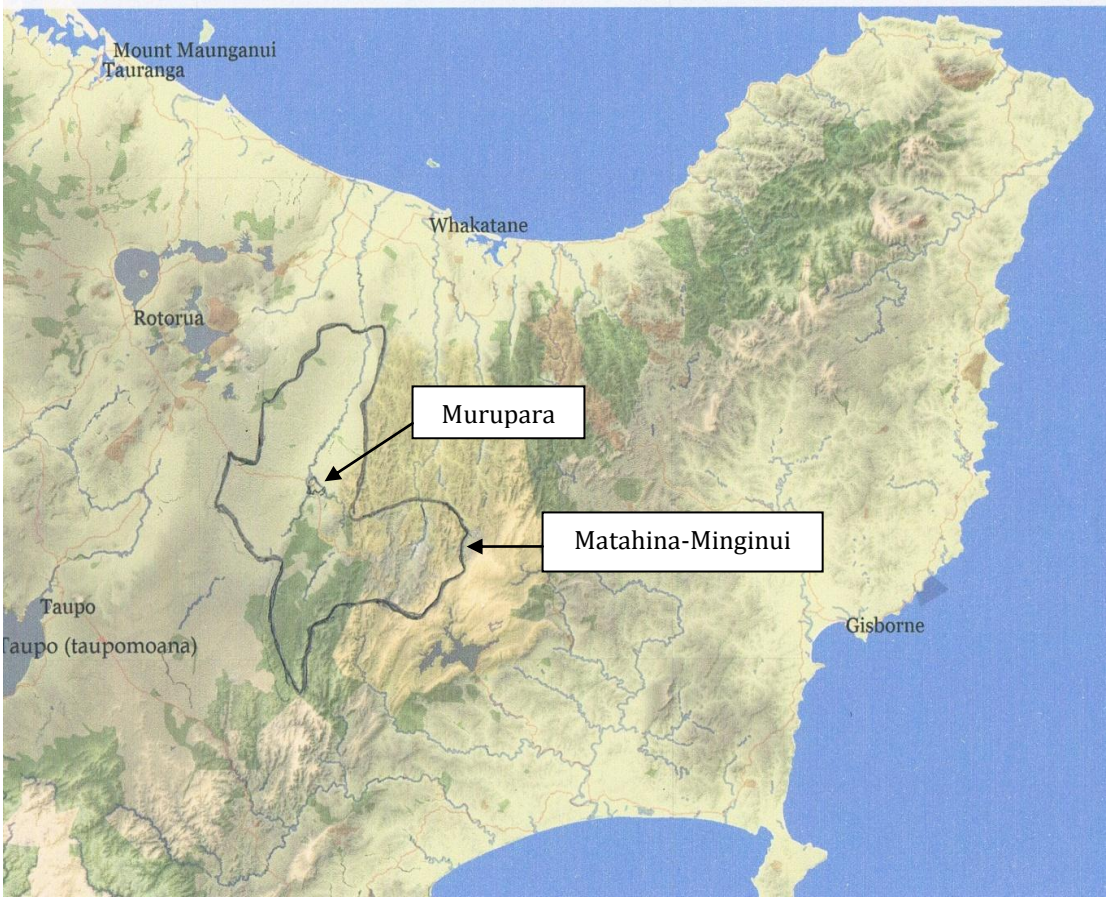
This is followed (Part 4) by an outline of the generic multi-level model of resilience developed by Paton (2007) and others within a disaster-management framework. Some of the characteristics of this model are universal and can be seen in the behaviour and actions of the tangata whenua of the Murupara Community Board area. Nevertheless, there are also very different ways of thinking and doing which are not found in Paton's model, but are critical to building resilience.

These different ways of thinking and doing are explored in Part 5. This section discusses how Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare have retained their self-belief, their rangatiratanga (self-determination), positive outlook, optimism, and hope in the face of adversity. In other words, I describe the set of cultural factors that gives these people the capacity to be resilient.

Part 6, the conclusion, draws together the threads of the previous sections.

PART 2: CONTEXT

Murupara is a rural centre with a population of 1,656 (as at the 2013 census). It is situated within the Murupara Community Board area of Whakatane District, eastern Bay of Plenty (Map 1). The Community Board area is made up of three subdivisions: Murupara, Galatea/Waiohau and Te Urewera. The two latter subdivisions form Statistics New Zealand's area unit Matahina-Minginui (population 1,335). The community board area is classified by Statistics NZ as highly rural/remote, or (north of Murupara across the Galatea basin), rural with low urban influence. It includes flat dairy country (the Galatea Basin), the Kaingaroa plains (now forest plantation), and the Whirinaki Valley with grazing alongside the Whirinaki river and native forests to the south and east.



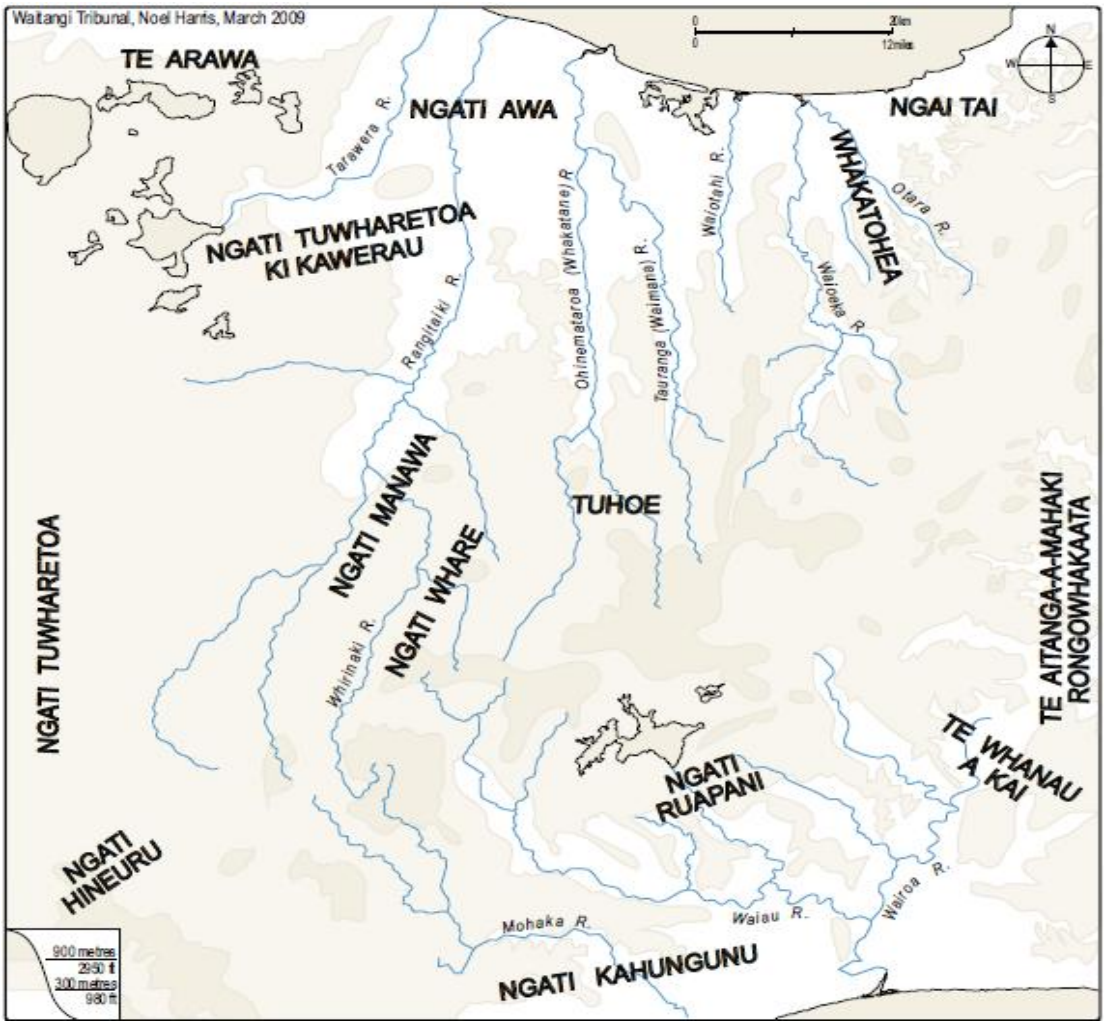
Map 1: Murupara Community Board Area (Murupara & Matahina-Minginui area units)

The mana whenua are Ngāti Manawa (predominantly living in Murupara and the middle and upper reaches of the Rangitāiki river and its catchments), and close relatives Ngāti Whare who are predominantly located around the Whirinaki River (main settlements Te Whāiti, and the forestry township of Minginui). The people from these iwi have been in residence in the area for over 20 generations.

According to the 2013 Census, 489 of the 1,902 Māori living in the Murupara Community Board area were of Ngāti Manawa descent (22% of all New Zealand resident Ngāti Manawa), while 231 were Ngāti Whare (18% of all New Zealand resident Ngāti Whare) (Statistics NZ 2013). In addition 1,014 people of Tūhoe descent (3% of all New Zealand resident Tūhoe), 126 Te Whānau-a-Apanui, and 111 Ngāti Awa also live in the Community Board area. Tuhoe especially have been in the district as long as Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare and have intermarried, particularly with Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu.

Early history

To understand the resilience of the tangata whenua it is essential to understand their history. According to the oral history recounted by local teacher and kaumātua (elder) Tom Higgins[7], Toi-kai-rakau came to the Bay of Plenty in the year 1150 following the travels of Kupe. Toi-kai-rakau settled for a time at Whakatane then travelled back to Hawaiki, leaving some of his people behind. These people were the Marangaranga. The people of Te Marangaranga, Tom's ancestors, made their way up the Rangitaiki River and settled there (Map 2).



Map 2: Major tribal groupings in general locations (*Waitangi Tribunal 2009:23*)

Then the canoes of Mātaatua landed, then those of Te Arawa. After making landfall, the 'newcomers' migrated inland (to the middle and upper reaches of the Rangitaiki River – the area roughly covered by the modern day Murupara Community Board area). Tom states that only then did his prestigious ancestor Tangiharuru arrive from Maungatautari in the Tainui region, bringing his dispute for land to his sisters. Tangiharuru moved to Tauranga, and then to Whakatane. This migration is known as 'Te Heke o Tangiharuru'.

As they travelled Tangiharuru and his uncle Wharepakau ambushed, or were ambushed by, the Te Marangaranga people. When they arrived at the meeting point of the Rangitaiki and Whirinaki rivers Wharepakau retreated to the Te Urewera lands, while Tangiharuru continued on up the Rangitaiki River. Tangiharuru's party went on to slay the Te Marangaranga people

[7] Tom Higgins, son of Ngāti Manawa woman Temomomaria (a direct descendent of Tangiharuru), was recorded in te reo by Television New Zealand Programme Waka Huia on 13 September 1998 (Waka Huia 1998)

on the track leading to the Kahungunu region[8]. When he got there Tangiharuru lit a fire to signal his arrival to his uncle. Wharepakau was already in Te Whāiti. The Marangaranga people dispersed, the majority reaching as far as Ngāti Hineuru in Te Haroto. At this point Apahapaetaketake had joined with Tangiharuru. Because the great compassion Apahapaetaketake felt for Tangiharuru, she gifted four of her sisters as wives. He then had five wives in total. Once the Marangaranga were defeated, Apa continued on to Te Haroto. The genealogies connect Ngāti Hineuru to Apa their ancestor.

Tom continues: Tangiharuru and Wharepakau remained in this district, Wharepakau in Te Whāiti and Tangiharuru here (near present day Murupara), until they died. Many stories relate to these leaders. Tangiharuru had grown a new tribe of people. No longer Te Marangaranga, these people were now known as Ngāti Manawa.

Following the defeat of Te Marangaranga, Wharepakau and his whānau took up residence with Te Marangaranga on lands along the Whirinaki River, bordered by a great expanse of ancient forest rich in resources. From that time the descendants of Wharepakau and Te Marangaranga adopted the name 'Ngāti Whare' in recognition of their common ancestor (NWCSA 2012, S6 para 2).

> *So that you know, there are a number of tribes surrounding Ngāti Manawa* [see map 2]. *On one side we have the Te Arawa tribe. On the other we have our relations of Whakatane, further down we have our Tūhoe relatives. At another end we have our Ngāti Hineuru relatives, and also Kahungunu. We are placed in the middle of all of these tribes. When there is dispute with one people, you go to another for support, and so on, and so forth. That is what they did. If defeated, they would move and go on to be supported by another tribe. This made for close relations with all. Then came the Pākehā….* (Translated words of Tom Higgins, Waka Huia 1998)

Ngāti Manawa[9]

Ko Tawhiuau te maunga, ko Rangitaiki te awa, ko Tangiharuru te tangata, ko Rangipo te wehenga o te tuna, ko Ngāti Manawa te iwi

Tawhiuau is the mountain, Rangitaiki is the river, Tangiharuru is our ancestor, Rangipo is the place where the eels depart, Ngāti Manawa are the people

Ngāti Manawa trace their descent from the Tainui, Te Arawa and Mātaatua canoes. Their eponymous ancestors are Apa-Hapai-Taketake and Te Ariki Tangiharuru[10]. The Ngāti Manawa rohe (territory) is a vast geographical area bounded by the Ika Whenua ranges in the east, the Taupo/Napier highway to the south, the western edge of the Kaingaroa plains and the southern edge of Rerewhakaaitu to the north (Map 3). Te Mauparaoa Roberts (2013) quotes Te Pou Rāhui o Ngāti Manawa to describe the area:

Ki Tawhiuau rere atu ki te whakate uru ki Ohui
Ka huri ki te uru ki Kakaramea
Ki te tonga ki Ngapuketurua
Ki te whakate rawhiti ki Maungataniwha
Ki te urunga o te ra ki Tarapounamu

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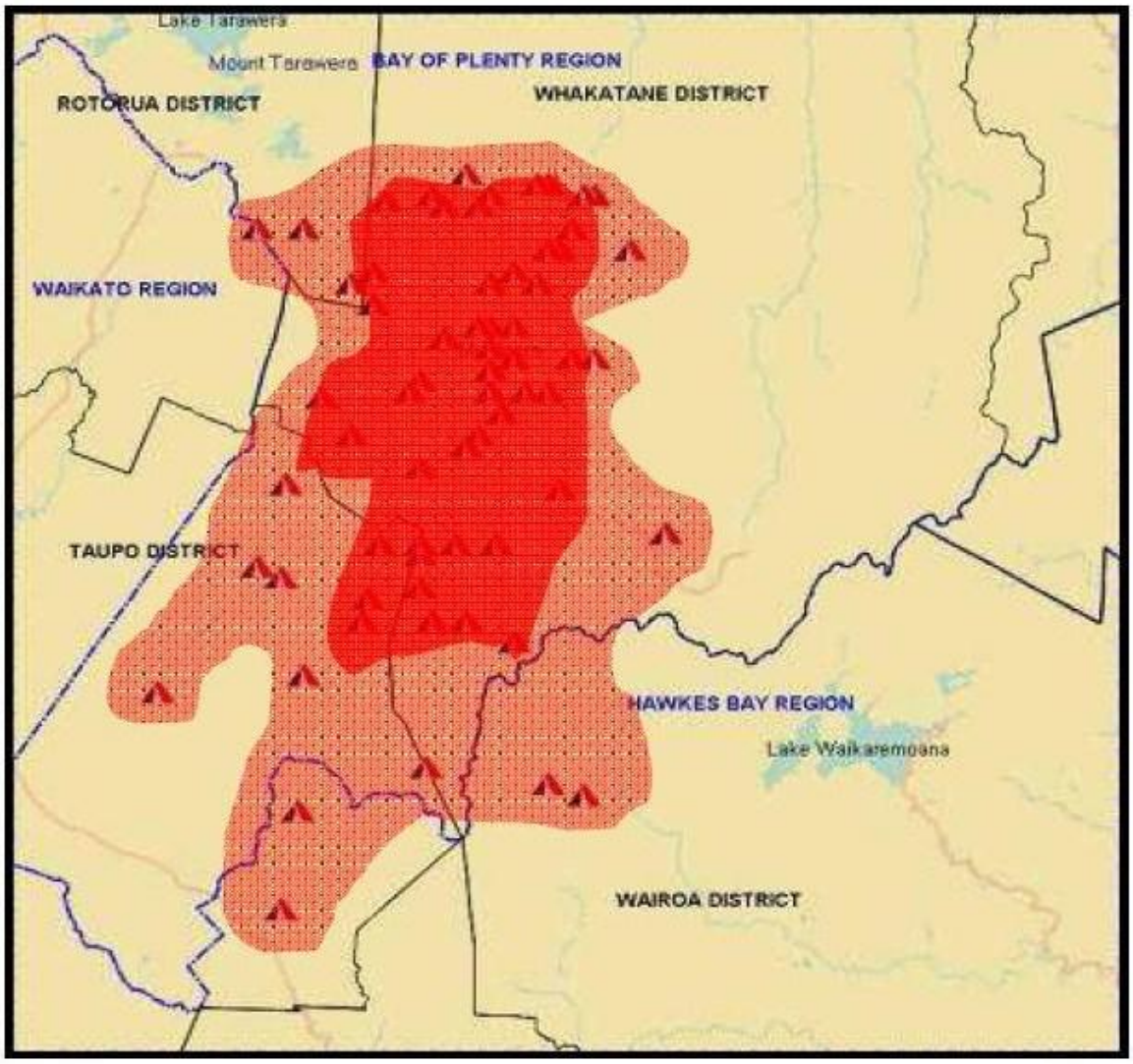
[8] Some accounts suggest that both Tangiharuru and Wharepakau's parties were engaged in this fight, others that it was just Tangiharuru's party. There is no doubt that Marangaranga were absorbed into the two iwi through marriage (see for example, Roberts 2013).
[9] This section is predominantly derived from Section 6 of the Ngāti Manawa Claims Settlement Act 2012,
[10] http://www.ngatimanawa.org/#!about-us!; Roberts 2013.

Ka hoki ki te raki ki te maunga whakahirahira o Ngāti Manawa a Tawhiuau
Anei te korowai o Tangiharuru

From Tawhiuau we move westerly to Ohui
From there we turn west towards Kakaramea
From there to the south is Ngapuketurua
Moving to the east to Maungataniwha
And continue to Tarapounamu
Returning back to the sacred mountain of Ngāti Manawa,Tawhiuau.
Here is the cloak of Tangiharuru



Map 3: Te Rohe o Ngāti Manawa (*Source: Bennion Law 2007*)

Ngāti Manawa has four marae: Rangitahi, home of the Ngāti Hui hapū; Painoaiho, home of the Ngāti Koro hapū; Tipapa, home of the Ngāi Tokowaru hapū; and Moewhare, home to the Ngāti Moewhare hapū.

Prior to the 1860s Ngāti Manawa moved around the area on an annual cycle using local resources for both sustenance and trade with other hapū and iwi. In this respect the eel fishery of the Rangitaiki River was particularly important. The climate ranged from very cold, wet winters to extremely hot, dry summers. Ngāti Manawa learned to survive in this environment by maintaining a fine balance between the use, and the regeneration, of resources (Section 6 Ngāti Manawa Claims Settlement Act 2012 (NMCSA) paras 2, 3, 4).

> *….the people were forever moving from place to place. From the river here right up to Hinamoki, these were where the tribe would set their living sites. They would set up their plantation at the edge of the bush and next to the waterways. This was one of their survival strategies, to follow the produce of the Whirinaki and Rangitaiki rivers. So that fish would be plentiful at all times. They would travel 20 miles up the river and set up camp. Once food become scarce, they packed up and once again travelled to find more food. This is how they survived.* (Translated words of Tom Higgins, Waka Huia 1998).

Nicola Bright comments that pā (fortified village) on the plains were peopled mostly for cultivating and harvesting food crops and gathering flax. They were deserted when the tribe was away at the coast fishing or in the Urewera bush hunting birds and later pigs (Bright 1998:7-8). Prior to the 1860s there were multiple conflicts between tribes, but also much trading, socialising and inter-marriage (Bright 1998:22-23). Building projects, ceremonial visits, feasts and war expeditions were fitted into the seasonal round of food-getting activity. Food rarely lasted beyond one year so it was impossible to plan beyond this, and there was little leisure time (Metge 1976:10).

The New Zealand Wars

The Rangitaiki Valley was the easiest route inland to and from the Urewera, Hawke's Bay and the Bay of Plenty, and was used by missionaries, settlers, and soldiers. Settlers' desire to lease Ngāti Manawa land in the early 1860s aligned with Ngāti Manawa chiefs' preference to retain ownership of tribal lands while deriving a cash income. It was stymied by the actions of the Crown which sought to prevent private leasing (NMCSA para 6).

During the conflict between the Crown and Māori in the 1860s, Ngāti Manawa supported the Government. In 1865 a period of conflict began with neighbouring iwi with whom Ngāti Manawa had close whānaunga (kinship) ties when Pai Mārire emissaries (prophets of the Pai Mārire religious movement popular among Kingitanga Māori) laid siege to a pā at Te Tāpiri while crossing through Ngāti Manawa's rohe. The Ngāti Manawa defenders were forced out. Abandoning their pā and cultivations in the Rangitaiki Valley Ngāti Manawa took refuge in Rotorua for over a year, cut off from their traditional economic resources. During this time their lands were plundered (NMCSA paras 11, 12, 14).

Ngāti Manawa returned to the Rangitaiki Valley in September 1866, built a new meeting house and a number of whare at Motumako, and replanted their cultivations. They also began negotiating to restore relationships with neighbouring iwi who had fought against the Crown. In recognition of Ngāti Manawa's military service, the Crown awarded them land, but it was land that Ngāti Manawa recognised belonged to another iwi (NMCSA paras 15, 16).

In 1869 Ngāti Manawa were attacked by the prophet Te Kooti's followers (the Whakarau) and were again forced into exile in Rotorua. Meanwhile the Crown established military bases in the Rangitāiki including at Fort Galatea. A number of Ngāti Manawa enrolled in the Armed Constabulary but the troops were poorly provisioned. For the next four years Ngāti Manawa people were disconnected from their homes, cultivations and traditional resources with many men on military duty and away from their whānau.

The war years had significant long-term economic, social, and other consequences for Ngāti Manawa. Since both sides in the conflict plundered the land wiping out seed stores and agricultural equipment, when Ngāti Manawa returned to their rohe in 1872, they had to re-plant cultivations and re-establish eel weirs and other resources. Ngāti Manawa were not compensated by the Crown for the damage to their lands and in 1873 and 1875 had to ask for

Government' supplies to counter economic hardship. The damage inflicted on their food sources by Crown forces and others upset the fine balance of Ngāti Manawa's traditional economy leaving them with few options but to engage with the newly emerging cash economy by leasing their lands (NMCSA paras 18,19, 23, 24).

Land alienation

Under the Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1865 the Crown established a Native Land Court to determine the ownership of Māori land 'according to native custom'. The Acts:

> *revolutionised Māori land tenure, converting it from a customary tenure governed by Māori customary law to a kind of freehold grant governed by common law and statute* [based on the British model] *….the Crown* [also] *lost its monopoly rights of purchase* (Boast 2008:6)

While individual Ngāti Manawa could now buy and sell land in the same way as Pākehā, they could not legally sell or lease it without a title from the Native Land Court, and nor could they pledge land as security in order to develop it. As Boast (2008:9-10) points out, British immigrants came from a culture with strong emphasis on clear property rights. However, while the 'tenurial revolution' decisively changed Māori Land tenure, it failed to secure to Māori the full benefits of clear title.

> *Communal claims to land through ahi kā (continued occupation) were abolished. Individuals or family groups were now named as owners on land titles, and as each new generation inherited the land (whether they lived there or not) the number of owners increased at a rapid rate. The result was title fragmentation. Owners had no practical means to develop lands* (Kingi 2012:2).

Keenan's research on Native Land Court decisions shows that:

> *Māori who had long since moved away from holdings* …[were assigned] *'absentee' rights and migrant Māori communities were given rights to stay where they were, even if they were squatting on the lands of others. The adversarial court system invited contention between parties, which produced a 'morass in which Māori floundered for decades, frittering away their estates in ruinous expenses for often negligible reward'* (Keenan 2013:29).

Section 6 of the Ngāti Manawa Claims Settlement Act 2012 describes the many ways Ngāti Manawa was disadvantaged by the Crown's approach to enabling Pākehā settlement.

- By leasing land from Ngāti Manawa the Crown established the sole right to purchase and prevented any private parties from leasing or purchasing.
- While Ngāti Manawa sought full listings of individuals as owners on land titles, the Crown would only accept a very few names (eg Kaingaroa 1 block should have had 300 individuals on the title, but in 1879 the Native Land Court approved a list of only 31 owners).
- The location of the land court hearings to deliver judgement on land titles were at venues many kilometres distant from where Ngāti Manawa lived so that iwi representatives had to travel to hearings and find food and accommodation. Consequently tribal resources were rapidly exhausted. There was insufficient food for the people attending hearings, accommodation was costly and routine cultivation and harvesting at home was disrupted.

- The cost of surveying land that came before the court was many times greater than the annual rent for the land, and in most cases surveys were paid for by alienating further land.
- The Crown paid minimal deposits then refused to pay rent on leased land until title was determined in case the Court decided that the owners of the land were not those who agreed to the lease.
- When land was sold the Crown deducted any rental payments made, treating such payments as a deposit on the purchase.
- The valuations on which the Crown made purchases were lower than those which private individuals were prepared to pay, but the Crown refused to allow alienation of land to private parties.

In addition, as Bright (1998:35) notes with respect to the Kuhawaea (Galatea) sale:

> *The land agents' actions seem somewhat unscrupulous in that they appeared to only acknowledge those Māori who agreed to their leasing terms as being the true owners of the land.*

In 1875 Ngāti Manawa leased 136,000 acres to the Crown for which they received a rental deposit of £250. With massive debt accruing on the land following the process of changing land tenure from customary to freehold title, plus disruption to their cultivations and consequent distressed economic circumstances, together with the failure of the Crown to pay further rent, Ngāti Manawa had little choice but to sell land to the Crown. In December 1880 the Crown purchased 103,393 acres of Kaingaroa 1 block, then a further 20,910 of 24,394 acres of the Heruiwi block and 5,500 acres being the best land of the 46,470 acre Pukahunui block in 1881. Despite being resistant to selling, Ngāti Manawa had lost nearly 130,000 acres by 1881 (NMCSA paras 28, 42, 46, 47).

In 1882 and 1883 Ngāti Manawa agreed to several large sales to private parties in the hope that these sales would lift the iwi out of poverty. The balance of the Pukahunui block (just under 41,000 acres) that the Native Land Court had not awarded to the Crown was sold in 1882, and 21,694 acres of Kuhawaea[11] (north of Matahina) were sold to the lessee of the land (Hutton Troutbeck) in 1883 (Boast 2008:204; Binney 2009:239, 274-278) despite counterclaims from other iwi owners (NMCSA para 51). Troutbeck expanded the property to almost 30,000 acres and used it as an extensive sheep run named Galatea station (Fox and Lister 1949:23). Regular burning of the manuka scrub and overstocking in the following decades depleted the natural fertility reducing the carrying capacity of thirty thousand sheep by a third (Fox and Lister 1949:24). Irrespective of the quality of management practices, general soil fertility in the area was poor.

The problems encountered in establishing English style farms extended to the first school to be opened in the district. Keen for their children to learn English and gain an understanding of English technology and ways of doing things, Ngāti Manawa agreed to 'donate' 315 acres to the Crown for a school at Fort Galatea[12]. Food for the children was to be grown on four acres within the school site but unfortunately, like most land in the area at the time, it proved unsuitable for food crops (Binney 2009:434-435). Māori families had come from throughout the area to enable their children to attend school:

[11] This included Kuhawaea No. 1 block, Kuhawaea No. 2A block and most of Kuhawaea No. 2B block.
[12] To obtain a native school Māori had to 'donate' land to the Crown for the school site and contribute in money or kind to the cost of school buildings (Ewing 1970:10).

> *In October 1883, GE Woods, a teacher at the Native School at Fort Galatea from 1881, reported that there were eleven European stores and between five and six hundred Māori, many living in tents, at the settlement* (Bright 1997:53).

However, with neither school nor parents able to provide food, school attendance was poor[13]. Parents took their children out of school and moved around the area picking up roadwork or sheep shearing to generate income to buy food. Deaths and sickness from recurring epidemics also contributed to low school rolls.

Although farming a flock of 2,000 sheep at Kāramuramu in the early 1880s, Ngāti Manawa was still experiencing economic hardship. When the Native Land Court awarded the iwi a share of Pohokura lands at a rehearing in November 1885, it sought some financial relief by selling its interest in that land in February 1886 (NMCSA para 52). Four months later, the Tarawera eruption of 10 June 1886 forced the iwi to abandon its settlements including the main settlement at Kāramuramu, and seek shelter and food in the forests of Heruiwi (NMCSA para 54). The Galatea school teacher noted that about two inches of ash and lapilli (tephra) fell on the school (Bright 1998:54). The entire area south to Whirinaki was unusable for cultivation for many months after the eruption (Binney 2009: 435). While the Government responded to the needs of the European settlers, little or nothing was done for Māori (Keam 1988:298).

In addition to natural disasters, influenza epidemics and other infectious diseases (including whooping cough, mumps and measles for which Māori had no immunity), swept the area. Dr Robert Hooper (husband of the Galatea school-mistress) was appointed Native Medical Health Officer in 1885. Binney notes Hooper "seems to have been an exceptional doctor, who spoke Māori". He treated over 900 people including vaccinating some against smallpox (Binney 2009:434). In ill-health himself, however, Hooper's work was disrupted by the Tarawera eruption, and he died shortly afterwards. When Galatea school re-opened in March 1887, the new teacher Joseph Wylie wrote to the resident magistrate about the scarcity of food and the need for medical supplies. The Native Department authorised expenditure by Wylie of the standard grant of up to £2 per year on medicines, but this amount was grossly insufficient. Wylie bought medicines and palliatives out of his own salary as the "Natives here are very poor …and have not got the money [to pay for medicine]." (Binney 2009:436). With no doctor in the area until the early 1900s, school teachers were the only source of European medicines for treating the new diseases.

Major flooding of the Rangitaiki river in 1892 devastated crops (Bright 1998:57). Lack of economic development combined with having to attend Land Court hearings at Whakatāne deepened the level of poverty. Facing starvation Ngāti Manawa had few options but to continue to sell its land to the Crown.

By 1892 Ngāti Manawa had parted with 46,200 aces at Heruiwi 4, and a further 16,000 acres in Heruiwi 4B in 1895. Despite the fact that the Native Land Court ordered that Whirinaki Block

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[13] The school first opened in 1877 for a brief period but was never been well attended. AJHR 1878 records "It was opened at the wish and in consequence of the exertions of the chief Peraniko, who is now dead. Since his death the attendance has been nominal and it has now closed." Average attendance June quarter 1878, 7 of 41 enrolled (AJHR 1878 Session I G-07 pp1-2). As at 31 December 1883, 16 students were enrolled at Fort Galatea (AJHR 1884 Session I E-02 pp8, 20), and in 1885, there were 23 (AJHR 1886 Session I, E-02, page 16). On reopening in 1887 following the Tarawera eruption, 32 students were enrolled at year end, attendance averaging 22 in the 4th quarter (AJHR 1888 Session I E-02 p16). In fact the school continued on until 1899, when (due to "the hard conditions of life at Galatea…famine had caused the school to be closed during the last quarter of 1898" AJHR 1899 Session I, E-02 p8), it moved to Te Awangararanui, operating there until the end of 1904. With the exception of a native school at Te Houhi on the Rangitahi River about 12 miles from Waiohau which opened between 1894 and 1906, the Galatea area was then without a school until Rangitahi opened in 1913 (AJHR 1913 Session 1 E-03 p5). A native school opened at Te Whāiti in 1896.

be inalienable, the Government had purchased nearly 21,500 acres of this land from 178 individuals by November 1895. Just over a fifth of the purchase money was consumed by the cost of surveying the land, and a further block of 350 acres in Whirinaki was also acquired by the Crown in 1899 to satisfy survey costs (NMCSA para 61, 62).

The iwi was also preyed on by unscrupulous Europeans who illegally supplied them with alcohol. As the proceeds of the Heruiwi land sale vanished the children suffered through having inadequate clothing and insufficient food. This led the school inspector James Pope to plead with the government to take responsibility, generating a grant of £10 from the Justice Department in 1894 (Binney 2009:439).

Epidemics and mortality followed food shortages. Schools which opened in the district in the late 1890s closed for several months at a time due to widespread famine and measles epidemics during 1897-98 (Binney 2009:443). Across the Ureweras nearly a quarter of the population (particularly children under 15 years) died in the 1898 famine alone. In 1900 there was more extreme weather with the food crops (maize, gourds, pumpkins, kūmara, and potatoes) wiped out by frost. Seed stocks were also lost preventing further planting. Repeated requests for assistance were turned down by the Justice Department in the belief that the people wanted handouts. When food was sent to the district it had to be purchased (Binney 2009:452-456).

Despite the extent of the information available to it on the hardships being experienced by Māori, the Government was in Binney's words "parsimonious" in responding to the crisis, tending to

> *the contemporary view that, as a 'race', Māori were probably doomed. Thus, the government saw no need for efforts in health reform;...the Liberal government remained preoccupied with the fear of creating patterns of dependency by giving handouts* (Binney 2009:461).

At the turn of the century the Crown again ignored its own legislation by illegally purchasing areas of land which the Courts had awarded to Ngāti Manawa within the Urewera District Native Reserve. These illegal actions were retrospectively validated by legislation in 1916.

By 1929 Ngāti Manawa had only around 25,000 acres left scattered across many blocks with more than 1,800 owners, plus some land within the Urewera District Native Reserve (including the Te Whāiti blocks) which it owned in common with other iwi. The Crown continued to freehold this land so that it could purchase it, and its valuable timber stands (NMCSA para 73, 74,75).

Agricultural development

In 1929 the Government provided funds for development schemes to establish viable farms on Māori owned land. Much of the undeveloped land in the scheme was converted to dairy farms but prior to 1937 (when the cause of the debilitating wasting disease 'bush-sickness' affecting stock was at last identified[14]), the land was unsuitable for stock farming. In addition, participation in dairying required

> *access to credit, considerable technical and management expertise and a close connectedness with vets, dairy factories, stock and station agents and banks. Māori largely lacked access to these resources, and the government made little effort to provide them* (Keenan 2013:31).

[14] Stock suffered from a wasting disease popularly labelled 'bush-sickness'. The cause was a mineral deficiency (cobalt) required by ruminants for producing vitamin B12, without which they eventually die.

Farm holdings remained under the control of the Department of Native Affairs and were not made over to families. Despite the lack of progress in consolidating its scattered land blocks, a development scheme was established in January 1937 on Ngāti Manawa land at Karatia and Whirinaki. By March 1939 about 1,700 acres had been developed and 35 men employed. While some owners were allocated land, few had control over their land once it was in the scheme (NMCSA para 97). Section 6 of the Ngāti Manawa Claims Settlement Act 2012 states:

> *Ngāti Manawa had little ability to control the administration of the development scheme. It lost money, and its costs were charged against the land which became heavily indebted* (NMCSA para 99).

By the 1950s many owners were asking for their land to be removed from the scheme. It had been reduced to 3,300 acres by 1957 (Ngāti Manawa Deed of Settlement 2012:32). Following the Second World War a number of farms on Crown land at Kuhawaea were allocated to returned servicemen[15]. Kuhawaea had originally been owned by Ngāti Manawa, but Ngāti Manawa returned servicemen were deemed ineligible for these farms, as Government policy was to only allocate Crown land to returned servicemen considered capable of living in wholly European communities. Moreover, until 1954 applicants for soldier settlement had to be certified as able to farm without supervision. All Māori applicants were certified as requiring the supervision of the Department of Māori Affairs (NMCSA para 102). In a memoir former Kopuriki Road resident, Marion Baird, writes that in the post-WW2 era:

> *The Merrimans were the only Māori family who farmed as 'rehabs' in the Galatea valley and who attended Galatea school. We had little contact with Māori living in Kopuriki, and there were often mutterings about 'under-developed' Māori land* (Baird 2013).

From a Pākehā perspective it seemed that "Māori had no desire to develop their land" (Fox and Lister 1949: 43). However, as Byron Rangiwai (2011) has observed: "what the coloniser saw as wasteland had always been attributed with abundance and sustenance" by its indigenous owners. Moreover, not only had the best land been taken for Pākehā settlement, there was insufficient land in the development scheme to provide an adequate living for everyone. Furthermore, while Pākehā farmers were eligible for funding from the Advances to Settlers Scheme, Māori were excluded if they did not have a Land Transfer Act certificate of title. In addition, land with multiple owners was ineligible for advances because it was not seen as good security, and with often hundreds of owners, loan finance was logistically difficult to obtain (Keenan: 2013:31). Ngāti Manawa farmers were in the same situation as Māori farmers elsewhere. Nightingale, quoting Butterworth (1967:34-35), explains:

> *Unable to obtain sufficient capital* [due to land tenure issues] *and hampered by difficulties in amalgamating or incorporating smaller uneconomic units, Māori farmers could not hope to match these advances* [Pākehā settlers' adoption of mechanisation and improved farming techniques]. *As Māori holdings became less competitive the acreage of productive land declined still further at a time when overpopulation was already straining severely depleted resources* (Nightingale 2007: 29).

The logical solution for Ngāti Manawa was to take work with the Forestry Service on land they had formerly owned.

For those who did farm, living conditions in the 1950s were similar to the conditions experienced by Pākehā farmers a decade earlier (but whereas Pākehā farmers were

[15] These were known as 'rehab' farms. The farms were granted by ballot for the rehabilitation of returned servicemen – many of whom had never farmed before (returned servicewomen were not eligible for these properties).

supported by government funded development, Māori farmers were not). Chapman records that while doing field work for his Geography Masters thesis in the mid-1950s, the Māori smallholders with whom he was billeted just outside Murupara lived a largely subsistence existence:

> *They grew most of their own food, the kitchen and place where we ate had an earth floor, and in the evening*… [I had] *a candle by my bed so I could continue to work* (Chapman 1998:54-55).

Although electricity was reticulated to the logging centre at Murupara when construction of the new town began in 1953 (Rennie 1989: 152), the network did not extend to the farming districts until later[16]. Until it did, milking plants were powered by benzene or kerosene engines.

Further government attempts at land development in the 1960s resulted in further debts, and in the early 1970s Ngāti Manawa sought the return of the remaining 3,300 acres and the writing off, or reduction of, the debt on this land. The Crown refused. In 1972 the owners established the Ngāti Manawa Incorporation and transferred the land to this incorporation, operating dairy, beef and forestry enterprises. Its considerable debts were re-financed as a mortgage on the land. The incorporation succeeded in making a profit, and paid its first dividend in 1979 (NMCSA paras 100-101; Waitangi Tribunal 2009:13).

Forestry development

Covered in rhyolitic pumice ash from the Taupo (around AD200), Kaharoa (1314), and more recent Tarawera eruptions, soils in the district were deficient in trace elements and unsuitable for grazing stock. Thus from 1925 to 1936 the Kaingaroa plains, originally purchased for agricultural development and settlement, were planted in exotic forest (mostly radiata pine) by the fledging State Forest service and private companies such as New Zealand Perpetual Forests Ltd (Poole 1969:38). By the time a remedy for 'bush sickness' was identified (in 1937) the Kaingaroa forest covered 255,000 acres.

In 1947 the Prime Minister instructed the Native Department to proceed with the consolidation of Ngāti Manawa land. This was delayed (and in fact never completed) while the Forest Service acquired further Ngāti Manawa land for processing timber from the Kaingaroa forest (NMCSA para 98). The Crown already owned most of the land in the district, but decided the most suitable site for a pulp and paper mill was on Ngāti Manawa land at Karatia. The Crown eventually built the mill at Kawerau but still took 136 acres at Karatia in 1947 for a log yard and railhead. Ngāti Manawa was told that the project (planting, logging, and milling) would provide its people with employment for generations (NMCSA para 103). Compensation for this land was paid to the Māori Trustee, not the iwi, and was subsequently used to repay the debts on three Karatia blocks arising out of the bungled Ngāti Manawa development scheme (NMCSA para 105).

Forestry work provided employment for many Ngāti Manawa as well as Māori and Pākehā from elsewhere in New Zealand. Overseas migrants were also attracted to the district. In 1953, more than half the Māori workforce in Murupara was employed in the logging industry or the pulp and paper mills (NMCSA para 106). At the time the government had intended to build a newsprint mill at Murupara to use the rapidly maturing Kaingaroa Forest timbers, but without

[16] The Galatea school (now a 'mainstream' primary school located on the eastern side of the Rangitaiki river) was connected to the national grid in 1957 at the same time as the road was sealed (Dixon 1986:33). Ruatahuna (a predominantly Tūhoe settlement in the mountainous bush country to the east) was not connected until 1972 (Rennie: 1989).

notice moved the mill site to Kawerau[17]. Ritchie describes this as "a total betrayal of all the expectations of the people" (Ritchie 1992:34). The inability of government to involve the local people in its planning and decision making was seen as another example of government duplicity:

> *One by one, action by action, bit by bit, they* [the government representatives] *violated the cultural integrity of Murupara. And then they left. After each encounter the community did its best to put itself back together again. But the erosion of autonomy, the invasion of the social and cultural space of the life of Ngāti Manawa, was persistent, rapid and hard to abide* (Ritchie 1992:35).

In 1954 the Government and joint public-private sector company Tasman Pulp and Paper Company Limited formed a private company, the Kaingaroa Logging Company Limited, to handle clear-felling operations and extract logs from Kaingaroa Forest for milling at the Tasman Mill at Kawerau. A second phase of planting began in 1959 with the aim of quadrupling the area in forest over the next 50 years (Roche 2012).

The New Zealand Forest Service (NZFS) maintained a strong sense of social responsibility into the 1980s by providing work for unskilled and semi-skilled locals. In May 1983 it commenced a new planting programme which was mainly designed to create new jobs. It was anticipated that over 1,000 jobs would be created by 1987.

Ngāti Manawa's dependence on NZFS made the iwi vulnerable to shifts in government policy (NMCSA para 107). On 16 September 1985 Cabinet approved the splitting of NZFS into a department of conservation and the Forestry Corporation New Zealand (FCNZ). The remnant of NZFS and the Forest Research Institute became the Ministry of Forestry. In 1987 staffing levels were cut from 7,070 Forest Service workers to 2,770. The latter were mostly workers who accepted contracts to work for FCNZ (Birchfield and Grant 1993:10, 77). For example:

> *At Kaingaroa, Gang 42 consisting of eight Forest Service loggers, transformed itself into Fast Logging Ltd and invested about $350,000 in equipment, purchased mainly from their old employers…they could log in four days what used to be considered a full week's production* (Birchfield and Grant 1993:72)

The remaining workers took redundancy (an attractive option as workers received up to a year's pay) (Birchfield and Grant 1993:70). The villages of Kaingaroa Forest, Murupara and Minginui were severely affected. The Forest Service Office in Murupara itself went from 25 to seven staff in 1987 (Birchfield and Grant 1993:68). Birchfield and Grant note that

> *the redundancies were a short-term palliative, particularly for the large number of less skilled wage workers who could not find new jobs in their home areas* (Birchfield and Grant 1993: 73)

The situation was worsened by the banks, post office, New Zealand Railways, New Zealand Electricity Department, Bay of Plenty Electric Power Board and other agencies and retail outlets closing their offices and outlets in the town. This put tremendous pressure on families (Knowles 2008). By 1993 almost two-thirds of Murupara's population was on a welfare benefit (NMCSA para 109) and many Ngāti Manawa families left Murupara in search of work. Closures continued. Some 140 jobs were lost in the log yard (Joseph *et al* 2004) and in 2006 six of the eight local forestry contractors went out of business (Doherty 2008).

[17] Work began on the Tasman Pulp Mill in 1952 and was completed by 1955. The new site was apparently chosen due to the availability of geothermal steam as a power source, with an initial steam supply direct to the mill commencing in 1957 (Harvey *et al* 2010).

Hydro-power development

Hydro power was the key energy source for electricity provision in the district. Unfortunately multiple uses of rivers were not considered when it was decided to dam the Rangitaiki River to supply the Kawerau mill and its service centres. The dams have had a major impact on the eels which were a critical food source for Ngāti Manawa (NMCSA paras 90-92, 94):

> *Prior to European settlement, Māori had a highly developed fishery for freshwater eels. In the absence of native mammals, eels were enormously important as a basic foodstuff, because they were widespread, abundant, easily caught, and capable of being preserved. As a result, Māori had an extensive knowledge of the ecology of eels, and developed effective fisheries for both* [longfin and shortfin] *species* (Jellyman 2012:10).

The eels average 30-50 years before sexually maturing and migrating downstream (Boubée *et al* 2001:121-123). Building of hydro-electric power stations on the Rangitaiki River (Matahina dam completed 1967, and Aniwhenua in 1981) effectively blocked the passage of mature longfin and shortfin eels to their spawning grounds at sea and also blocked juveniles from returning.

Concerns at the obstructions to eel migration led local residents to manually transfer elvers across the dams from 1983, and while this has been successful with the shortfin species in the lower catchment of the Rangitaiki River, it has had limited success in restocking the previously extensive upstream longfin eel habitats behind the dams (Boubée *et al* 2001:123). The few large eels that remain accessed the headwaters before the dams were constructed. While an elver ladder was installed on Matahina Dam in 1992 (Smith *et al* 2007:iv), and the manual transfer programme continues, a 2007 analysis identified that longfin eels are still scarce (Smith *et al* 2007:29).

Ngāti Whare[18]

Ko Tuwatawata te Maunga, Ko Whirinaki te Awa, Ko Wharepākau te Tangata,
Ko Ngāti Whare te Iwi

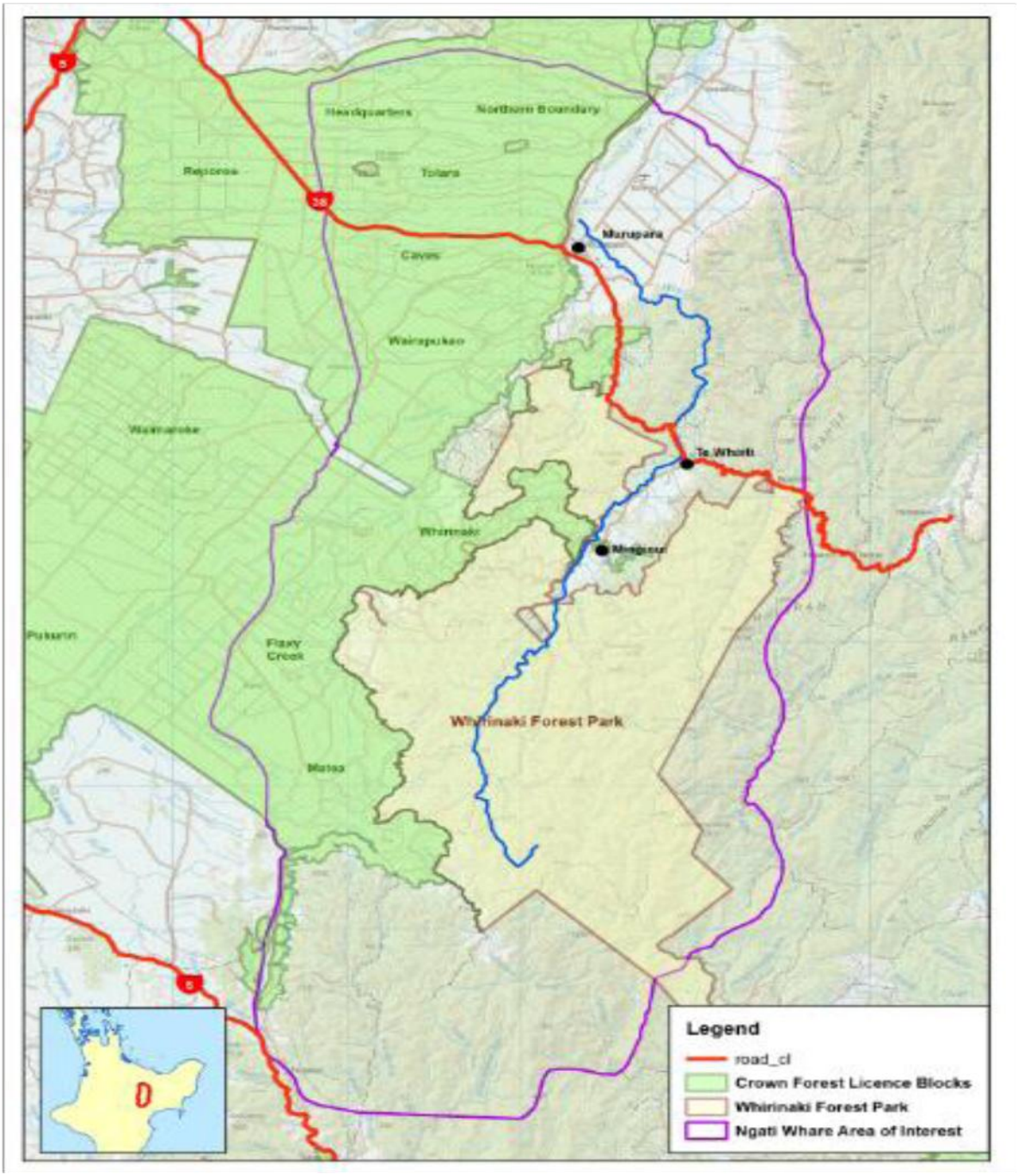
Tuwatawata is the mountain, Whirinaki the river, Wharepākau is our ancestor,
Ngāti Whare is the iwi

The customary rohe of Ngāti Whare runs through the south-west Urewera and parts of the Kaingaroa region (Map 4). It includes the area known as Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi and Minginui Village (located within Whirinaki Conservation Park). The two marae of Ngāti Whare are Waikotikoti and Murumurunga, located at the settlement of Te Whāiti.

Ngāti Whare are descendants of Toi Te Huatahi. Ngāti Whare take their name from their most prominent ancestor, Wharepākau-Tao-Tao-Ki-Te-Kapua (Wharepākau) of the ancient Tini-o-Toi, who had settled around the Bay of Plenty. Over time the descendants of Wharepakau increased in number and prospered, and in the process formed hapū. New pā and kāinga were erected. Patterns of seasonal resource use were developed through Te Whāiti-Nui-a-Toi and neighbouring areas. Strategic marriages were also made with the descendants of Tangiharuru, to whom Ngāti Whare remained closely connected, as well as with others such as the descendants of Ngā Potiki, Tūhoe and Apa Hapai-Taketake. Occasionally people from

[18] This section is predominantly derived from Section 6 of the Ngāti Whare Claims Settlement Act 2012

outside hapū were invited by Ngāti Whare to reside with them and through intermarriage these groups were incorporated as new hapū into Ngāti Whare (NWCSA para 3).



Map 4: **Ngāti Whare Area of Interest** (*Source TRONW 2011*)

The iwi of Ngāti Whare consists of seven hapū:

1. Ngāti Tuahiwi/ Ngāti Whare ki Ngā Potiki;
2. Ngāti Kohiwi;
3. Ngāti Karaha;
4. Ngāi Te Au;
5. Ngāti Hamua ki Te Whāiti;
6. Ngāti Mahanga; and
7. Warahoe ki Te Whāiti.

According to Section 6 of the Ngāti Whare Claims Settlement Act 2012 (NWCSA), Ngāti Whare held their land and resources under collective tribal and hapū custodianship. Their land tenure system did not operate on fixed iwi and hapū boundaries. Ngāti Whare practised a system where the rights of hapū or whānau to travel through, gather resources from, cultivate, or occupy lands depended to a great extent on the genealogical, social and political relationships between different kin groups (NWCSA para 5).

Ngāti Whare did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi. However, by the 1840s they were adopting such European ideas and practices as literacy and Christianity (NWCSA para 7, 8).

Reaching an agreement with Ngāti Manawa in 1864, Ngāti Whare joined with their whānaunga (blood relatives) in the Waikato to fight for the Māori King and against the Crown, while Ngāti Manawa supported the Government (NWCSA para 9).

In 1869 Crown forces pursuing Te Kooti attacked the Ngāti Whare pā Te Harema at Ahikereru. Te Kooti was not there but several Ngāti Whare men were killed, 50 women and children were taken prisoner and many women were raped. As a consequence some of these women committed suicide. Other captured women and children were handed over to Māori troops fighting alongside the Crown, and taken from their rohe “so that this hapū will be destroyed”. Those Ngāti Whare remaining in Te Urewera were told that they could surrender and join their women in exile. Te Harema pā was destroyed (in a “mass of flames”). The Crown forces also looted and destroyed all kāinga (foodstuffs), cultivations, and provisions in the valley (NWCSA para 17, 18). The Ngāti Whare exiles were banished to Te Pūtere where their insufficient government rations had to be supplemented by growing and catching their own food, despite the limited and poor quality land (NWCSA para 22). They were permitted to return to their own lands after 1872 but some Ngāti Whare women felt too shamed to do so (NWCSA para 23).

From the 1870s on the Native Land Court began to investigate the title of land blocks over which Ngāti Whare had an interest. Despite this interest the Native Land Court awarded all blocks to other iwi (NWCSA para 29). Other iwi included Ngāti Whare names on some titles but these people did not represent Ngāti Whare interests, not all names which should have been included were, and when land was sold Ngāti Whare did not receive any money from those sales (NWCSA para 30,31,39). Like Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare people were also affected by the illegal purchase of lands in which Ngāti Whare had an interest within the Urewera District Native Reserve (NWCSA para 39-43, 47-55).

As with Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare suffered severe poverty in the early twentieth century. Regular food shortages and poor housing exacerbated the impact of introduced diseases such as influenza, smallpox, measles, and typhoid. Aside from seasonal work outside Te Urewera there were few sources of income available. In 1898 a series of unseasonal frosts swept through Te Urewera leading to total crop destruction. Other crop failures took place periodically to the 1910s, creating an environment of considerable economic and social stress. Teachers at Te Whāiti Native School regularly informed the Crown about such issues (NWCSA para 44-45) but their pleas for assistance were mostly ignored.

To create income Ngāti Whare tried to sell some of the native timber on its land, but the Crown prevented these timber sales (NWCSA para 46) and also blocked leasing (NWCSA para 48). A consolidation scheme in 1919 ensured that the Crown received the most valuable timbered land, while residue areas unsuitable for forestry or farming “due to their broken or steep nature” were left with iwi (NWCSA para 69).

The Forest Service established a model village at Minginui in 1948. By mid-1950, 69 houses had been built, and by 1980 there were a total of 94 houses at Minginui. Local GP Allan North comments that in 1948:

> *the total population, 80% Māori, was about 1,200 people and lived in three small villages – Te Whaiti, Minginui and Ruatahuna…most of the people lived in their own homes …there did not appear to be much anti-social behaviour or heavy drinking*…[many families] *shifted up to Minginui…because of better housing, electricity, nearness to work, good sanitation and other facilities* (North 1971:174).

In North's view the major problem facing forestry families was lack of constructive things to do. Men drank and gambled at the newly established Working Men's Club in Minginui and when "both parents go, children are left unattended" (North 1971:174)[19]. Other commentators reflected on the lack of employment opportunities and boredom experienced particularly by women living in forestry towns which depended on a single economic activity (Rockell 1971:175; Allen 1971:177; Chapman 1966:50).

Between 1951 and 1981 Minginui supported a population that fluctuated between 374 and 444 persons (NWCSA para 64). Under the administration of the Forest Service from the 1940s to 1984, the social and health conditions experienced by members of Ngāti Whare improved due to enhanced social and health services, good employment, better housing and new schools (NWCSA para 66).

From the mid-1970s urban-based conservation groups lobbied to close Whirinaki Forest to logging without regard to the consequences for local people reliant on the industry. The conservationists' solution was that to protect livelihoods the community could be 'relocated' (Collins 2009:74). In his account of the epic conflict between the conservation movement and the villagers, Forest Service District Ranger Bob Collins observes that the Forest Service had successfully introduced a process of selective logging (including in areas that had been cut-over since the 1930s) which maintained the integrity of the forest (and its birdlife) but this was not understood or was disregarded by the conservation movement (Collins 2009). The entire Minginui community battled to keep their homes, jobs and businesses. In 1979 the Government approved the Whirinaki Forest management Plan allowing for the phasing out of selection logging by 1985 and the establishment of Whirinaki Forest Park[20] (opened 29 April 1984).

Restructuring of the Forest Service in 1985 meant that former Forest Service employees resident in Minginui (mostly Ngāti Whare) were no longer required and there were significant job losses. Unemployment in Minginui was recorded at 51 percent in April 1987 and estimated at 95 percent in late 1988 after the last private mill closed (NWCSA para 75).

According to Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal research Te Whāiti struggled with the same economic decline that devastated Minginui. The private indigenous forestry industry declined and there were few other economic alternatives. Local landowners leased almost 5,000 acres at Te Whāiti to the Forest Service for 90 years, but the lease yielded a low rate or return and little local employment (Waitangi Tribunal 2009:13).

After four decades of relative prosperity, only a handful of Ngāti Whare have been able to earn a living in their own rohe. Many left and those who chose to remain on their traditional lands became, and remain, largely dependent on benefits. This, and a dramatic decline in services, has had a significant impact on Ngāti Whare and the community, including greater poverty and poorer health conditions (NWCSA para 76). Minginui Village did not prosper after 1989. The Crown made a contribution of $100,000, but infrastructure problems identified in 1987

[19] North's commentary reflects the prevailing paternalistic attitudes of the time. For example, wives who worked "should be sent home by 3pm at the latest" to supervise children after school, and "Wife-beating was a favourite pastime – nearly always well deserved" (North 1971:174).
[20] Now Whirinaki Conservation Park

requiring an investment of over $1 million remained unaddressed in 2012 (NWCSA para 77, 79), and apart from the installation of ultrafast broadband, little has been done since then despite several visits from politicians.

Pākehā farming

The earliest European settlers in the (now) Murupara Community Board area were missionaries, school teachers and traders. Due to poor soil fertility the newcomers found it difficult to establish an English pattern of farming on the land alienated by the government. The 1885 report on the Fort Galatea School also highlights the district's isolation when it noted that the teacher:

> *had to pack all his stores from Te Teko, a distance of thirty-three miles. …* [Consequently] *It has been considered fair to give the teacher a special allowance to meet the extra expenses caused by the imperfect means of communication with other places* (AJHR 1885: 9).

Unsatisfactory results from early trials of exotic pasture on the Central Plateau pumice lands meant land alienated by the Crown for agricultural settlement on the Kaingaroa Plains and Galatea areas were deemed unsuitable for settling soldiers returned from the Great War in 1918 (Hodges 1971:23-24, 59).

In 1931, however, the government purchased 22,175 acres of Galatea station for £94,665 to convert into 60 acre dairy farms (Fox and Lister 1949:24-25)[21]. The purchase affected Ngāti Manawa living nearby by restricting their access to traditional resources. Whereas the station's former owner, Troutbeck, had allowed Ngāti Manawa to travel freely across Kuhawaea to reach their seasonal hunting grounds, the Crown now required them to obtain travel permits from the station manager (Bright 1998: 38).

Development of Galatea station was funded by the Crown. Hodges writes:

> *During the period immediately following the takeover of the estate scrub cutting, drainage operations, grassing, shelterbelt planting and fencing went on apace* (Hodges 1971:113).

South of the Whirinaki land for dairy settlement under the auspices of the Small Farms Board (the Murupara block), was also put aside. The Small Farms Board, established in the early days of the depression in 1933, was tasked to settle unemployed men who were 'suitable for rural occupations'. The light marginal pumice lands of the Murupara block and former Galatea station were seen as relatively easy to clear and deemed suitable for settlement (McLintock 1966; Fox and Lister 1949:25).

> *Camps were established on blocks of unimproved or deteriorated Crown land manned by men from the cities who learned something of farming as the land came in out of the rough. As properties were developed, future occupiers were chosen from the ranks of the employees* (McLintock 1966).

In 1934-35 ten share-milking farms consisting of cottages, sheds, yards, piggeries, water supplies, milking machines and general equipment, were established in the Galatea basin. A gravitational water supply serving 6,000 acres (100 concrete troughs) was completed, 600 acres sown in permanent grasses, and 4,500 acres were topdressed and harrowed (Hodges

[21] Prior to this date the Galatea station was said to be unsuitable for settlement because of its distance from a railhead, the cost of cartage, bridging and roading required, plus a feared difficulty in finding settlers for such an isolated locality (Hodges 1971: 61).

1971:114-115). In 1935-36 a further 22 sections were opened for selection (to Pākehā), 16 of which were available on renewable lease. While the Department of Agriculture funded this early development it was less sanguine than the Department of Lands about the suitability of the country for livestock farming and pulled out of land development in Galatea in 1936 (Hodges 1971:114). By 1940 seven of this first group of ballot farmers had walked off their properties leaving behind "the value of all they had put in by way of improvements and hard work… [and this included livestock]" (Coates 1980:61).

Fox and Lister (1949) write of the importance of lucerne as a feed crop which could withstand the frequent severe droughts affecting this district, and of a shift from sheep to cattle. By the late 1930s the 60 acre sections were seen to be too small to yield an adequate income to the new farm-holders. Farms were reorganised by moving tenants to new properties and allotting additional land to generate holdings of 140 acres. Farms then often comprised two or more separate pieces of land carrying 50 to 60 cows producing fresh milk and butterfat (Fox and Lister 1949:42, 45). While post-World War Two farming benefited from the discovery of cobalt as a remedy for bush-sickness, drought was still a key issue (Hodges 1971:128). Nevertheless, under Lands and Survey control, 11 ballots for Galatea sections were held from 1945 to 1958 with around 122 ex-World War II servicemen allocated sections for dairying (Coates 1980:49-56, Bright 1998:68).

Kopuriki Road farm resident Marion Pountney Baird relates her grandmother, father and uncle's experience of the district immediately after the Second World War:

> *the conditions were pioneering when my father and his brother came to Galatea in 1946: 'bone-shattering' metal road access and less than basic conditions - no electricity, a simple hut, a camp oven over open fire for cooking, and barely broken-in land* (Baird 2013).

By 1949 it was recognised that the critical problems for the new settlers was a lack of water, a need for fertiliser to build soil fertility, and reticulation of electric power (Fox and Lister 1949: 34-42, 45).

The timber towns

Following the establishment of Minginui, the New Zealand Forest Service developed additional 'timber towns' at Murupara and Kaingaroa Forest in 1953. The model town at Murupara was planned and built by the Ministry of Works near the ancient settlement of Kiorenui which at that time had about 50 homes of mainly Ngāti Manawa families (Waka Huia 1998). There was no input or participation in the new settlement from the existing local communities (Ritchie 1992:32). Chapman writes of Ngāti Manawa as a close-knit community centred on (four) local marae, and of the equally close-knit state-assisted dairy farming settler community:

> *Prior to the construction of the new town, Murupara was a small village whose post-office, two stores, butcher and baker met the immediate needs of the Māori and dairy farm communities nearby …Had the planners of the new town been aware of this social fabric* [two very different but well established communities]*, many of the heartbreaks which Murupara experienced during the first tumultuous years of its existence would have been softened, possibly even avoided. …in the first years of Murupara's existence, social contact between dairy farmer and logger seldom moved beyond the hotel bar, and …Māori had little to do with these newcomers outside of working hours* (Chapman 1966:51).

Initially 350 houses were to be built in Murupara (Ritchie 1992:32), but without the need for mill housing (once the mill site was shifted to Kawerau) the Government built just over 200 houses and a single men's camp (McClintock 1998:2). Into this town came an influx of " 'blue-eyed, red-faced, crew-cut, funny speaking' strangers" (Paraki 2009: 6) many of whom, brought-in to take skilled positions, found local living conditions different from that to which they were accustomed. Ritchie (who was undertaking field work for his Ethno-Psychology Doctorate in Murupara between 1953 and 1956) writes that 100 Canadian immigrants arrived in Murupara (which at the time had a population of about 700 people) in the first quarter of 1955 to work on forest development:

> *These people were highly dissatisfied with living conditions in Rakau* [Richie's name for Murupara], *the isolation of the town from entertainment and shopping facilities, the general lack of amenities, and the policies and practices of their employers. They were under a three-year bond to the company but many wanted to find ways of breaking the bond and leaving* (Ritchie 1963:170)

Newcomers included Māori from elsewhere in New Zealand "who were facing pressure to migrate in order to find work" (Nightingale 2007:157), as well as Pākehā and overseas immigrants.

> *Murupara… appears not only to have attracted Māori workers from the immediate hinterland surrounding it, but from all over the North Island and grew rapidly between 1961 and 1966… By 1966, Māori timber workers and their families made up 56 per cent of Murupara's total population of 2,670*. (Nightingale 2007:159)

Chapman's (1966) analysis focuses on the uprooting of newcomers from their former surroundings as well as the impacts of in-migration on the existing population. While local residents were pleased that the new homes came with electricity and inside toilets, and that there was a new shopping centre, post office and hotel (Paraki 2009:6), the complete disruption of the Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare way of life, cultural worldview and tikanga caused consternation and social upheaval. Ritchie comments on the situation in Murupara in the mid-50s:

> *All the classic shifts were happening, People gave up their household gardens and switched almost entirely to shop food…The marae committee no longer used its authority to fine people for misdemeanours, there was a policeman now. They could no longer depend on jobs in forestry for their school-leavers. Others from elsewhere, with skills, were attracted in and got the new jobs….Cliques formed…There was certainly no concept of tribal reconstruction. The solutions proposed to most problems tended to be based on urban concepts of Government agencies delivering every needed social service...trade training and employment activities of government were urban based, assumed intent to migrate and contained no support for a continuing sense of being Māori* (Ritchie 1992: 36-37).

To cope with these dramatic changes, the tangata whenua of Murupara began, in the words of Paraki (2009:7) "to look for answers from their own *kete mātauranga* (baskets of knowledge)", and for the most part found a way to accommodate and adjust to the new ways, collaborate with the newcomers and engage in the new economic opportunities.

With the influx of 'visitors' the new township attracted new business. Between 1950 and 1980 Murupara went from three shops, a fishing lodge and post-office, to: a hotel, a motel, two supermarkets, a TAB, a pharmacy, two furniture shops, two menswear retailers, a women's clothing and drapery shop, a wine shop, two electrical shops, two fish shops, two dairies, a coffee bar, a restaurant, two banks, Borough Council office, and two petrol stations (Bird

1980:2), a hairdresser from the late sixties to late seventies and for part of that time an auction house and a taxi business (Di Maio 2009), as well as the post-office, fishing lodge and motor camp. There was also a bakery, swimming pool, and a picture theatre showing movies two nights a week in Murupara (and one night each at Minginui and Kaingaroa) (Interview AP12.02.14).

At that time almost 60% of houses in Murupara were rented from employers while 29% were owner occupied (compared with 4% rented from employers nationally and 71% owner-occupied)[22].

> *Some of our informants described Murupara during the 1960's as "*a booming town", "a place where you came, you worked, made your dollars and lef*t" and "*peaceful*". Residents had high incomes and the town had many of the facilities that existed in Rotorua. A housewife who came from Rotorua in 1964 remembered it as a "*young people's town*", where the housing was uniform and "*very basic and plain*". There were a large number of families with young children residing in the town, and heavy drinking at the hotel and private parties was a feature of the social life of some of the residents* (McClintock 1998:2)

In addition to the dramatic change in population composition and material culture offered by the new retail outlets and growth of consumerism, the nature of work also changed. Local iwi were now dependent on a very narrow range of employment opportunities[23] and to ensure a continuous supply of timber to the mill a disproportionate number of local employees became shift-workers. Inability to cope effectively with the tensions and disruptions of shift-work led to adverse impacts on community and personal life (McClintock and Taylor 1983:43-45).

With half of Tasman Forestry Ltd's employees redundant in 1987 and many of the newly re-employed contract workers' businesses failing in following years, the town of Murupara was devastated (Scott and Pawson 1999:189). Interviewed by Alan Knowles for a *New Zealand Geographic* article in 2008, Councillor Jacob Te Kurapa described the situation as follows:

> *With big families all the available money went on food, and when they could no longer feed themselves adequately, they turned to alternative sources of income such as drug dealing and other forms of crime. Unemployment became inter-generational when children, and then grandchildren, saw relatives without jobs as the norm. There was no money to travel and exploit opportunities elsewhere, such as offered by further education, and thus to break the cycle* (Jacob Te Kurapa paraphrased in Knowles 2008).

Unemployment at the 1991 census was 22% of the labour force, but Scott quoting Department of Statistics figures from 1992 notes that another 765 people over 15 years of age were classified as not working (Scott 1995:114).

> *A good number of these people paid off their houses with their redundancy money and have been living on state welfare benefits, supplemented by "food from the bush" ever since. Informal work such as "creative horticulture" (cannabis cultivation) and under-the-table possum trapping is also undertaken by some* (Scott 1995:114).

The underfunded Murupara Employment Resource Centre was relatively ineffective in promoting local development initiatives, and nor did Murupara benefit from the state's policy emphasis on small business training, 'enterprise' and 'self-reliance'. Scott quotes the Centre

[22] 1981 Census data compiled by McClintock and Taylor (1983: 67)

[23] About three-quarters of the male workforce and one-quarter of the female workforce was engaged in forestry work in the 1980s.

Manager (who had been working unpaid for the previous seven weeks at the time of the interview):

> …*where you don't have hordes of people wanting to start their own business it* [the Be Your Own Boss scheme] *has little function. We've facilitated 4 or 5 businesses. But economic development here* [in Murupara] *is not going to depend on the development of small businesses. What we've got to do here contemporaneous with employment creation projects is to provide for training needs and maintain essential community services* (Scott 1995:116).

That social service delivery was just as essential for getting people into employment as job training schemes was not recognised at the time (Scott 1995:116). Households became reliant on welfare benefits, a mixture of part-time and temporary employment, and self-employment, as well as informal work (Scott and Pawson 1999:193-4). Local government also had nothing to offer the community. Whakatane District Council rejected a motion to spend one percent of its rates on employment initiatives (Scott 1995:116). In the words of Joe Doherty[24]:

> *The 90s were dark days. Forestry washed its hands of this town, families packed up and left, and the social fabric of Murupara steadily fell apart. Declining school rolls made it difficult to secure teachers. Parents lost faith and sent their children to Rotorua each day by bus. Eventually, for many, it was easier to move* (Doherty 2008).

It was left to tribal authorities to re-build self reliant economic bases, despite their meagre resources.

Colonial ethos and practices

Colonial attitudes had a damaging impact on Māori. This section reviews the consequences for Māori, and particularly those living in Murupara, of the English education system, Pākehā failure to recognise indigenous knowledge, and the impact of racist attitudes on Mäori employment opportunities. Nightingale argues that:

> *Successive government policies of racial amalgamation, assimilation, adaptation, and integration* [of Māori] *from 1840 through to the early 1970s, assumed that civilisation and integration were one-way processes. Government policies were predicated on concepts of assimilation and individualisation in a plethora of government initiatives in health, education, housing and social welfare, most of which were unilaterally justified on the grounds of progress and modernisation* (Nightingale 2007:ii).

Butterworth (1967:73) observes that this was certainly an explicit intent of the Native Lands Act 1865. Quoting the first Premier of New Zealand Henry Sewell[25] (NZ Parliamentary Debates 1870, Vol 9, p361) one of the objects of the Act (introduced under the Stafford Government) was:

> *the detribalisation of the natives – to destroy if it were possible the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the native race into our own social and political system* (Butterworth 1967:73).

[24] Joe Doherty is Tūhoe.

[25] Sewell was in favour of Māori-run institutions with the authority to supervise all Māori land deals but was unable to obtain support for this policy http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Sewell

Education

Assimilation was clearly one outcome expected of education policy by the Crown. The Native Trust Ordinance of 1844 explicitly stated that the goal of instruction for Māori was to "assimilate as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population" (quoted in Nightingale 2007: 92), and when the school at Fort Galatea was re-opened in 1881, Binney notes it was "primarily to reinforce English values and the English language" (Binney 2009:433).

> *Whereas Māori wanted to extend their existing body of knowledge, the state, through its assimilation policy, intended to replace Māori culture with that of the European. Māori were embracing schooling as a means of maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life chances. The state on the other hand was supporting schooling as a means to securing control over Māori and their resources* (Simon 1998:9, emphasis in the original).

Moreover, colonial education policy was based on the belief that:

> *Assimilation would be greatly expedited by actively discouraging Māori language, belief systems and culture and actively promoting Pakeha belief systems and culture* (Nightingale 2007:92).

There was no recognition or perception that, as McClune (2013) indicates:

> *Māori education had existed long before the arrival of the Pākehā settlers ...Specialised schools of learning called whare wānanga*... [facilitated] *higher learning for those of high rank and standing. Whare wānanga also taught iwi and hapū leaders advanced forms of knowledge essential to the welfare of their people* … [including] *tribal whakapapa (genealogy), the arts of warfare and peace, astronomy, navigation, agriculture, hunting, whakairo (carving), childbirth and many others* (McClune 2013:3)

The Native Schools Code issued in 1880 aimed to have "full use of English in the classrooms as soon as possible" (Ewing 1970:9). While it was recognised that this goal was impractical, teaching English was regarded as critical. Unfortunately, as a result, children were expected to not only learn in a foreign language, but to read from material which was totally alien to their own experiences such as the *Royal Readers*[26], *Illustrated London News* and *Harpers Weekly*. This was only marginally partially countered by the Native Schools' Inspector, James Pope, drafting a native school reader that was translated into te reo Māori (Ewing 1970:9-10).

With an expectation that "the Māoris were threatened with extinction", Pope introduced text books such as *Health for the Māori* and extended the native school syllabus to include European agricultural, technical and health instruction. Schools were also used as centres to distribute new crops and to demonstrate improved farming methods (Ewing 1970:9-10).

In the mainstream schools (which Māori children also attended) changes in the curriculum and syllabus after 1904 resulted in the introduction of the *School Journal* which included more New Zealand-based exemplars including a series of Māori legends (in English). Native schools were expected to follow the 'direct method' for teaching English (Simon 1998), and while it is clear that some teachers continued to allow some instruction in Māori "There was never any perception that children could be fluently bilingual in Māori and English" (Selby 1999:15).

Concern was expressed about the need for a "better education for Māori pupils" (Ewing 1970:92). Changes to the curriculum in 1929 resulted in a general reorganisation of Māori education in the native schools with emphasis on activities seen to be of practical value to

[26] These used excerpts from English poetry, plays and novels

Māori including woodwork, housecraft, agriculture, Māori art and crafts and Māori history, together with attempts to interest parents in the work of the schools (Ewing 1970:183). It did not include the teaching of te reo (Simon 1998:18).

Use of the Māori language within the school and its grounds was actively discouraged and children severely punished if caught speaking it[27]. For some the experience was so traumatic they lost their capacity to speak te reo Māori even when ironically it later became a subject which could be learnt at the secondary or tertiary level (Selby 1999).

Furthermore the emphasis on English language and British culture affected learning. As Jane Ritchie observes:

> *Children who cannot sit still and pay attention to the teacher, children who cannot understand the teacher's instructions and who cannot answer the teacher's questions, children without previous experience of books and the language that goes with them, will be at a grave disadvantage from the moment they enter school and some will never overcome this initial handicap. These children are doomed to failure from the moment they enter school* (Ritchie 1978: 1).

Teaching emphasis remained on getting students to pass the subjects required for proficiency[28] until the certificate was abolished in 1936[29]. Māori students were in a double bind. Teaching for proficiency was geared to the life experience of students with a British heritage, and the Native/Māori schools emphasis on practical skills and manual training was at the expense of training for the professions. Nightingale's analysis of Parliamentary and other records identifies that at the start of the 20th century it was intended that schooling for Māori would place them on a lower socio-economic footing compared to Pākehā (Nightingale 2007:95-100). Apart from the lucky few (boys[30]) who secured scholarships to attend private secondary boarding schools such as Te Aute College in Hawkes Bay (enabling them to gain the education they required to attend university), Māori students were steered towards unskilled, semiskilled, manual and labouring work, whether in rural or urban areas (Metge 1964, Nightingale 2007:33, 96).

Post-war there was a major shortage of teachers nationally, while rolls rapidly expanded. Ritchie's (1963: 112) field work undertaken in Murupara between 1953 and 1956, illustrates the issue:

> *The infant room* [of the primary school] *is very overcrowded with a total of sixty-one children to one trained teacher and one untrained assistant…. as Māori is the language of infancy in the home the early infant room experience of children is particularly important to the development of essential English language and reading skills…In an overcrowded classroom the teacher must resort to mass teaching techniques ill-adapted to the needs of children. The children who have the greatest command of English, the Pakeha children and those from highly acculturated Māori homes,*

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[27] This practice was the norm elsewhere in the Commonwealth and Britain. For example Welsh children were also punished when caught not speaking English at primary school into the 50s.

[28] Without either a national junior scholarship or a proficiency certificate, students could not attend secondary school – required for university and entrance to the professions. If they achieved a competency certificate they could attend a technical school. Without that they could only receive trade training or take domestic occupations (Ewing 1970:183). Left-hand writing was also discouraged (Ewing 1970:228).

[29] After 1936 students were still expected to reach a 'minimum standard' and required a certificate to enter the secondary school system (Ewing 1970:192).

[30] The education of Māori girls was "primarily directed to making the girls good mothers and housewives" (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974:179).

> *naturally make the best progress, and amongst the rest confidence problems and general behaviour problems are, naturally, not uncommon.*

In 1953, at the age of eight years, Robert Paraki was experiencing first-hand the effect of the changes brought by forestry development to Murupara's only primary school, Rangitahi Māori School[31]. These included the recruitment of foreign teachers, frequent changes of teacher, overcrowding, inadequate facilities and equipment, as well as on-going changes in the school curriculum and national syllabus of instruction.

Speaking an indigenous language was still a punishable offence at this time. Paraki writes of his Murupara school experience:

> *From my time in the infant department my Māori language was basically 'strapped' out of me. There were tears all around from my peers and just to ask the pouako* [teacher] *to go to the toilet, proved to be a most embarrassing experience for all of us. We all had to ask for permission in English and if you couldn't then 'toilet accidents' happened* (Paraki 2009:21).

According to Metge (1976:97) the Department of Education officially stopped punishing children for speaking Māori at school in the early sixties, but the practice continued for some years after this. Consequently, from te reo Māori being the only language used in 95% of Māori homes in the 1930s, by the 1960s the majority of Māori spoke English only[32]. This was not an issue where te reo Māori flourished in Māori-speaking communities. However, where communities, homes, schools and workplaces all became English-speaking, the link between language and culture was severed, and with this came social, cultural and political dislocation.

The loss of te reo Māori was accompanied by a loss of cultural experience and identity, shifting values, and socialisation and behavioural issues. At the same time, poor instruction meant that knowledge of English for many Māori students was also "severely limited in conceptual range" (Butterworth 1967:106).

School text books did not include information about Māori life and culture. Nor was the wealth produced by Māori, their ownership of flour mills and other industries, and trade with Australia in the 19th century (see for example Petrie 2010), acknowledged. Instead the text books marginalised Māori knowledge, history and custom (Penetito 2010:58). Bishop and Glynn (1999) comment on how the textbooks used in New Zealand classrooms from 1926 to the 1950s predominantly focused on Britain. For example, they note that 160 out of 190 pages of the Standard 3 text book in the series *Our Nations Story* were devoted to the story of British people. The 30 pages which looked at Māori took a "demeaning, patronising tone" (Bishop and Glynn 1999: 21). 'Information' on Māori was divorced from the historical context, and attacked their cultural integrity and identity (Bishop and Glynn 1999: 21-25). The assimilationist agenda did not end in the fifties. Bishop and Glynn cite Peter Woodcock's textbook *The Cultures Collide*, published in 1988, as ignoring contemporary scholarship and evidence, and

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[31] A secondary department was added to Rangitahi Māori School in 1947 (Ritchie 1956:15). Rangitahi District High School catered for Years 1 to 13, only becoming a discrete secondary school (Rangitahi College) in 1955 when the new Murupara Primary School opened. Murupara Primary was followed by Tawhiuau Primary in the 1970s. The two primary schools merged in 1999. The then vacant Tawhiuau school became the site for a "school of special character", a kura-a-iwi for students from years 1 to 13 which opened in 2000.

[32] Metge notes that Māori parents generally supported the emphasis on English in schools as the key to the advancement of their children in a Pākehā world (Metge 1976:97). Nonetheless, while Kaumātua supported the learning of English, they did not expect this to be at the expense of te reo Māori. When (in 1939) Sir Āpirana Ngata realised how few primary school age Māori children could speak Māori, he shifted his earlier stance that just English be taught at school, to seeking for both languages to be taught (Williams 2001:144-145, Barrington and Beaglehole 1974:206-207).

perpetuating notions of British cultural superiority and the desirability of Māori integration into 'mainstream' culture.

In addition, students were expected to learn numeracy and literacy skills based on European 'domestic, economic and civic conditions of life' (Ewing 1970:211) most of which were a complete mystery to Māori children and an obstacle to progress. Paraki's experience is typical:

> *Our pouako were mainly Pākehā so we were constantly taught with many of their own experiences which continued through to the secondary system including classes being streamed. As a consequence of this we were consistently placed in lower classes….Even with a successful workforce working in the local district the Māori tauira* [students] *attending this school continued to suffer under its educational policies. Apparently this was also happening throughout many New Zealand schools during this particular period. As a consequence many of the Māori tauira (at Murupara) left school at an early age to take up labouring positions with the logging company and for many of them this was an early exit from an education system that they were never comfortable with* (Paraki 2009:21-22).

Māori primary schools were converted to secondary schools by simply encouraging the students to stay for a further two years. These secondary schools did not make any attempt at providing a 'college' education for their students (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974:177-179). While providing a better learning environment for Māori children than the mainstream schools, according to Ritchie the quality of education at the secondary level also left a lot to be desired. From his 1953 field notes he says of Rangitahi Māori School (which he calls Rakau):

> *The Māori district high school, of which Rakau is one example, was founded on a craft-school tradition…*[This emphasis on] *woodcraft, horticulture and agriculture for boys, and cooking, homecraft, and sewing for the girls, is hardly justifiable…* [and does not meet] *an increasing complexity in the skills which will be demanded of those who work in Rakau* [or elsewhere] *…. The high school …was also too small to offer the specialised teaching its wide curriculum demanded…* [despite] *the hard work of the teachers who showed more than average devotion, skill and industry (*Ritchie 1963:113-114).

Curriculum issues[33], lack of expert tuition, equipment and facilities, all had major implications for the range of employment opportunities Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare rangatahi (youth) could access on leaving school, whether obtaining jobs in urban areas or closer to home.

In 1956 the Rangitahi Māori School was 'mainstreamed' and handed over to the local education board. This did not signal improvements for, or in any way address the needs of, students affiliated with Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare in particular or Māori students in general. As Ritchie notes, the educational issues experienced by Māori students attending Rangitahi arose from the initial language problems they faced from their first year of schooling (Ritchie 1963:116). The outcome has lifelong impacts, as one young person explains in another context:

> [the teacher would] *say "how can you not understand, everyone else has understood it. And* [since] *you didn't you must not have been listening". Yeah, I was listening but I didn't quite understand it. Then they think you're just being smart. Next thing, they send you out* [of the classroom] *and then you get angry and you leave school* (Owens 2001:180).

[33] Ritchie comments that mathematics, for example, was not taught above fourth-form level and few students obtained competence even at that level (Ritchie 1963:114).

Despite all the inadequacies of the Māori schools, when absorbed into the mainstream, Māori students were even less well served than before (Simon 1998). Bishop and Berryman's (2006) in-depth research on what it is like to be a young Māori in a New Zealand secondary school classroom draws on student, whānau, teacher and principal perspectives. Their analysis shows that irrespective of how engaged the students are, mainstream schooling is a negative experience for Māori predominantly because of the often monumental clash of cultures between teachers and students. In not understanding Māori culture, excellent, hard-working Pākehā teachers sometimes don't recognise that they can make significant differences in their student's learning experience by taking an active role in the teacher-student learning relationship, and not trying to assimilate their students into the majority culture (Bishop and Berryman 2006:251-254).

Over and over, Māori who somehow managed to work their way through the system report similar negative experiences. For example, Wally Penetito's[34] recollection of primary school is that:

> *apart from being taught to read, little else that we were force-fed appeared to have much meaning. A lot of what was learned was acontextual…At secondary school…we only learned by hit or miss…I found schooling remote, detached, separate and institutionalised: schools were places set up for Pākehā kids while Māori waited around for their turn to come* (Penetito 2010:29):

Too many teachers believe that the reason so many Māori students fail to gain qualifications at secondary school is because they don't work hard enough, or have no home support (Bishop and Berryman 2006:258, Penetito 2010:32-33). Too few teachers understand that:

> *the attitudes they or their colleagues held about Māori students might actually contribute to the levels of achievement, motivation, desire to stay at school, resilience and realisation of potential that were reflected in the students' behaviours* (Penetito 2010: 33).

That students at Rangitahi did succeed[35] is attributed by Ritchie to:

> *the high regard in which the community held the new high school. It was enveloped in the traditions and sentiments built up over the years around the primary school. The innovation was welcomed and supported. A small meeting house built in the school grounds and named after the major pa symbolized the close ties between community and school* (Ritchie 1956:15).

Indigenous Knowledge

It is not only within the education system that western approaches to knowledge have sought to dominate and invalidate alternative ways of knowing. As Simmonds[36] explains quoting Leanne Simpson:

> *Elders have always passed into the next realm and IK [Indigenous Knowledge] systems have always been primarily oral, yet they sustained complex social, cultural,*

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[34] Wally Penetito is Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tamatera

[35] Ritchie (1956:15) notes that "if examinations are any indication, the school made a good beginning in securing passes in the School Certificate examination … before any other of the Maori District High Schools established at about the same time. By national standards the quality of education offering through the curriculum and teaching at this high school was equal to that available in any Education Board administered D.H.S. of comparable size. Standards of attainment may not have been quite as high but when all things are considered the progress of educational improvement in the area was remarkable."

[36] Simmonds is Ngāti Raukawa; Simpson is Canadian

spiritual, and political systems long before the arrival of the Europeans. The answers to how and why our knowledge has become threatened lie embedded in the crux of the colonial infrastructure, and unless properly dismantled and accounted for, this infrastructure will only continue to undermine efforts to strengthen IK systems and to harm the agenda of decolonization and self-determination (Simpson 2004:375).

Under the influence of the Christian missions and various pieces of Colonial legislation and ideology, the knowledge of Māori has been undermined. Women in particular have felt that what they knew was not important or 'not good enough' (Simmonds 2014: 116-118). Moreover, the shift to speaking in English meant that often concepts couldn't be explained. One of Simmonds interviewees explains:

> *You had to look and listen but you weren't allowed to ask any questions. That's how we were brought up here. If you wanted to know about 'why do you do that?',* [you were told] *'shut up, you just look and listen!' but then I discovered later on as I got older and my father, mother and I had a good relationship and I was able to ask them why that was. And I discovered that in actual fact they didn't have the words to explain it in English. They could talk about it in Māori but they couldn't in English (Wānanga ipu group, September 2010)* (Simmonds 2014:120).

Employment

In the workforce, the discrimination which Māori had experienced at school continued with their over-representation in the low-status, low-paid, unskilled and manual occupations. Nationally "[m]ore than two-thirds of Māori males but less than one-third non-Māori males in 1956 were unskilled workers" (Nightingale 2007: 160). In Murupara nearly 90% of the male workforce engaged in manual occupations (McClintock and Taylor 1983:51). While forestry workers engaged in clearfelling heavy timber could make good money due to the dangerous nature and skill required, few Māori obtained managerial positions. Thomson writes:

> *My one concern is that the Māori people have not assumed the place they should in the higher ranks of forest management. Māoris comprise a large part of our labour force but a very small part of our permanent staff. We have perhaps 50 Māoris out of 2,500 on the staff of the Forest Service; the number should be many times this. Most particularly we should have a far higher proportion of Māoris in the purely forestry operations — as professional foresters, as forest rangers and as forest foremen. Perhaps it is one of the greatest challenges to the Māori people, so many of whom live in and depend on a forest or a forest industries environment, to see that they take their rightful place as leaders in forestry* (Thomson 1971:185-186).

Admission to the professional and managerial ranks in employment was hindered by not only inadequate access to education but also the outright racist attitudes[37] held by Murupara's newcomers towards indigenous residents (see for example Ritchie 1963: 169-172).

Mr Kingi Pōrima of Tainui descent (Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Māhanga), was one of the few who did move into management. He came to Murupara in the 1950s at the age of 16, and undertook a four-year forestry cadetship, graduating in 1957. He then obtained a field officer's position with the Kaingaroa Logging Company in Murupara. Out of 26 trainees only one or two

[37] Stereotypical characteristics ascribed to Maori are summarised by Nightingale: "Corresponding to their age and marital status, and to the undesirable and monotonous nature of many of the jobs that were available to them, new arrivals from rural areas often underwent a period of high job mobility and thus Maori workers become stereotyped as unreliable and/or lazy. These perceptions by Pakeha about the capabilities and suitability of Maori occupations only served to intensify the self-perpetuating patterns of Maori concentration in low status jobs" (Nightingale 2007: 161).

were selected for management and Mr Pōrima was successful in obtaining the intensive short-course training necessary. He was seconded to the field where he was responsible for managing 180 people including truck drivers, log handling and loading, the workshop, and rail-head transportation. After five years in the field, Mr Pōrima was seconded to Head Office to work in personnel management, dealing with union and other issues. From there he was appointed National Training Manager responsible for co-ordinating training to reduce the number of fatal accidents. This role took him to Invercargill, Nelson, Gisborne, and the Waikato, as well as the Bay of Plenty. Despite his work experience, without a degree, Mr Pōrima was unable to advance further with the company and ultimately resigned after 34 years (K Pōrima interview 12/2/14).

Information from the 1998 Waka Huia programme on Murupara reflect that in the heyday of forestry work (1970s and early eighties) the men were predominantly engaged in manual labour and as machinery operators and truck drivers. One of the men interviewed by the programme, Koro Tihema noted that around the time he was born, 1937 “most of our parents and elders were walking the roads to find work”. By 1998, with the loss of forestry employment “the same thing has occurred; right back to the 1930s [depression], and now we are suffering unemployment again. After 50 years we’ve gone back to that same situation” (Koro Tihema, Waka Huia 1998).

The situation for unqualified Māori women was even worse than for the men. Also faced with gender inequality that systematically excluded women from the paid workforce, only a very narrow range of occupations was available such as forest nursery work, planting or pruning, teacher assistant or shop assistant. Only a very few women were able to leave Murupara to obtain teachers’ college or nursing training.

This employment history is reflected in current census data, analysed in Part 3 below.

PART 3: CURRENT SITUATION

Part 3 provides a snapshot[38] of the current demographic and socio-economic status of the people of the Community Board Area of Murupara. This picture is then placed in the context of availability and access to services, and the response and part played by the Rūnanga in addressing the needs of local people.

Numbers of people, ethnicity and iwi

The change in population numbers for Murupara at each census (Table 1) is a reflection of the changes in the fortunes of the timber industry discussed above. While Minginui village has also lost people from forestry restructuring, the farming population which dominates the Matahina-Minginui area unit has remained relatively stable.

Table1: Population selected locations and iwi at various census dates*

Year	Total population of Murupara**	Total population of Matahina-Minginui		Number of people and proportion of population of Māori descent living in Murupara	Number of people and proportion of population of Māori descent living in Matahina-Minginui		Pro-portion of NZ resident Ngāti Manawa Iwi living in Murupara	Pro-portion of NZ resident Ngāti Whare Iwi living in Matahina-Minginui
1951	225							
1956	869							
1961	1,571							
1966	2,670							
1971	2,760							
1976	2,961							
1981	3,003	1,935						
1986	2,595	1,968						
1991	2,394	1,722						
1996	2,205	1,752						
2001	1,959	1,587		1,647 (84%)	816 (51%)		27%	10%
2006	1,839	1,464		1,521 (83%)	762 (52%)		19%	12%
2013	1,656	1,335		1,269 (77%)	633 (47%)		18%	12%

* *Census figures are rounded by up to +/- 3*

*** Population 1951-1976 from McClintock & Taylor 1983:27. These figures are for the census night population as usually resident population numbers were not available until 1976*

Table 2: Ethnicity of usually resident population at selected locations, 2001-2013*

Area unit / 2001	European	Māori	Pacifika	Asian
Murupara	23%	84%	4%	0%
Matahina-Minginui	49%	51%	2%	1%
2006				
Murupara	18%	83%	4%	1%
Matahina-Minginui	44%	52%	1%	1%
2013				
Murupara	15%	77%	3%	1%
Matahina-Minginui	49%	47%	2%	1%

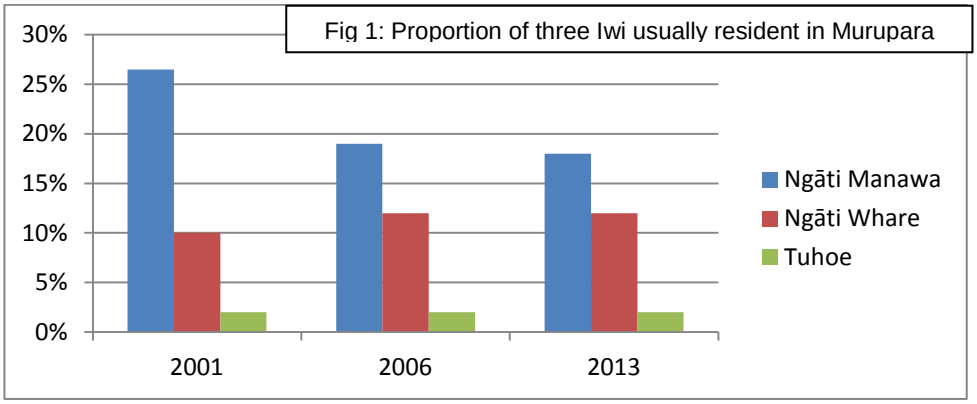
**Note: individuals may have more than one ethnicity*

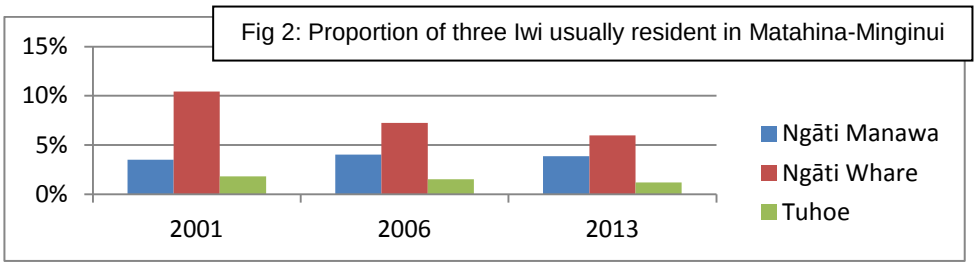
[38] This snapshot is based on publicly available census data. Unless otherwise specified, census data is from the Statistics New Zealand website using the online table-building tool.

The population of Murupara is predominantly Māori (Tables 1 & 2), but Māori of many different iwi. Many Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare have dispersed across New Zealand and elsewhere in search of work, while members of other iwi who came for work have remained.

While there are more people in Murupara and Matahina-Minginui of Tūhoe descent than from any other iwi, only a tiny proportion of Tūhoe actually live in these two area units (Table 3). Murupara and Matahina-Minginui are still key places of residence for Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. Other iwi that feature in residents' lineage include Te Arawa, Ngāpuhi, Tūwharetoa and Kahungunu.

TABLE 3: Numbers of three iwi, three locations	2001	2006	2013
Ngāti Manawa usually resident in Murupara	408	366	402
Ngāti Manawa usually resident in Matahina-Minginui	54	78	87
Ngāti Manawa resident in New Zealand	1,542	1,941	2,253
Ngāti Whare usually resident in Murupara	69	150	156
Ngāti Whare usually resident in Matahina-Minginui	72	93	75
Ngāti Whare resident in New Zealand	690	1,281	1,254
Tūhoe usually resident in Murupara	678	630	600
Tūhoe usually resident in Matahina-Minginui	528	492	414
Tūhoe resident in New Zealand	29,256	32,670	34,887





In the last decade there has been a movement out of Murupara by people of Māori descent (and Fig 1 shows that this particularly applies to Ngāti Manawa), as well as of people generally. The age pyramids and profiles show that this movement is generally young people leaving for tertiary education and/or employment.

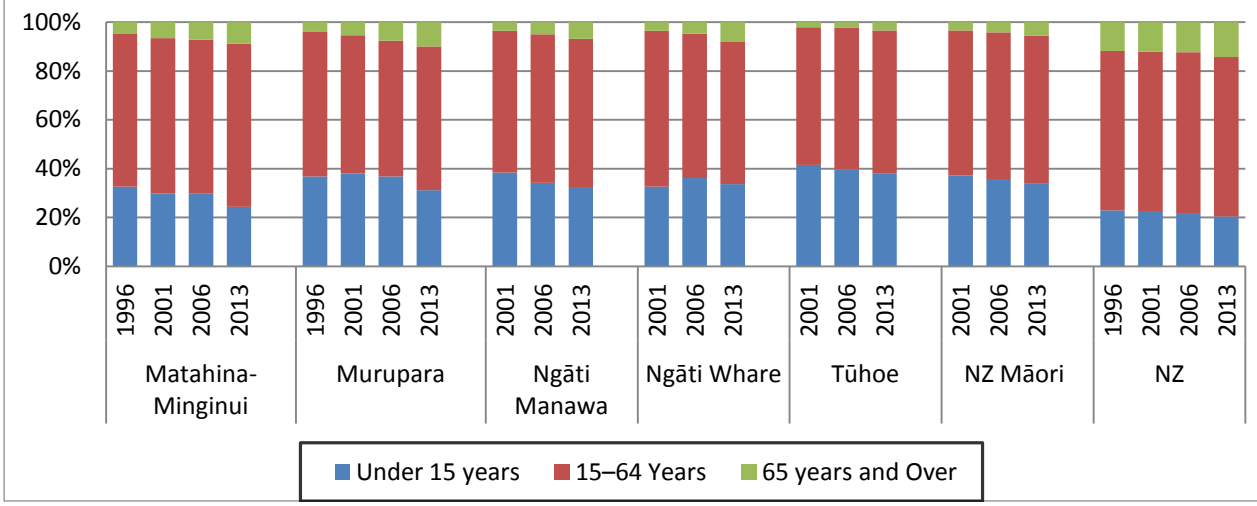
Without access to statistical information for just the proportion of iwi who live in the Murupara Community Board Area, the following data capture and analysis is based on Census information for the area units Murupara and Matahina-Minginui, and for the whole of the two Iwi of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare living in new Zealand (when this information is available).

Age Profile

With its strong Māori ethnicity, the age structure of Murupara is similar to that of New Zealand Māori, and the New Zealand resident Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa (i.e. a very high proportion of young people and a tiny but increasing older population) (Figure 3).

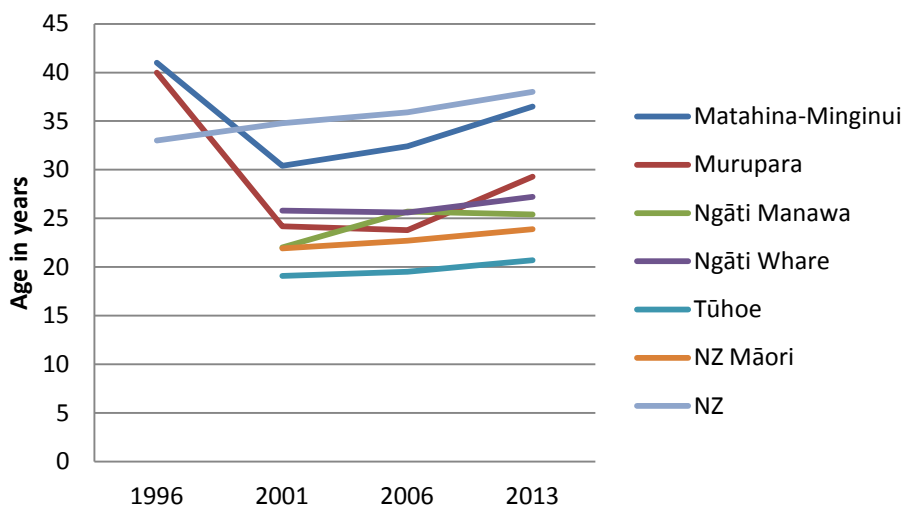
Tūhoe has the youngest age profile of the three iwi, but without data it is impossible to generalise how this impacts on the Murupara Community Board area, other than to reflect that while Tūhoe retains its youthful profile, the other iwi and places appear to be aging (but to a lesser extent than New Zealand's population). Matahina-Minginui with just over half its 2013 population of European origin is the most similar in age structure to the New Zealand profile.

Fig 3: Age structure selected locations, Iwi , 1996-2013



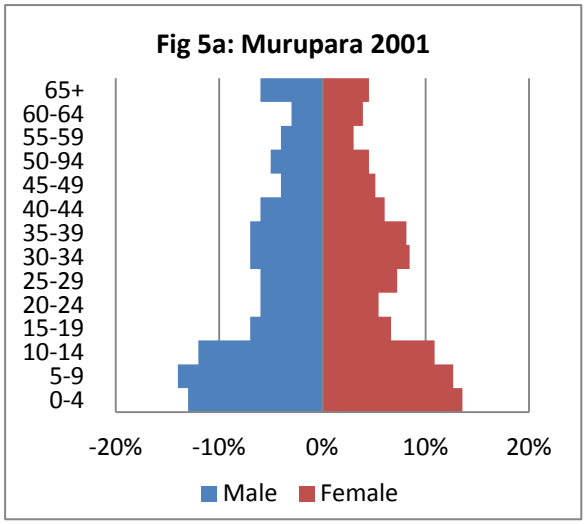
The dramatic drop in the median age of people living in Murupara and Matahina-Minginui between 1996 and 2001 (Figure 4) reflects the departure of mature workers.

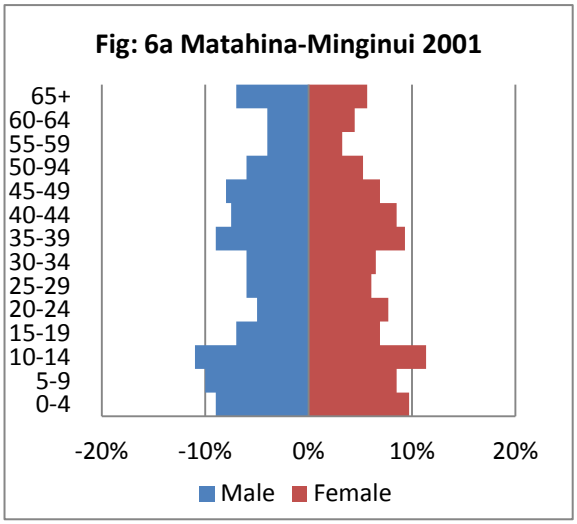
Fig 4: Median age selected places and Iwi, 1996 - 2013

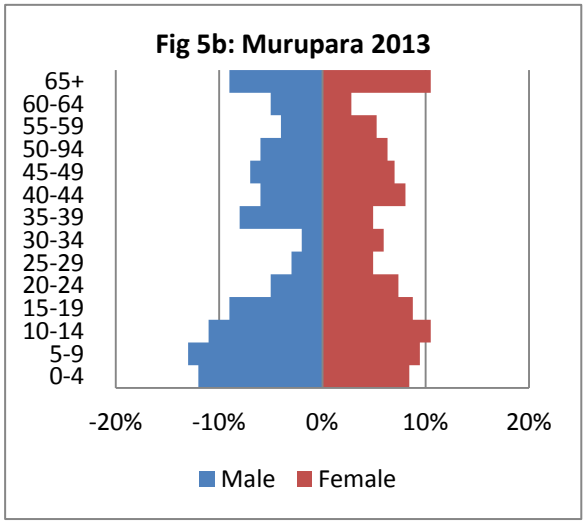


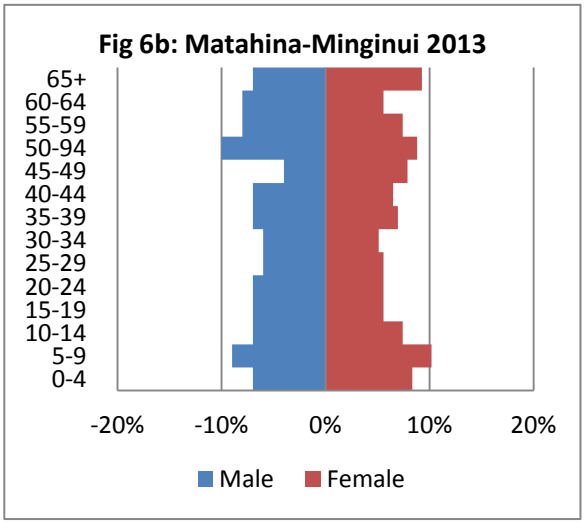
The change in the shape of the population pyramids between 2001 and 2013 (with the exaggerated 'waist' at ages 20-34 years and growing numbers of older people, seen most particularly in Murupara, Figs 5a and 5b) is similar to rural areas elsewhere in New Zealand.

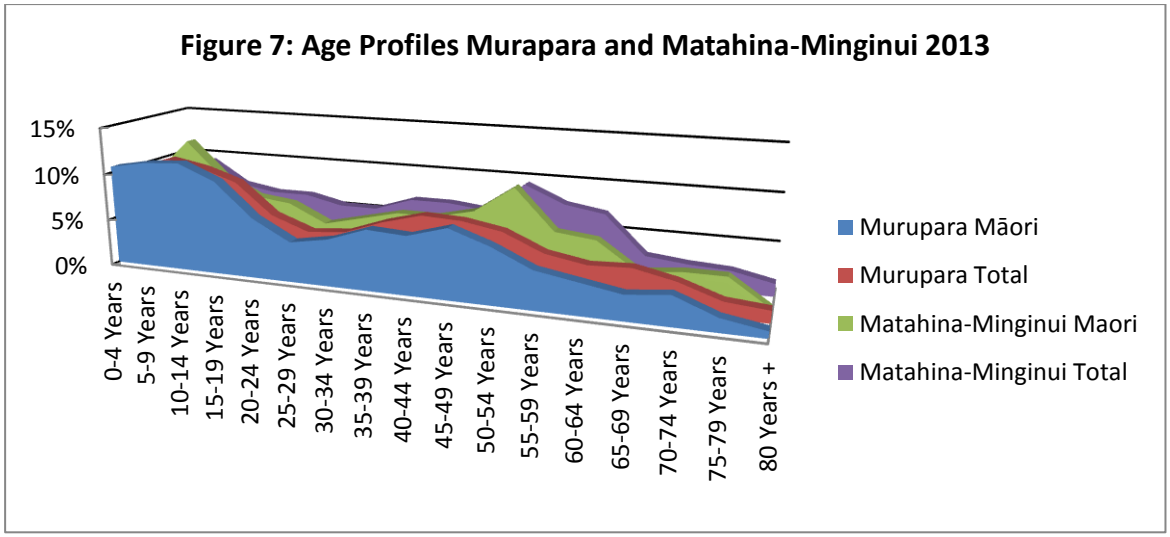
Figures 5 & 6: Population pyramids Murupara and Matahina-Minginui area units, 2001, 2013





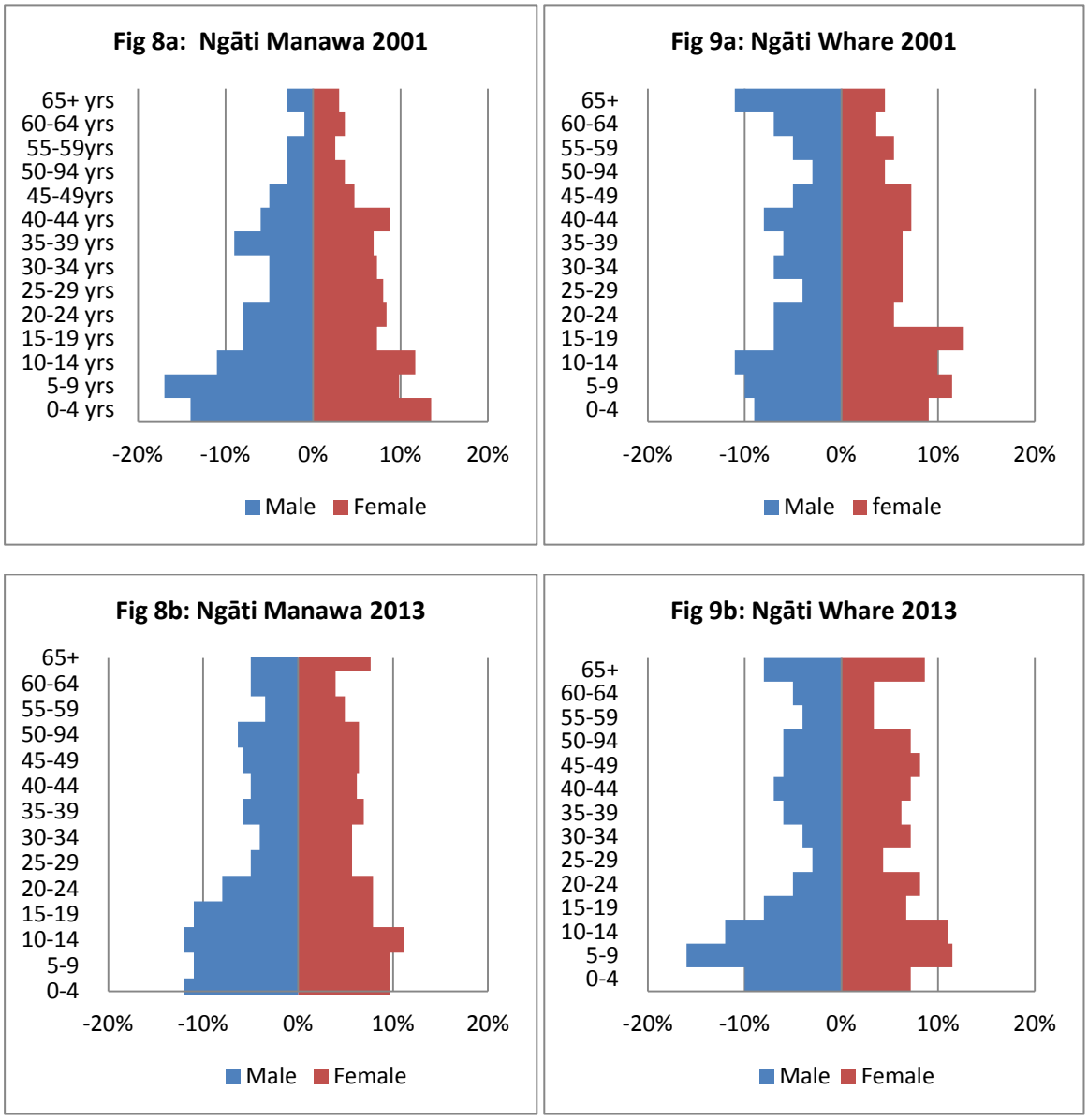






Both Murupara and Matahina-Minginui's age structures are strongly affected by their respective Māori populations and particularly by their tangata whenua. Murupara (Figs 5a & b) closely parallels the Ngāti Manawa profile (Figs 8a & b). Similarly for Matahina-Minginui (Figs 6a & b) and Ngāti Whare (Figs 9a & b), although Ngāti Whare's strong teenage presence is not fully replicated in Matahina-Minginui's profile.

Figures 8 & 9: Population pyramids Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare, Census 2001, 2013

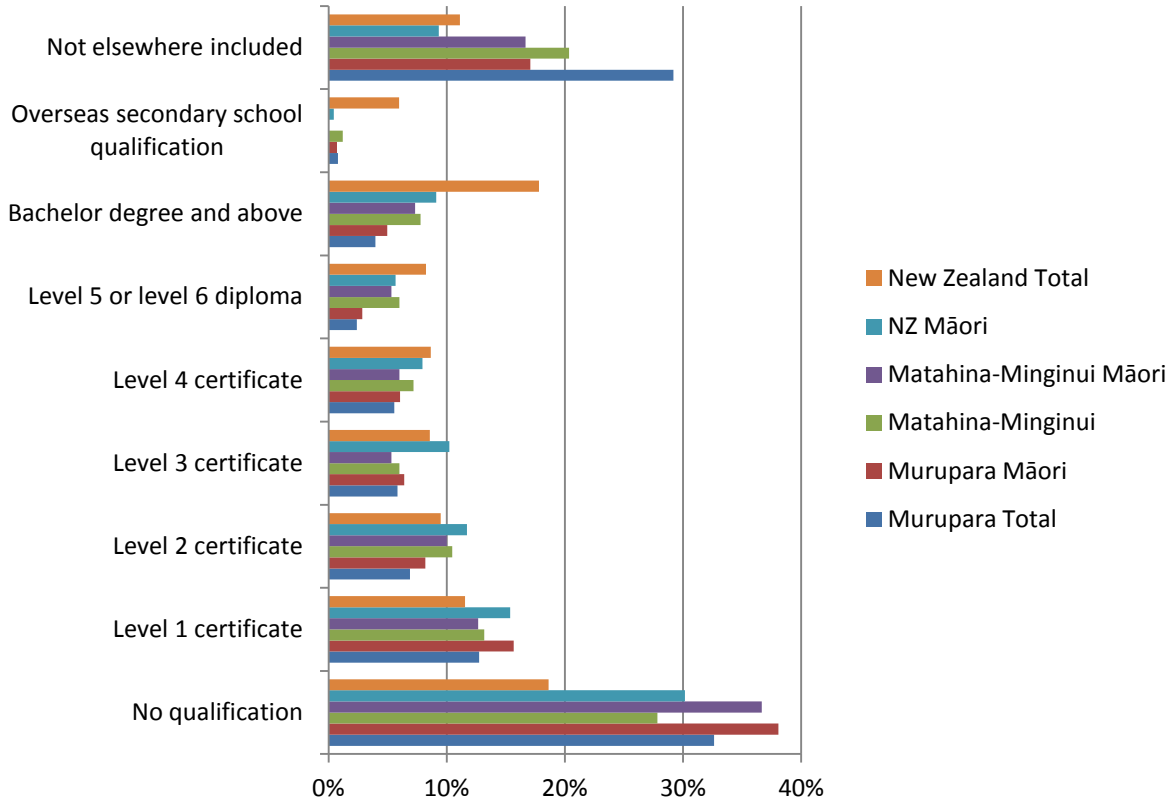


More detailed analysis is possible with reference to population pyramids which reflect the changes occurring in the total population of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare residing in New Zealand. Over the period 2001 to 2013 there has been a considerable loss of Ngāti Manawa people (especially males) of working ages and youth suggesting emigration probably to Australia. Ngāti Whare on the other hand may be returning to New Zealand (but not to Matahina-Minginui) as there is an increase in the proportions of children and young teens between 2001 and 2013.

Education

The entire community-board area has a high proportion of working-age people without qualifications (Fig 10). It is likely that the high proportion of Māori in both Murupara and Matahina-Minginui aged 15 years or more with no qualifications is partly due to the high proportion of young people 15-19 years who are still studying at local schools. The age profiles show these young people leave the district for further education and employment. Despite this, there are more Māori than non-Māori qualified at each level, including tertiary qualified, in Murupara (but fewer at each level above level 1 than for the total Māori population).

Fig 10a: Highest qualification, usually resident population 15+ yrs (2013)



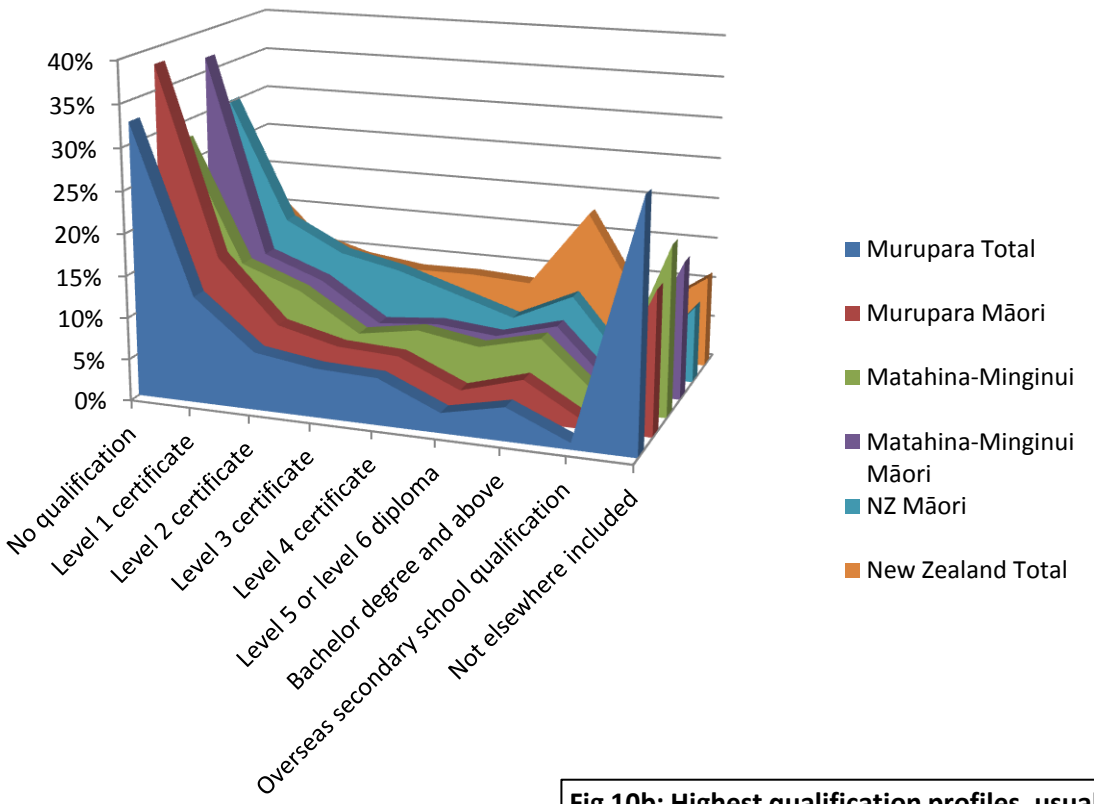
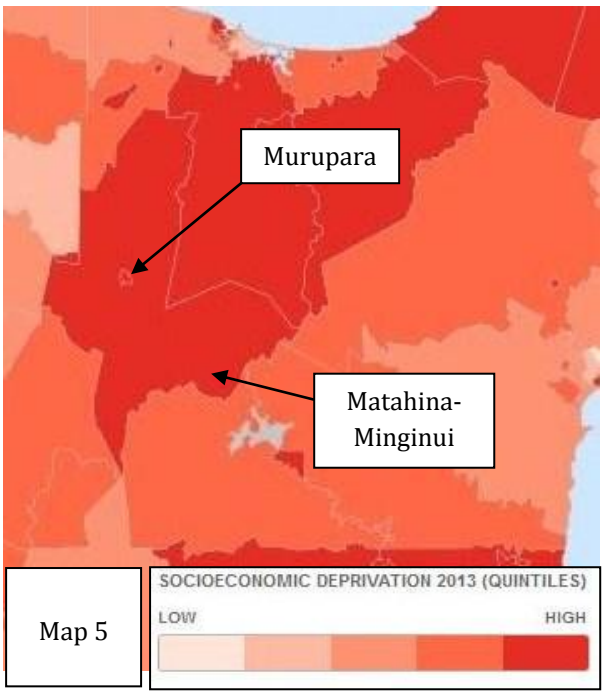


Fig 10b: Highest qualification profiles, usually resident population 15+ yrs (2013)

Socio-economic status



Map 5

Map 5 (which is from the deprivation map of New Zealand developed by Atkinson *et al* 2014) shows that the entire Murupara community board area is at the highest level of deprivation.

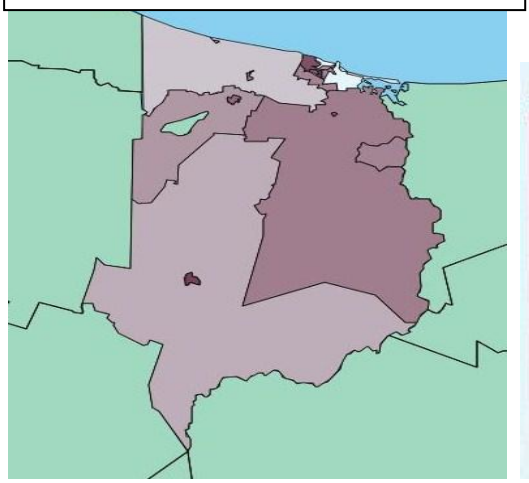
The deprivation index is based on nine dimensions of deprivation (developed by Atkinson *et al* 2014). They defined people as deprived if they are:

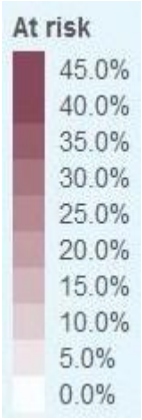
- aged <65 with no internet access at home
- aged 18-65 on a means tested benefit
- living in 'equivilised'* households with income below an income threshold
- aged 18-64 who are unemployed
- aged 18-64 without any qualification
- not living in their own home
- aged <65 living in a single parent family
- living in 'equivilised'* households below a bedroom occupancy threshold
- without access to a car.

** 'equivilised' refers to a methodology used to control for household composition.*

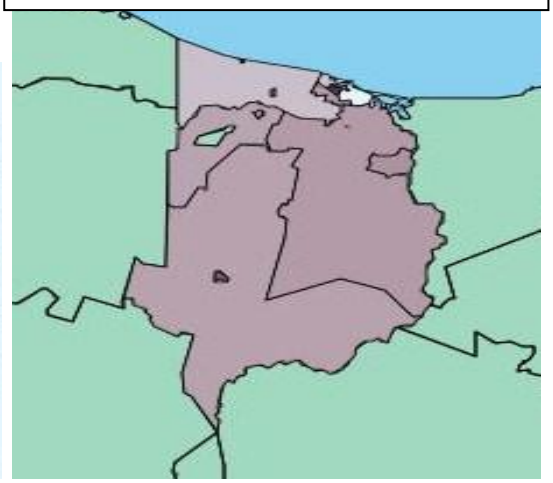
In 2015, Treasury undertook an exploratory analysis of the Ministry of Social Development's Integrated Child Dataset (ICD). The analysis investigates, among other things, the characteristics of children who are at risk of poor outcomes as young adults (Crichton *et al* 2015). The authors note that data included in the ICD covered varying periods to the end of 2012. The analysis enabled the authors to identify some key risk indicators which could be used to predict likely outcomes for affected children (characteristics and experiences at birth, 5, 13 and 18 years were correlated with potential outcomes by age 21). These predictions were then made available through an interactive web-based map developed by the New Zealand Treasury and Statistics NZ which shows location of risk. The maps at area unit level for two at risk groups (children 0-5 and 6-14 years) for Whakatane territorial authority (showing the Murupara Community Board area – i.e. Murupara and Matahina-Minginui area units), are reproduced below as Maps 6a & b.

Map6a. Murupara Community Board area: risk group 0-5yrs
2+ Risk Indicators
(*Source: New Zealand Treasury & Statistics NZ*)





Map6b. Murupara Community Board area: risk group 6-14yrs,
2+ Risk Indicators
(*Source: New Zealand Treasury & Statistics NZ*)

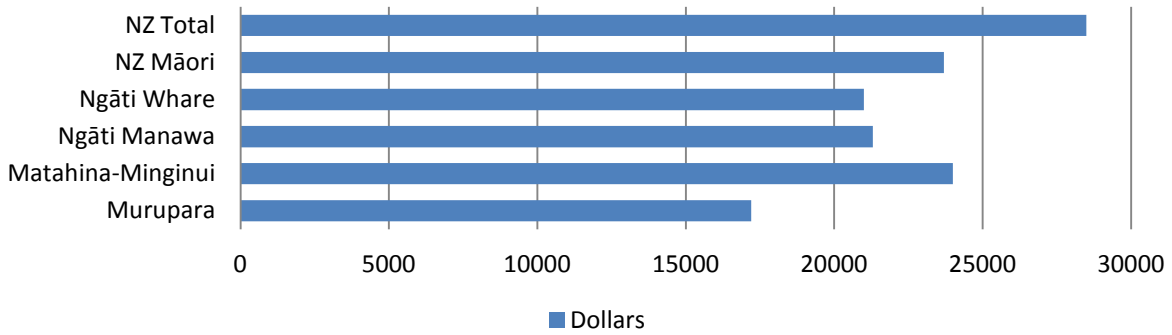


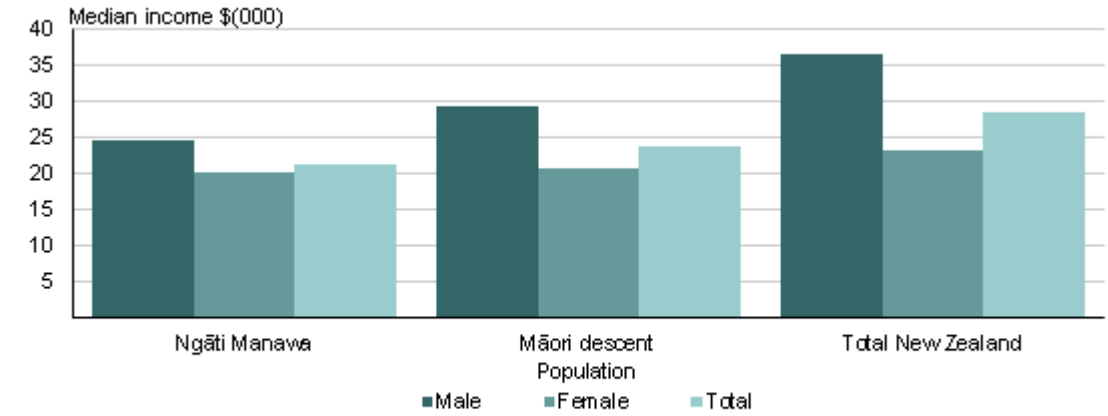
The authors note that the administrative data they used in their analysis provides only a partial picture of childhood adversity and especially given the limitations of the data should not be viewed as forecasts of actual outcomes that will be incurred in the future. Nevertheless, caveats withstanding, in both maps the children living in Murupara are potentially at risk of adverse outcomes. This would be unsurprising given the area's high level of deprivation.

In addition to formal education qualifications, factors which are frequently used as indicators of socio-economic status and well-being include income, employment, home ownership and access to vehicles, cellphones, internet and so on. These are discussed below.

Income

Fig 11: Median personal income, 2013
usually resident population 15+ yrs



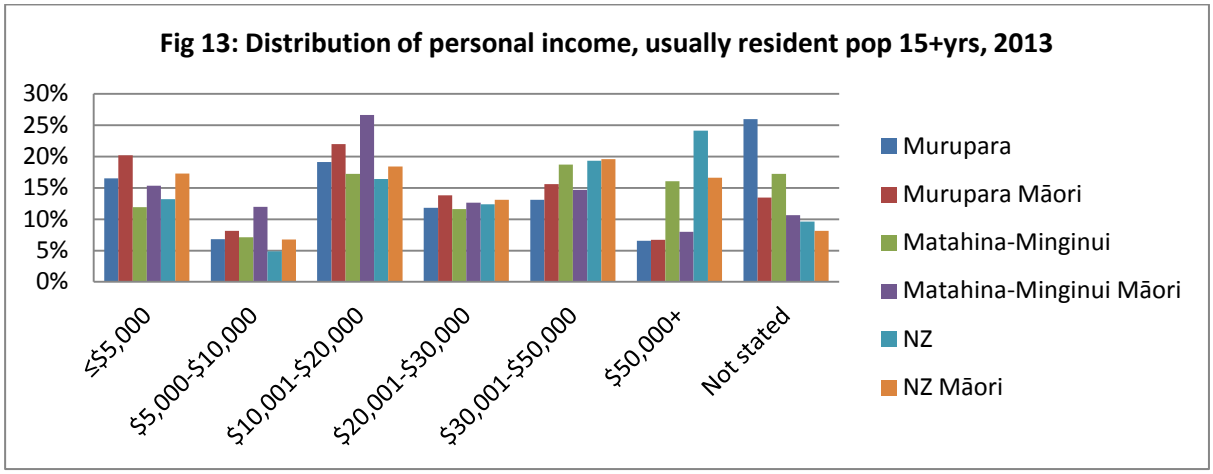


Source: Statistics New Zealand

Fig 12: Median income Ngāti Manawa by sex, pop 15+ yrs, 2013

Murupara has the lowest median personal income (Fig 11), whilst Matahina-Minginui has a relatively high median income. The latter is due to the predominantly self-employed non-Māori population of Matahina-Minginui being in the higher income brackets (Fig 13).

The median income of Ngāti Whare iwi living throughout New Zealand is virtually identical with that of Ngāti Manawa (Fig 12), except that median income for Ngāti Whare is marginally less than for Ngāti Manawa. While data is not available on the median income of Māori living in Murupara and Matahina-Minginui area units, income distribution data is available (Fig 13).



Labour force-status (Fig 14) provides an indication of why the median income of people living in Murupara is low The town has well below the national proportion of people in full-time work, and a high proportion of people who are not in the labour force. It is a similar situation for Matahina-Minginui Māori.

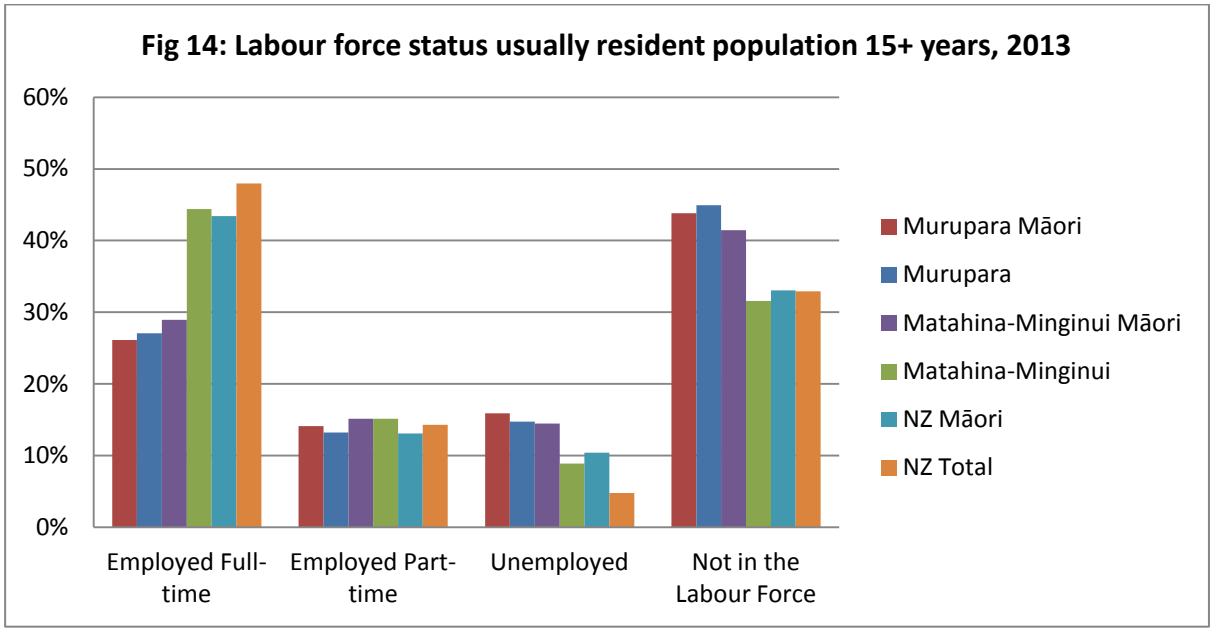
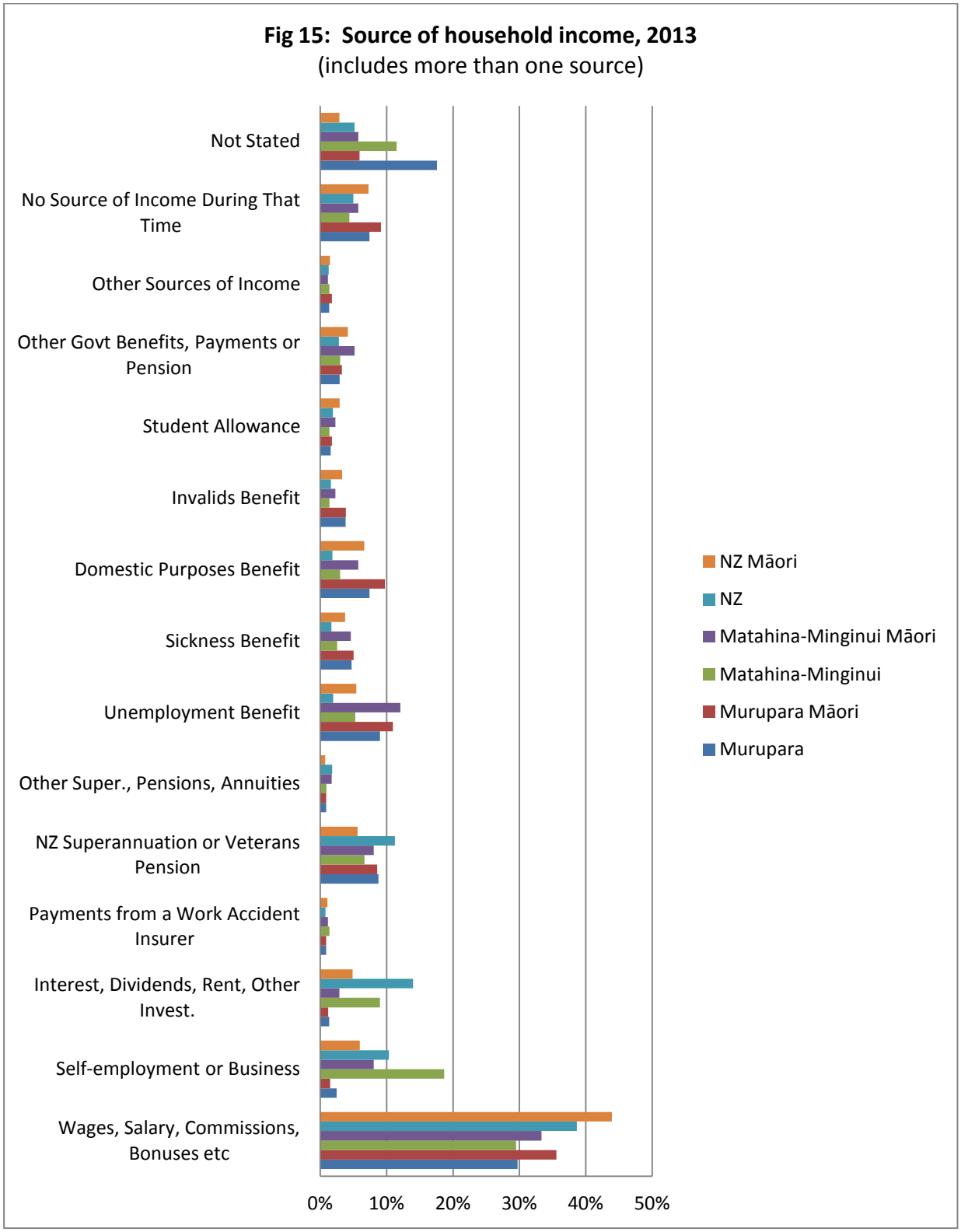
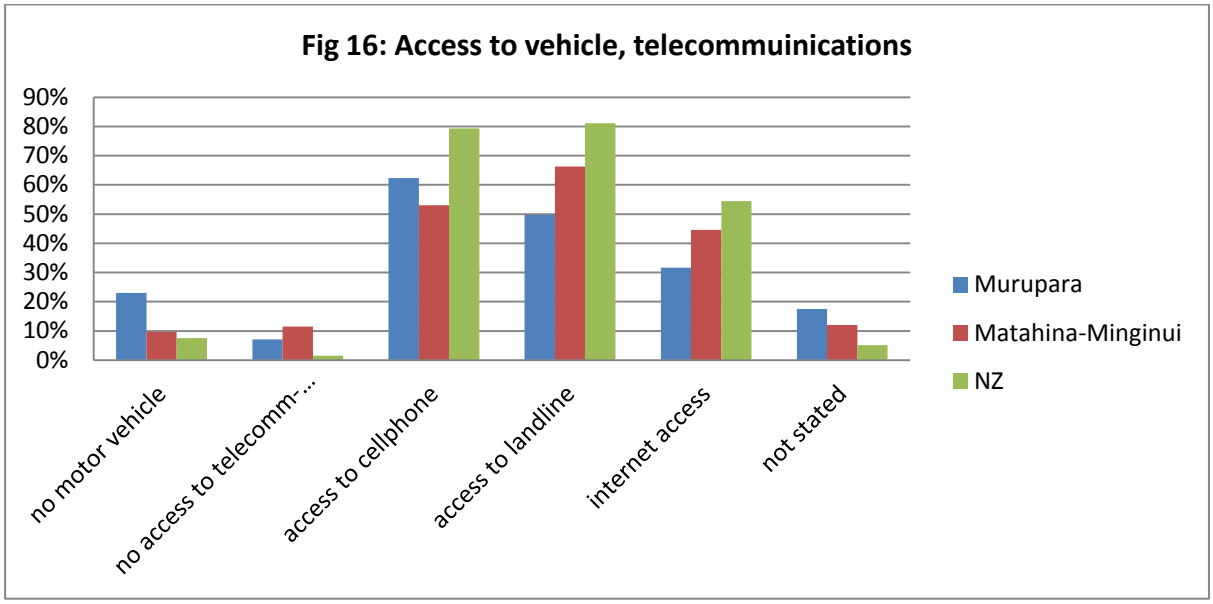


Fig 15 shows that the income received by most households is from wages and salaries. However, with many people engaged in farming in Matahina-Minginui area unit, self-employment is also important there.

Unemployment benefit and domestic purposes benefit are of considerable importance to the people of Murupara.



People living in Murupara are still experiencing the impact of land confiscation and more recent industry restructuring. This is reflected in Figures 16 and 17 which point to the problems which arise from reliance on benefits and low-income labouring jobs (see Fig 20 below). The proportion of the population which lacks access to a vehicle and the internet, and doesn't own their home, is considerably above the New Zealand benchmark. The situation of people living in Minginui is obscured by the high number of business owners (employer/self-employed) living in the broader area-unit of Matahina-Minginui (see also Fig 23 below).



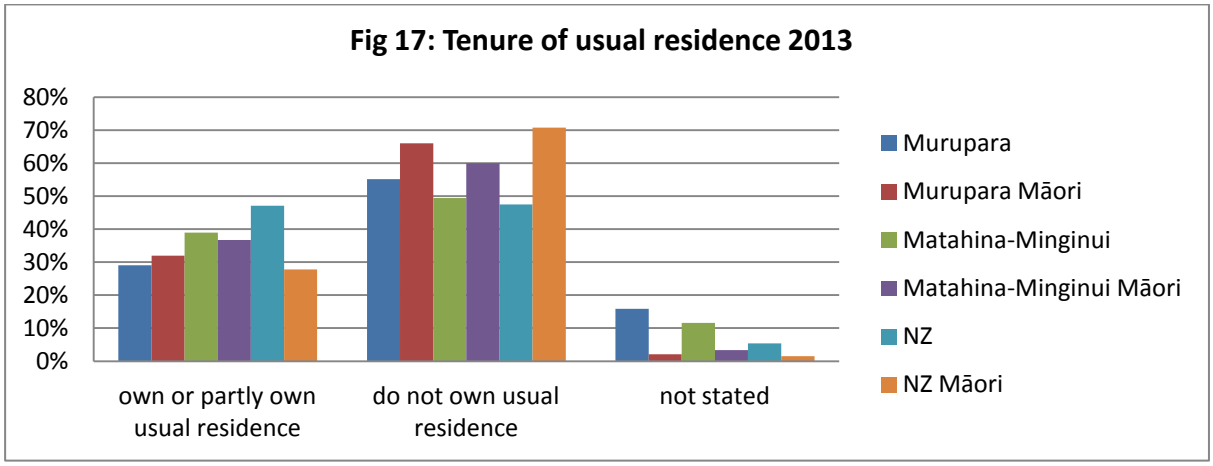
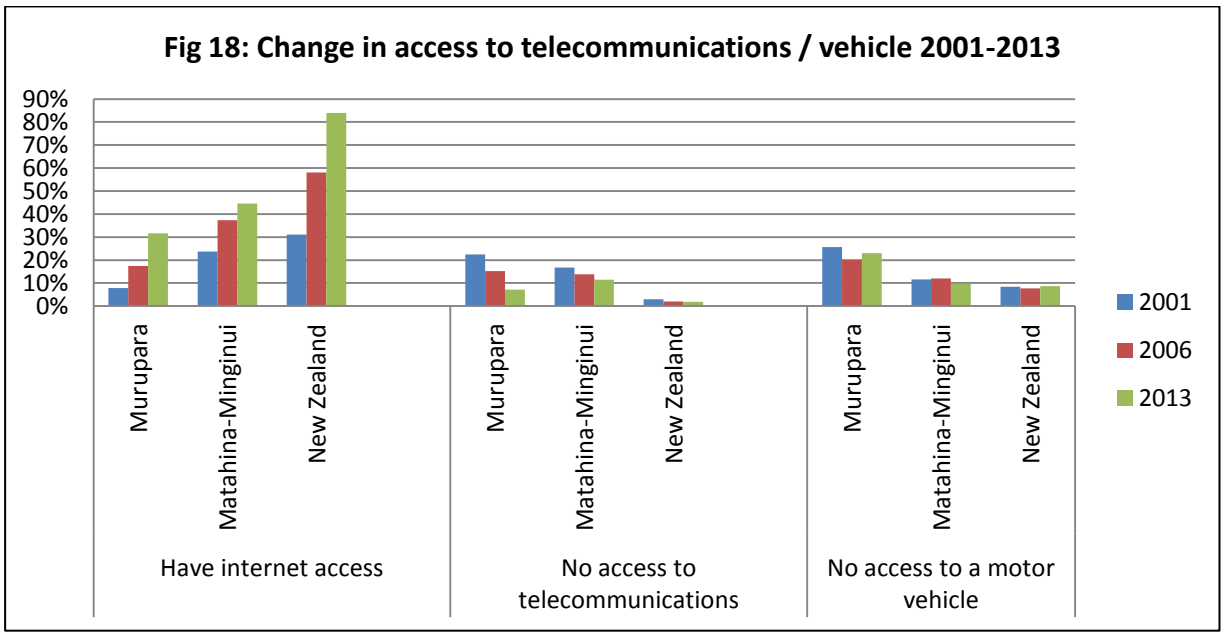
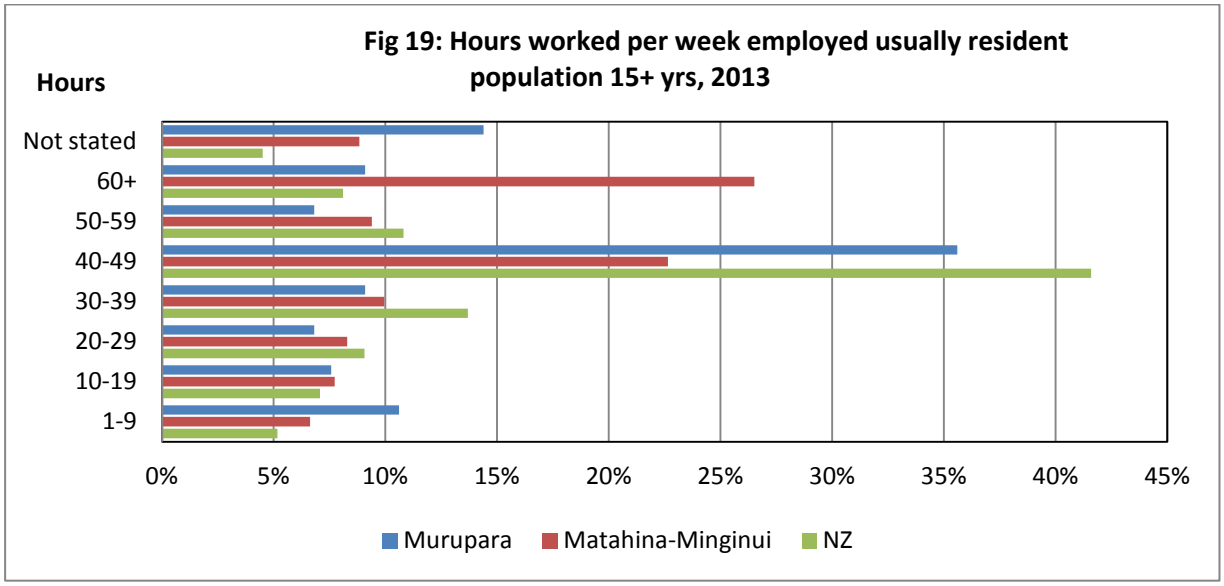
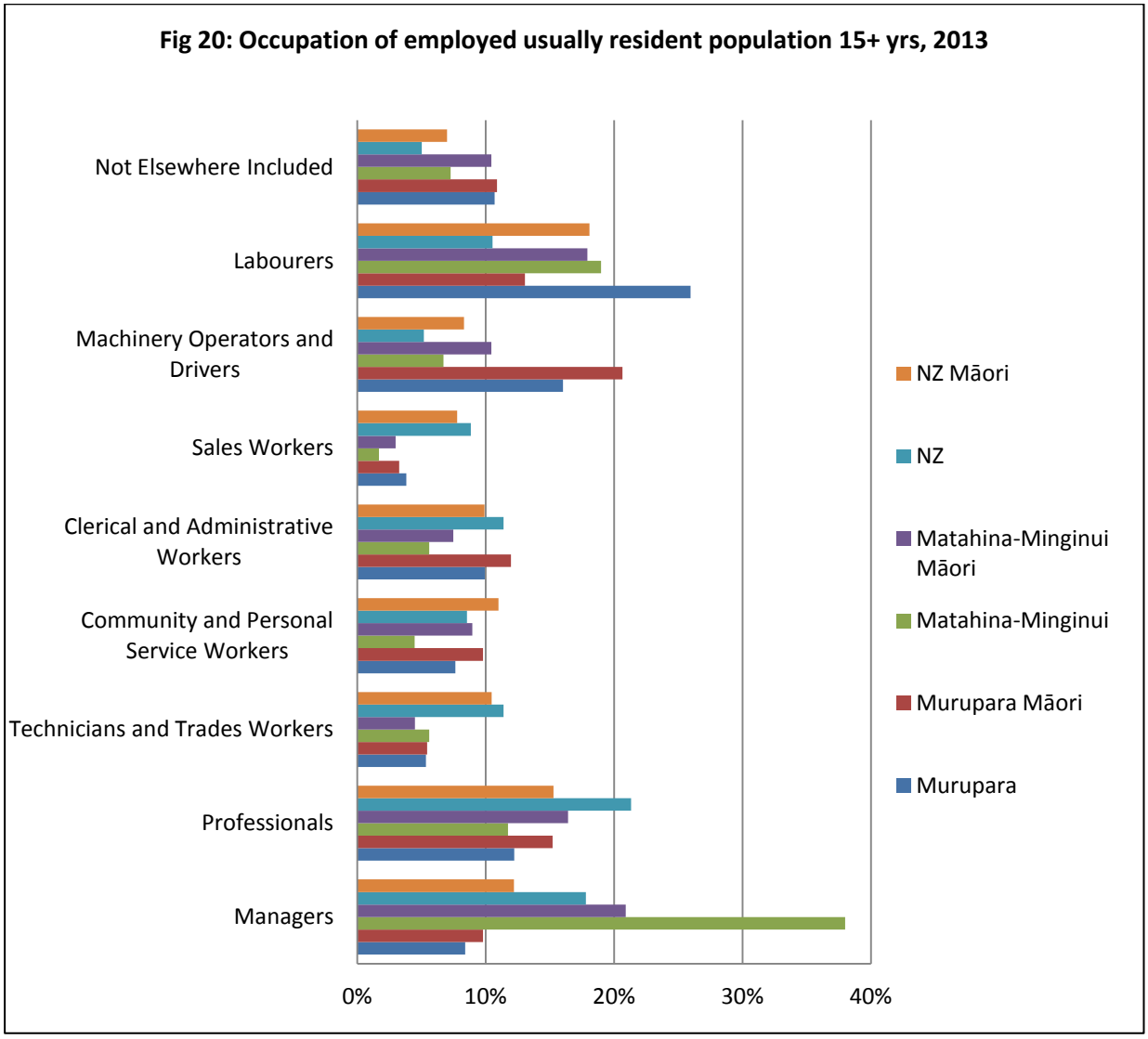


Figure 18 shows that over time access to telecommunications and motor vehicles has improved. Nevertheless, the major improvement in access to the internet it is still much lower than for New Zealand as a whole.



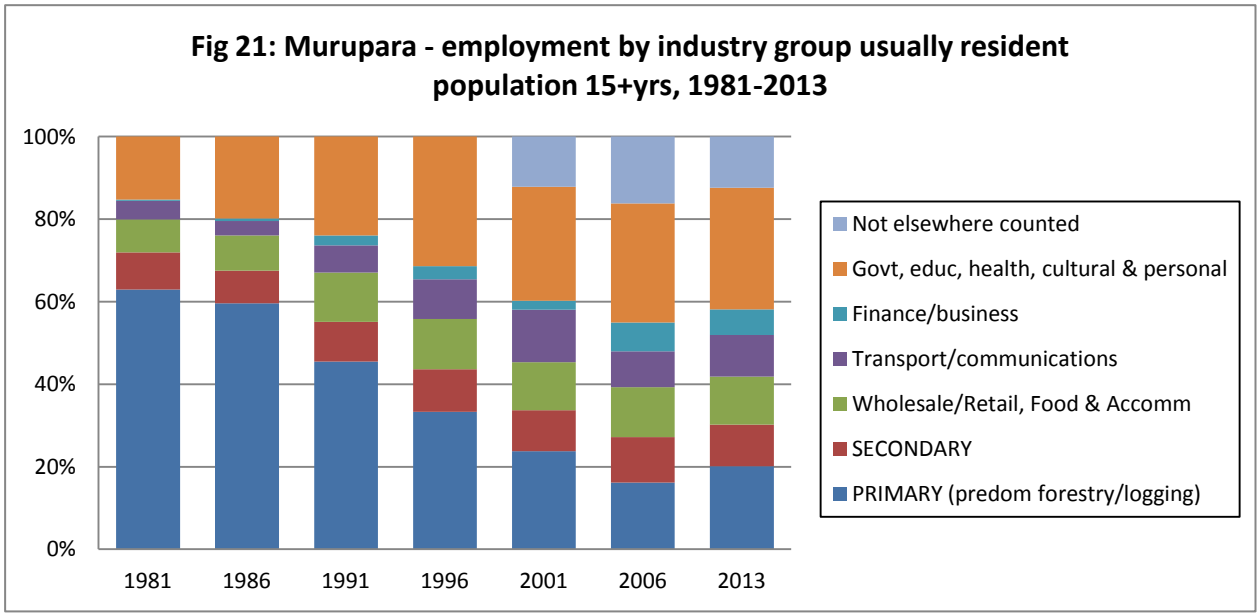


Despite the majority of the employed population of Murupara working 40 or more hours per week in 2013 (Fig 19), because most of these people are engaged in labouring and other low-paid work (Fig 20), the median income of the people in this area unit is low (Fig 11 above), and the town has the status of being in the most deprived socio-economic quintile (Map 5).



Employment

Figure 21 reflects the shift which has occurred from Murupara's working age population being predominantly engaged in primary industry (forestry) in the early 80s to employment in the public service (particularly the educational and health sectors).



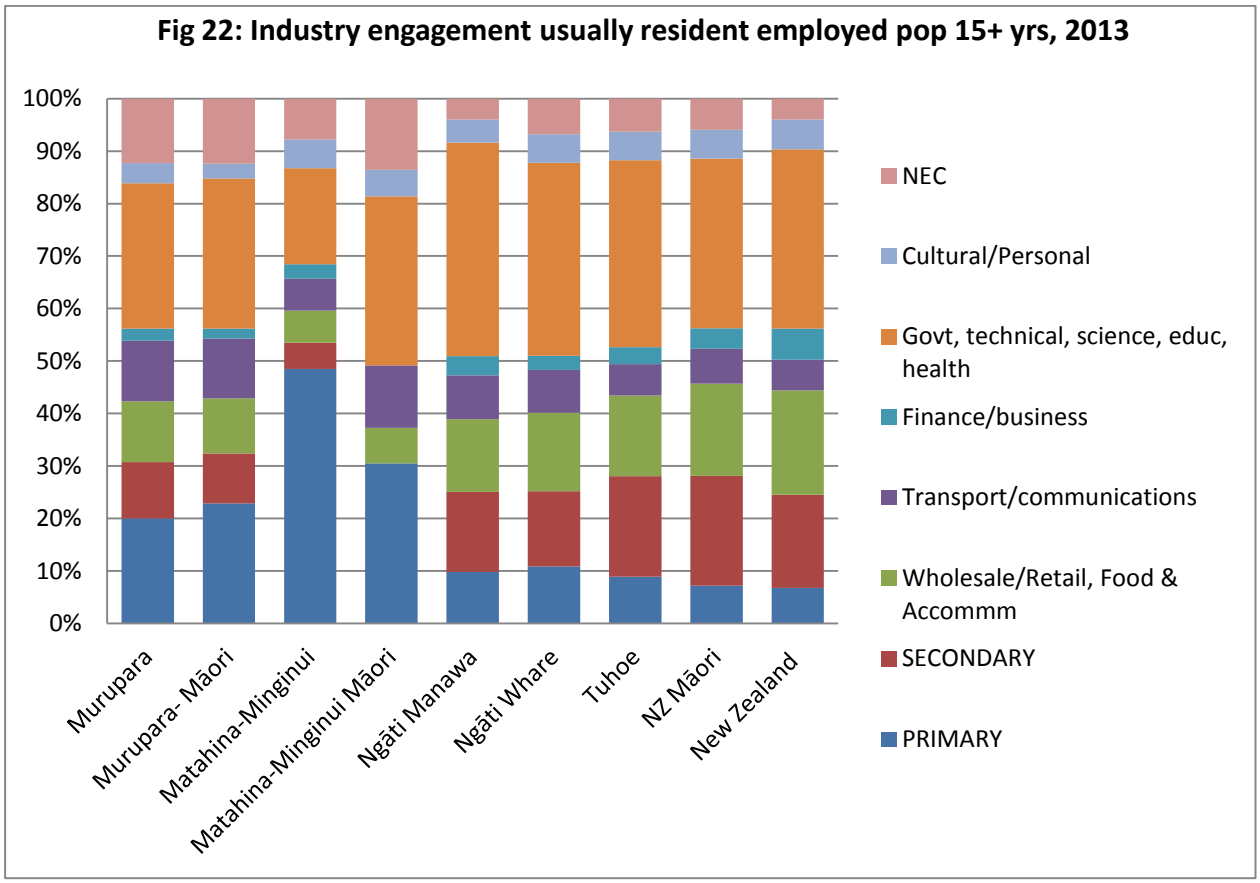


Figure 22 shows the industries in which the employed population of the people of the two area units as well as three Iwi are currently engaged. While Māori living throughout New Zealand are represented across industry groups in a manner similar to the national benchmark, only Tuhoe reflects this pattern closely. Non-Māori living in Matahina-Minginui have a pattern very

typical of other farming areas in New Zealand. People living in Murupara (whether Māori or non-Māori) and Matahina-Minginui Māori reflect the pattern most usually found in rural centres where employment in the public service, especially in health and educational services, is important, followed by engagement in primary industry.

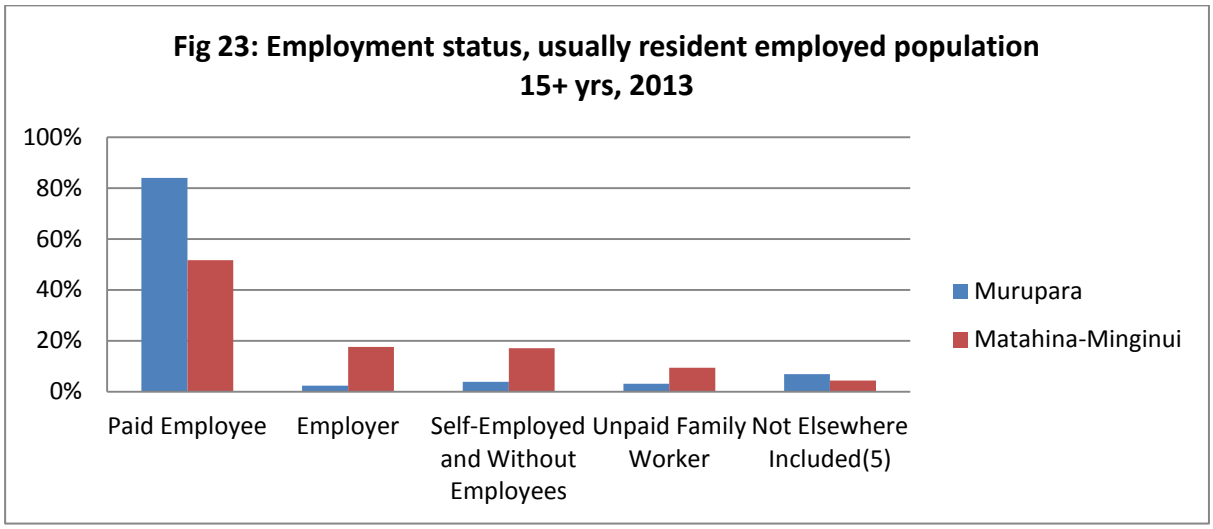
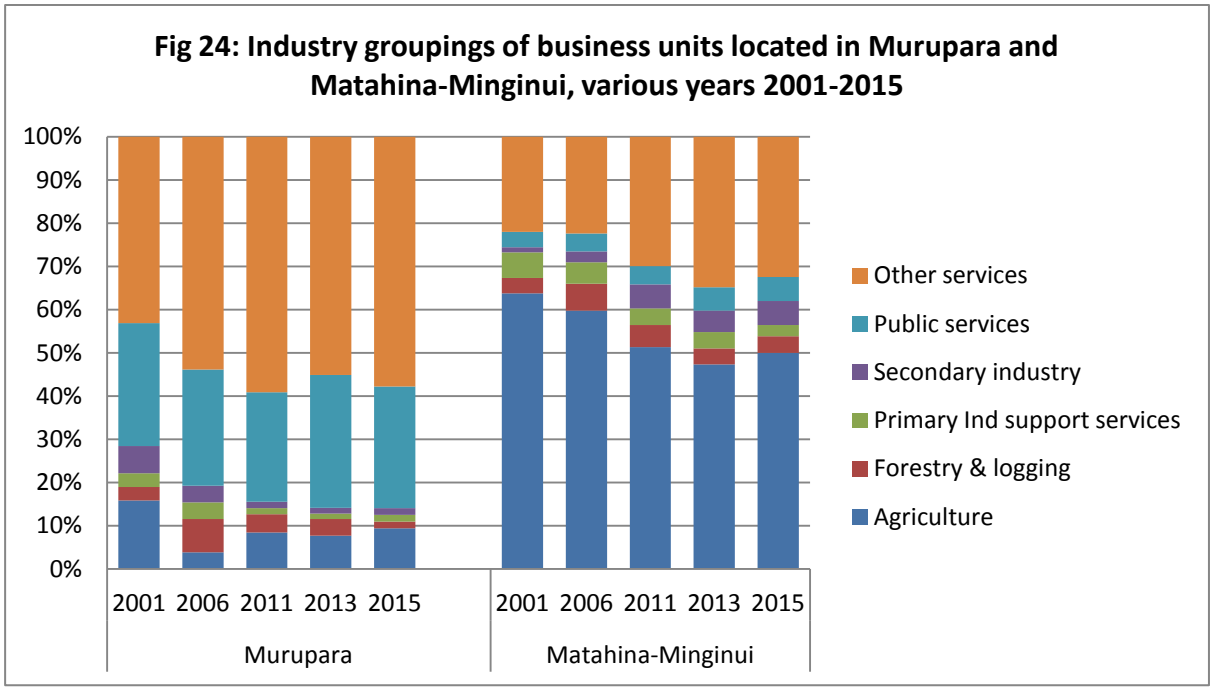
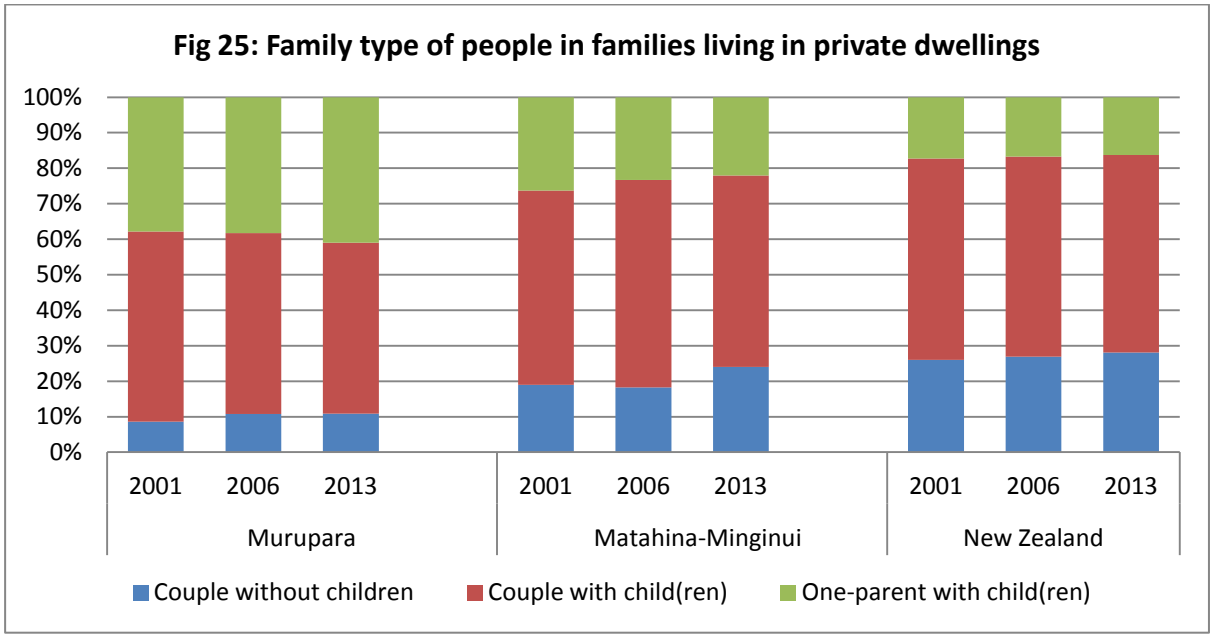


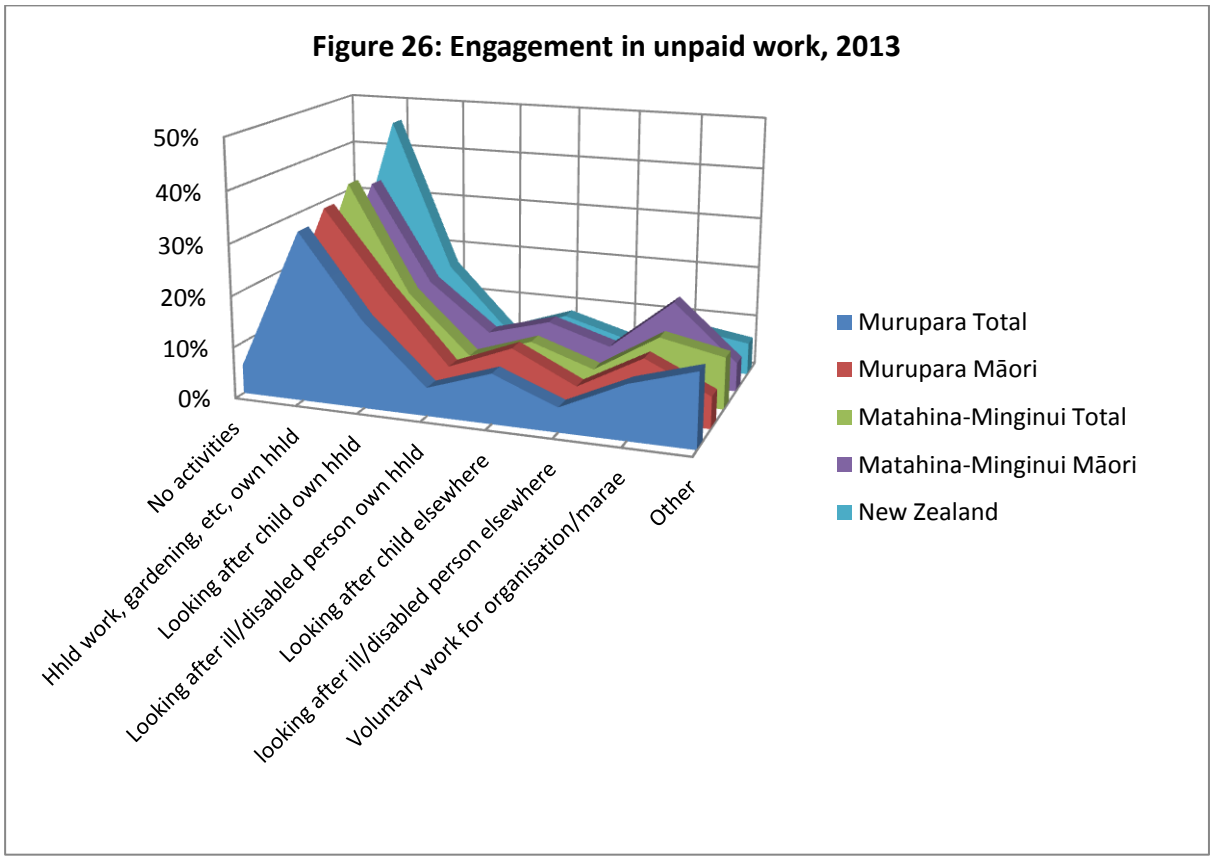
Figure 23 reinforces the situation noted above, that most people living in Murupara are dependent on wage work in service industries, and few people own their own businesses. This is in contrast to Matahina-Minginui where people are predominantly working in their own farm businesses (in 2015, 50% of 234 business units in Matahina-Minginui were engaged in agriculture, Fig 24).



A final indicator of hardship for families is the number of income earners. Just over 40% of Murupara families were one-parent families compared to 16% nationally (Fig 25). Matahina-Minginui is close to the national level at 22%, but again the data for the whole area-unit obscures the situation in Minginui and other small villages.



Unpaid work



Nationally most people in New Zealand undertake unpaid work, but a considerably greater proportion of people living in Murupara and Matahina-Minginui undertake voluntary work for an organisation, group or marae (Fig 26) than do New Zealanders as a whole.

Recent advances

The statistical data reflects a situation of considerable hardship for people living in Murupara. According to the community planning workshop 'Murupara Dreaming' held over a decade ago in February 2004 (Family Services 2006), the isolation, lack of capital and employment opportunities, and service access difficulties had led to apathy, drug and alcohol abuse and family/domestic violence. Despite this, under the leadership of several far-sighted tangata whenua and other local residents, and supported by local and central government, the population turned out in force to participate in several community planning workshops, exhibiting determination, passion, a commitment to be counted, and to walk-the-talk.

Among the things identified by the community as strengths were the following:

- Community spirit and commitment
- A strong Māori community
- Ready access to local marae
- The presence of Te Rūnunga o Ngāti Manawa
- Good infrastructure
- Good relationships with the government and a range of services
- Access to natural resources.

Two points of concern were that:

- Government agencies and community groups working in Murupara, while committed to making a difference, were not adequately resourced. They were unable to take a co-ordinated approach to issues and tended to respond in an ad hoc fashion to perceived community needs.
- Local people were not making use, or were unaware, of available services. For example, a men's anger management course provided by the Challenge Violence Trust did not attract clients. The reason for this was considered to be a 'frontier town' mentality which accepted violence, gang activity and a 'booze barn' approach to drinking.

Mental-health worker Mary Olsen, interviewed for a *New Zealand Geographic* article in 2008, commented that 'Mäori ways were slipping away and being replaced by Pākehā values. "Our kids are spending more time in the courts than on the marae" '(Knowles 2008).

Similarly, around that time Rangitahi College was dealing with poor student behaviour, so that teachers were focusing on managing student absenteeism rather than promoting learning and achievement. According to newspaper reports "there was evidence of verbal abuse of staff, disobedience by students, instances of theft, vandalism, damage to school property, bullying, fighting and use of illegal drugs by students … just a handful of students managed NCEA Level 1 in 2006 and none passed levels 2 and 3" (Ihaka 2008).

To deal with the situation the community became involved. Parents started to help the teachers with sports events, made sure that the students were not wearing gang patches to school, and provided transport to school for the students who lived a long way out or were otherwise likely to be absent (Ihaka 2008). A Commissioner was appointed by the Ministry of education but little changed. Concerned by the large numbers of students leaving Murupara to attend school elsewhere, the Minister of Education instructed the Ministry to consult with the community to develop an education strategy for Murupara. It was agreed that the college would be merged with the primary school forming a new area school (MoE 2015).

The gang issue came to a head in 2009 with the deaths of two teenagers. Newspaper reports record that initially 200 people met to discuss the problems which had led to this situation and this was followed by over 400 members of the community attending a hikoi (march/rally) in a call for an end to the violence (Fig 27).

A rāhui (ban) was declared prohibiting gang violence in the Ngāti Manawa rohe, including a prohibition on the wearing of gang colours (Motion 2009). Not only did the community stand firm, but leaders from Tūhoe, Ngāti Whare, Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Awa, Te Whakatohea and Ngāti Manawa united to enforce the rāhui and work with the gang members' whānau to end the violence.

Fig 27: Murupara residents claim back their town from local gangs. Photo: Kevin Teixeira, Rotorua Daily Post [2009]

A new entity, the Te Ha O Te Ora Trust was formed to look at long-term policing strategies and other ways of making the community safer.

> *An enormous number of agencies and identities - from local MPs, to Child Youth and Family, Victim Support, Te Puni Kōkiri, local radio Rangitahi ERFM and marae have since worked together on a range of initiatives to make Murupara safer. This has led to new levels of co-operation and collaboration that have had numerous benefits. Neighbourhood Support has been strengthened with new groups formed, a Night Owls patrol has been set up and the local Māori Wardens Group has been re-invigorated*. (LGNZ 2011)

In addition to ten Māori Wardens patrolling local streets and the Night Owl patrol, CCTV cameras were installed in the civic square to provide security for business owners and customers, with the cameras monitored at the local police station. NZ Police used the footage to review events and verify evidence (MCB 2011). Positive outcomes included the building of an effective partnership between the community and police. At the time Acting Rotorua Area Commander, Inspector Greg Sparrow, noted that as a result of this partnership, the community was providing positive role models for Murupara's young people through whānau, education and positive role modelling (NZ Police Website Nov 2009)[39].

A 4 November 2010 interview by the Rotorua Daily Post with local school principal, Mr Pem Bird, observed progress was being made, and that this was reflected in such things as the graduation of 12 Mongrel Mob members from a Salvation Army programme aimed at freeing them of methamphetamine addiction.

[39] When the Murupara Community Board wrote up the work which the community had undertaken, with its support, in its entry to the Local Government New Zealand Community Boards Best Practice Awards, judges said Murupara was selected as it, "exemplifies a Police and community partnership to address crime and [provide] reassurance [on] issues that have troubled the Murupara community. This partnership recognises that any response to crime and safety issues involve a wide array of stakeholders and goes further than enforcement alone. The initiatives taken by the Murupara Community Board have strengthened the community's capacity and resolve to address the issues that matter to them in a practical way" (WDC 2011).

At the same time some of the earlier initiatives started to show results. Around 2003 Jacob Te Kurapa, ward member, Whakatane District councillor and later Chair of the Murupara Community Board, lobbied successfully to have the town declared a Community Action on Youth and Drugs site and was appointed CAYAD coordinator responsible for creating alternatives to drug and alcohol abuse. He instigated events such as talent quests and combined church services and sports events, making any child welcome, but prospects were asked to leave their colours elsewhere (Knowles 2008).

Following the action prompted by 'Murupara Dreaming' unemployment fell, and house values improved. Effort was put into repairing and painting buildings in the town. Work and Income paid eight unemployed fathers to clean up 49 abandoned sections and derelict homes in the town to accommodate new families (Sunday Star Times, 30 May 2009). To realise an opportunity for people to work in Te Puke's packhouses during the kiwifruit picking season a 45-seat bus left the town every morning at 4:30am, returning at 6:30pm.

Similarly, according to a 2006 Panui (newsletter) from Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whare a joint initiative between Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Whare and Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development), in Minginui enabled the introduction of a Repair Our Community Houses programme to address the substandard state of housing in the village. The programme allowed for the painting, decorating and minor maintenance of houses, and complemented the Rural Housing Programme (supported by Housing New Zealand) which targeted more major renovation needs.

Murupara Services

As at March 2016, the government was providing the following social services in Murupara (with some staff based in Murupara, but many travelling from Whakatane or Rotorua):

- Heartlands Services - Murupara: a one-stop-shop funded through the Ministry of Social Development from which local people may access a range of Government and related services. It is open Monday to Friday 9am-3pm. Services are free and no referral is necessary.

- Inland Revenue (every second Wednesday of the month) including general taxation, family assistance and child support (by appointment through Heartlands Services)

- The Murupara Budget Advisory Service Trust: free, supportive, confidential and culturally aware budget advisory services provided by trained and nationally certificated budget advisors. It is open Monday to Thursday 8am-4:30pm at the Heartlands Service premises. Services are free and no referral is necessary.

- Murupara Youth Centre Trust: provides whānau support with youth programmes, drop-in centre, youth radio, Edmund Rice camps and is an approved Family Violence Provider. It is open Tuesday to Friday 9am-3pm. Some charges may apply but no referral is required.

- Eastbay Rural Education Activities Programme (REAP) Inc: While this aims to provide life-long learning opportunities, the Murupara REAP service established in 2012 predominantly focuses on working with families with children 0-6years (Murupara Early Years Service Hub). At the time of interview there were 79 families on the books, plus a further 20 families with children older than 6 years. The services are provided Monday to Friday 8am-5pm. Services are free of charge and no referral is necessary. The Hub aims

to provide a central point where families can access quality childcare and education for the under sixes, and a range of services such as dental, eyes and ear checks, including Well Child-Tamariki Ora, ante-natal care, Well Child Health checks and immunisation programmes. Health services are provided by a Public Health nurse (see below). While the service provider deals with educational, health and social issues, experts are called in as needed. Around one-quarter of the clients are teenage mothers.

- REAP also provides a HIPPY (Home Interactive Programme for Parents and Youngsters) service[40]. This is a home-based programme that supports parents in becoming actively involved in the learning of their four and five-year-old children.

- Work and Income - Murupara Service Centre: A service of the Ministry of Social Development delivering support and employment services, it operates Monday to Friday (except Wednesday) 9am-4pm; Wednesday 10:30am-4pm.

- NZ Police (five staff, but cover the entire Community Board area).

- Community Probation Service (Department of Corrections, including community work) Weekly or twice-weekly visit to Murupara.

- Early childhood education[41]
    - Te Kōhanga Reo o Nau Mai (roll 19, 100% Māori)
    - Te Kōhanga Reo o Te Tane nui a Rangi (roll 18, 100% Māori,)
    - Te Kōhanga Reo o Rangitahi (roll 21, 95% Māori)
    - Te Kōhanga Reo o He Maungarongo (roll 11, 73% Māori)
    - Karamuramu Kindergarten (roll 36, 58% Māori)
    - Murupara Educare Centre (roll 24, 92% Māori)

- Murupara Area School (year 1-15; 310 students, 96% Māori; decile 1)

- Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tawhiuau (year 1-15; 88 students, 98% Māori; decile 1)

Some government funding goes to the following:

- Murupara Medical Centre: Staffed by three General Practitioners (and two locums or interns) the service operates Monday to Friday 8:30am-5:00pm

- Te Ika Whenua Hauora Incorporated which provides health and community services for people living in the Te Ika Whenua area Monday to Friday 8:30am-5pm. Services are free but a referral from a Kōhanga Reo, schools, CYFS, courts and police, or by whānau may apply. Services include: Mental Health Kaupapa Māori Tamariki 0-19yrs; CAYAD (Community Action on Youth and Drugs); Diabetes Education and Intervention; Mental Health Needs Assessment and Coordination; Mental Health Advocacy and Peer Support; Mental Health Home-based Support. Te Ika Whenua Hauora's youth development team has run camps for youth from throughout the Community Board area, including confidence courses, leadership and team-building exercises. Staff running the

[40] HIPPY was founded in Israel in 1969. Brought to New Zealand by Dame Lesley Max in 1992, it provides a structure for parents to spend 15 minutes a day one-on-one reading books, doing puzzles and learning games with their child. This tries to bridge the gap between the, on average, 2153 words per hour that a child in a professional family hears per hour compared to a child from a family on welfare that hears 616 words on average (according to the Growing Up in New Zealand longitudinal study) (Blundell 2015).

[41] Figures for schools and preschools are for 2015. Decile 1 is the most deprived (reverse of the Dep. Index).

camps include an outdoors instructor, an army recruiting officer, and the Smokefree co-ordinator.

- Community, Child, and Youth Health Services: The Bay of Plenty District Health Board Public Health Nurse who, though based in Whakatane, provides health assessments, routine school and early childhood centre visits, health education, home visiting, communicable disease follow-up, school based vaccination programmes, TB case and contact tracing, vision and hearing testing, B4 School checks and ear services throughout the community board area. The service operates Monday to Friday 8am - 4:30pm, and is free.

- Te Awhina Support Services: Provides patient transport to specialist appointments in Rotorua & Whakatane; provides Meals on Wheels; gives care-givers a break every Tuesday week; operates a community foodbank through referral from Budget Services; and pre-loved clothing and some furniture. The service is open Monday to Friday 9am-3pm; services are free but a referral may apply.

- Rotorua District Community Law Centre (every third Thursday of the month from 10am) (by appointment through Heartlands Services in Murupara)

Ratepayer funding goes to the Murupara Service Centre and Library (part of the Whakatane District Council), where rates can be paid, and internet is free.

In addition there are numerous community and voluntary organisations in the community, and 'an army of volunteers', including Māori Women's Welfare League (who encourage community gardens and run drug and alcohol counselling), the Fire Brigade, St John's Ambulance, School Boards of Trustees, Meals on Wheels, the youth centre and a wide variety of sports coaching of both girls and boys. In addition the marae provide meals and support particularly to the elderly. There are also around eight different churches located in Murupara[42]: most of which do not seem to work with each other or the mainstream government services, but they do get some government funding for things like equipment for youth activities (sleeping bags and other tramping gear, sports gear and so on) (Interview AP11.10.13).

<u>Matahina-Minginui Services</u>

Outside Murupara, community services seem to be provided by the Whānau Support Services Trust which operates in Minginui, Te Whāiti and Ngaputahi (east of Te Whāiti). Programmes and support are provided for all members of these communities from tamariki to kaumātua as well as the disabled/disadvantaged. Open Monday to Friday, there is a 24/7 emergency service as required. No referral is necessary, but some charges may apply.

- Early education is provided by the following:
    - Galatea: Galatea Playcentre (roll 14, 14% Māori)
    - Ruatahuna: Te Kōhanga Reo O Ruatahuna (roll 20, 100% Māori)
    - Waiohau: Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama Ki Hikurangi (roll 11, 100% Māori)
- Galatea: Galatea School (full primary; 83 students, 45% Māori; decile 5)
- Te Kura Māori-a-Rohe o Waiohau (located at the north end of the Community Board area on Galatea Road; year 1-15; 37 students, 100% Māori; decile 1)

[42] These include: Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, Elim Church, Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah's Witness, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), and Impact Church/Pentecostal. The Ringatu Church (founded by Te Kooti) also operates from marae in Te Whāiti. The Brethren church has closed.

- Ruatahuna: Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Huiarau (year 1-15; 73 students, 99% Māori; decile 1)
- Te Whāiti: Te Kura Toitu o Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi (year 1-15; 31 students, 94% Māori; decile 1)

There are also a range of organisations outside Murupara, such as Te Waiariki Purea Trust (established in 1987) which although based in Rotorua, provide services for youth and families in the Community Board area. The Te Waiariki Purea Trust focuses on, and engages with, youth through outdoor recreation and education, and is involved in strengthening families, Whānau Ora, youth leadership programmes, family violence prevention, working with youth who are on the benefit to get them into work, training or education, holiday programmes, education schemes and Youth Justice referrals.

Most families support activities at the marae, including undertaking maintenance, and frequently finding food and cooking for 150 or so people at a tangihanga (funeral), or catering for Tribunal hearings, hui and similar events.

Services from the user perspective

A mantra of the public service in New Zealand is that there is 'no wrong door' for any New Zealander accessing government services. In other words no matter which agency a person approaches in the public sphere, that person should be able to be re-directed to the agency best able to address their concerns or problem. In 2006 the State Services Commission undertook a pilot research project in Rotorua in an attempt to better understand the barriers people face in accessing government services. The research asked:

- 'Who's knocking at the door?' to find out who should be accessing services
- 'Is there a door?' to identify the range of access channels available, and
- 'Is the door open?' to see if there are barriers to people's accessing services.
- The researchers also looked at 'How the door is being oiled' to learn about government agencies' initiatives to improve access to their services. (SSC 2006)

Interviews with some of the service providers and residents of the Murupara Community Board area in 2013-2014 established that while valiant attempts were being made to co-ordinate services, even in a place as small as Murupara opportunities exist to improve clients' access to services. A key problem for providers is how to share information between agencies without infringing on client privacy. Memorandums of understanding between agencies, and training providers on how to share information so that issues which span several agencies can be addressed effectively, may help (Interview AP15.09.14.10).

Often it's NGOs like the Māori Women's Welfare League which make the difference in getting improved practices and procedures recognized and adopted, such as immunisation, simply by the way they interact with other members of their whānau (Interview AP04.02.14).

Social service providers in particular have to be very proactive and creative to reach clients, including walking out into the square to talk to prospective clients about what their service can offer (Interview AP10.10.13). Potential clients are often unaware of the services available to them. Even when they do know that support exists, there is an issue of whakamā (shame) where some (particularly the very young and new) parents are too embarrassed, shy, self-conscious, proud or intimidated to admit they need help, attend or be seen going to appointments, clinics or classes (Interview AP10.10.13). However, this seems to be a

reflection of the clash which can occur between expected pākehā behaviour and Māori norms. People with a strong cultural identity, who practice a collective response to a difficulty, would be less likely to experience whakamā (Herbert 2001:42-43).

In Murupara the service providers periodically run sausage sizzles, expo and music events in the square to advertise their services and attract potential clients. Providers (including the Police) attend (and run) sports days. There are marae talks, free cooking and sewing classes, and help with planting vegetable gardens.

Some providers 'go the extra mile' to help children and adults (sometimes multiple times) to attend appointments in Rotorua or Whakatane, access equipment, replace broken aids (e.g. glasses or hearing aids), get haircuts, clothing, access to mental health services and so on. Some also go well beyond their remit to fix root causes of problems (for example, investigations into the causes of an illness identified multiple problems in the family including lack of adequate heating and lack of insulation in the house, a need for eye-tests and glasses, disability support, etc rather than 'just writing a prescription') (Interview AP04.02.14).

Nevertheless, other agencies 'fob clients off as not eligible for their service', don't recognise the multi-faceted nature of social service delivery, and seem unaware of the 'no wrong door' policy. For example, people in Ruatahuna are unable to attend the Murupara Work and Income Office but must drive to Rotorua, making it a three hour return trip rather than 1½ hours (so doubling the distance and petrol costs) (Interview AP17.09.14).

I was also told that some public servants seem to turn a blind eye to the addiction issues, or think nothing can be done, or in fact don't have any idea what to do when encountering large, hugely dysfunctional, families. Or do not realise that it is their responsibility to persistently keep working to find the support their client families need from wherever the support can be obtained, whether through other government agencies, philanthropic organisations or from other members of the clients' whānau (Interview AP04.02.14). Given that half the residences in Murupara are rented it is also an issue that some private landlords fail to maintain their properties (Interview AP05.02.14).

Government social policy seems oblivious to the difficulty of making ends meet in a subsistence economy where there are few job prospects, profound poverty, and where families are tied not only by having purchased a cheap three bedroom house (encumbered with increasingly steep rates demands) which they then can't sell, shift or afford to maintain, but also by their deep spiritual connection to the place (see Part 5 below).

Services which are delivered from outside the community are frequently inadequate. Government administrative boundaries do not match so there are multiple jurisdictions which have to be navigated for service. (For example, mental health is administered by Lakes District Health Board, but general health by the Bay of Plenty District Health Board). There seems to be a lack of knowledge about where Murupara is ("not a suburb of Auckland"), and while myriads of assessments are made, nothing is forthcoming in terms of practical support. For the elderly there is a "don't want to know" attitude.

People feel that this is an area that has been forgotten. For example, during the 2004 floods "the army went to help the people in Whakatane but forgot us" (Interview AP01.10.14.14). Even local government input can be hard to obtain with street lights and pot holes taking months to repair.

At the same time, clients do not want to be told what to do by outsiders. Public servants who come from and work from bases outside the Community Board area are sometimes unaware of protocols and the traditions of the people they are working with (and for). If they did have a better understanding of how their clients operate and what they are asking for, progress could be made (interview AP17.09.14).

There are major differences between white, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class cultural norms and the minority-group cultural norms of Māori (Herbert 2001:10). In particular is the need to recognise that Māori, especially those who understand and live by the traditions, work collectively. Where there is dysfunctional behaviour it needs to be addressed by first bringing the families together. Then while reading and writing is the first priority for Pākehā families, it's useful to know that for Māori listening and hearing comes first, then understanding and assimilating the information (Interviews AP15.09.14.19; AP15.09.14.14; AP05.02.14, AP17.09.14). A former student of "an amazing [local] teacher, Tom Higgins" recalls that "we didn't write maths, we learned our maths from the stories he told" (Interview AP15.09.14.10).

Addressing needs is complex. Some potential clients have not attended school, so lack basic literacy and numeracy skills. This then escalates into a range of other barriers such as obtaining a driving licence (including progressing from the learner licence to the full licence), and completing the paper work to obtain a benefit. The lack of public transport also isolates people and makes it difficult to get to appointments in Rotorua or Whakatane or to attend classes at the Polytechnic. It is common for the proceeds of cannabis growing to be spent on funding children's secondary and/or tertiary education.

In addition, particularly where intergenerational unemployment and deepening poverty is emerging, people become apathetic and lack the energy and will to cope, escaping into drug and alcohol addiction, with a further sapping of motivation. Child abuse issues are not only about abuse, but also about the employment dilemma: staying put without work or leaving whānau and travelling to cities such as Auckland to find employment (Interview AP 11.10.13). All too often, "when the electricity company turns the power off because of unpaid bills, [the client] is too embarrassed to get help or to put a budgeting plan in place, instead 'drinking herself into oblivion' " (Interview AP10.10.13).

It is often the same few families/family members who "get into trouble" and these tend to be the ones "who don't know anything of their own people" and don't speak Te Reo. Those that are brought up with the kaupapa of their iwi and hapū don't engage in dysfunctional behaviours, but get a good education and move forward (Interview AP14.09.14.9). Violent behaviour tends to be fuelled by abuse of alcohol and other addictions.

While the Heartlands Centre has three lawyers who visit periodically, they don't do family law or court work, and anyway people are reluctant to turn to the law in case they are beaten-up in retaliation for seeking that avenue for help. In addition most can't afford legal advice and may not be eligible for, or able to access, legal aid (interview AP01.11.13). There is also an issue around the short term pilot and one-off programmes which are offered. Without follow-up support parents forget the new techniques they were taught to improve their children's behaviour and revert to less effective practices.

Some families have lost the arts of finding food in the rivers and forest and growing their own vegetables, but nor are the forests and rivers as accessible as they once were. Permits to enter the forests are needed (Interview AP11.10.13). The result is children going to school hungry and not in a state of mind for learning.

The importance of providing hospitality or supporting family members in a crisis (such as being with sick relatives in city-based hospitals such as in Hamilton or Auckland) can also tip families into debt. Food must be found for visitors even when finances are tight and other payments are put on hold/people go hungry and forgo dental and doctor's appointments as they can't afford these (Interview AP11.10.13).

For many, the public education system has let the community down. The amalgamation of the primary school and secondary college in 2013, while undertaken with good intentions, has left the secondary students without access to the technical equipment and specialist classrooms previously available at the former school site. The opportunity to use the former secondary school buildings for tertiary training has not been taken to-date.

Rūnanga

To try and get an improvement in service delivery tangata whenua formed rūnanga under the Rūnanga Iwi Act[43]. In 1990, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare joined with Patuheuheu and Ngāti Te Huinga Waka to form an entity, Te Rūnanganui O Te Ika Whenua[44], after a series of hui between the four iwi, to register their disquiet at government funding and services in Murupara being distributed and delivered through Tūhoe and Te Arawa agencies (Waitangi Tribunal 1993). The claim that these four iwi lodged in June 1991 was, however, concerned with the Crown's breaches of the Treaty with respect to lands and waterways.

> *In its report, released in September 1998, The Tribunal found that Te Ika Whenua held a proprietary interest akin to ownership of the rivers as at 1840 in that they had full and unrestricted use and control of the waters thereof while they were in their rohe. That right or interest was property guaranteed protection under article 2 of the Treaty and Te Ika Whenua were entitled to have had conferred on them in 1840 a proprietary interest in the rivers that could be practically encapsulated within the legal notion of the ownership of the waters.*
>
> *The Tribunal also made a number of recommendations to the Crown relating to the recognition of Te Ika Whenua's residual rights in the rivers, the management and control of the rivers, the vesting of certain parts of the riverbeds in the claimants, and the compensation owed to them for the loss of title resulting from the application of the ad medium filum aquae rule* (Waitangi Tribunal 1998).

While this was only a continuation of the court cases these iwi had been drawn into since the arrival of the first European settlers, it was a glimmer of the shifts in attitude to come.

After extensive consultation and approval from its registered adult members prior to the signing of the final Deed of Settlement, Te Rūnanga O Te Ngāti Manawa was created to be the post-settlement governance entity to act for the Ngāti Manawa iwi. A critical initiative of the newly formed Rūnanga O Ngāti Manawa was the development of its first strategic plan, in 2003. Rūnanga trustees created a vision for the future of Ngāti Manawa, its iwi and the rohe.

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[43] While Rūnanga had been in existence since the 1860s, the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 provided a framework which enabled legally incorporated rūnanga to become the administrative wings of tribes taking responsibility for devolved government services and the delivery of government programmes to members. While the Act was short-lived, many iwi did establish rūnanga or reconstructed existing ones to fit the official criteria.

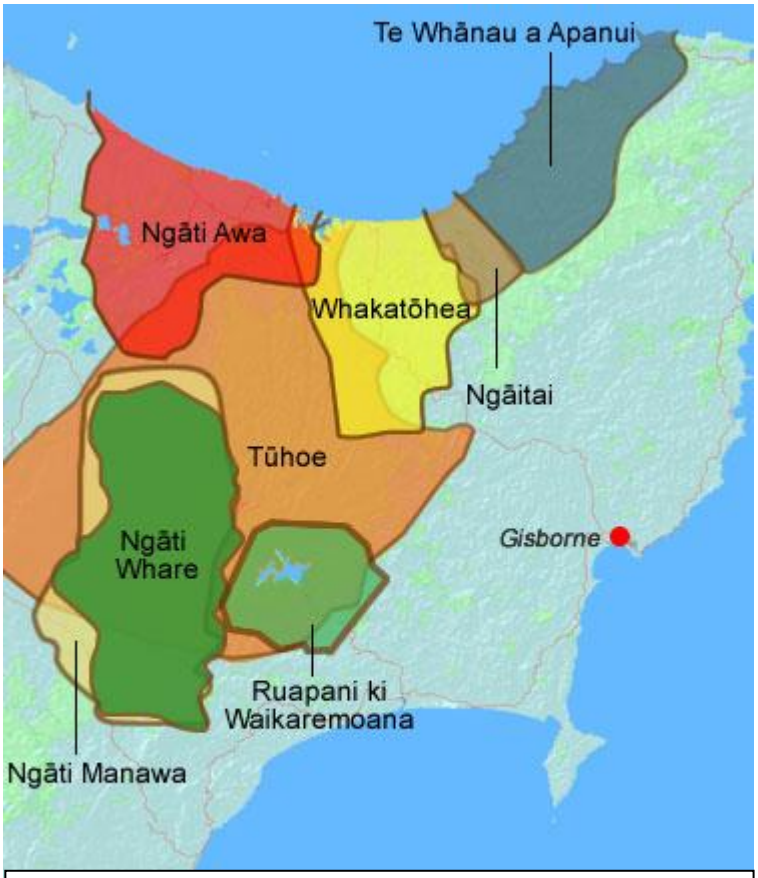
[44] Te Rūnanganui O Te Ika Whenua was initially formed under the 1990 Rūnanga Iwi Act and when that was repealed, re-registered under the Incorporated Societies Act. This new entity lasted until 1999 when Te Rūnanganui O Te Ika Whenua was deregistered in favour of new entities which better met each iwi's needs.

The plan documented major work underway and proposed on Treaty claims, as well as social and economic development goals.

Ngāti Whare established itself as Ngāti Whare Iwi Rūnanga Incorporated in May 1996 (deregistered in September 2000), and then as Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Whare Iwi Trust under a deed of trust on 14 February 1999. In December 2008 Ngāti Whare ratified amendments to its Trust Deed to allow Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whare to become a 'Mandated Iwi Authority' for the purposes of the Māori Fisheries Act 2004, the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Claims Settlement Act 2004, and to be an effectively structured post-Treaty settlement entity for the iwi.

The tribunals and court cases have required hours of input from iwi. It is very evident that an extraordinary amount of work has gone into consultation with iwi, discussion and negotiation with officials, research and documenting of the Treaty breaches and the dishonesty and unfairness with which government agents treated Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and other iwi with legitimate interests in the area (See Map 7).

Not only have iwi had to fight for redress over past injustices and failures to respect their interest in, and retention of, their own possessions, but their leaders have also had to be fully conversant with local government planning and rule changes introduced by Rotorua, Taupo, Whakatane and Wairoa district councils and the Bay of Plenty and Hawkes Bay regional councils, affecting the lands and waterways in which iwi have an interest.



Map 7: Iwi recognised by the Crown for historic Treaty settlement purposes (*Source: TPK 'Te Kāhui Māngai'*)

They have also participated in actions being taken to the Waitangi Tribunal by neighbouring iwi. Te Urewera inquiry hearings, for example (published between 2009 and 2015 in, to date, six volumes as WAI 894), have proceeded for over a decade[45].

In addition to working on settlement issues pertinent to their own iwi, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare were also engaged in the largest inquiry the Waitangi Tribunal has ever held. The inquiry addressed over 120 claims raised by Māori from some 50 iwi and hapū living in the Central North Island. The evidence was documented in a six-part report of over 2,000 pages [WAI 1200]. Culminating in the largest Treaty settlement package to that time being introduced into Parliament on 18 June 2008 (Waitangi Tribunal 2008), the Central North Island Forest Land Collective Settlement Act recognised the historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown, and the desire of the various iwi making up the Central North Island (CNI) Collective for the return of their land.

[45] Hearings were conducted on marae in Murupara and Te Whāiti in August and September 2004.

CNI forest lands became vested in a company, CNI Iwi Holdings Limited and the CNI Collective agreed to create a forum that would enable the iwi in the Collective to determine among themselves the principles and other guidelines that would help determine how the CNI forest land should be allocated (CNI Act Preamble; Cullen 2008).

The Crown signed settlement claims with Ngāti Whare on 8 December 2009, and with Ngāti Manawa on 12 December 2009. The final Deeds of Settlement for the two iwi were passed as Acts of Parliament in 2012.

Te Rūnanga O Te Ngāti Manawa has registered several entities (TRONM 2015), including:

- Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Manawa Trust, the governing body that monitors all other entities in the Group.
- Ngāti Manawa Custodian Ltd a nominee company created to hold properties acquired by the Rūnanga through the Treaty settlement (its directors are the Trustees of the Rūnanga).
- Ngāti Manawa Developments Ltd, a company created to invest and create wealth for the Group. This group acts as the commercial arm of the Rūnanga by identifying appropriate investments which are then approved by the Rūnanga trustees.
- Ngāti Manawa Tokowaru Asset Holding Company Ltd a company created to hold and manage Ngāti Manawa's fishing quota and shares, in line with the requirements of the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and Te Ohu Kai Moana.
- Ngāti Manawa Trustee Company Ltd a company formed to act as the Trustee of the Ngāti Manawa Charitable Trust. Trust directors are appointed by the Rūnanga.
- Ngāti Manawa Charitable Trust, established in 2009 to manage the Rūnanga's assets and achieve such objectives as education (including a contestable fund for providing scholarships and grants), health and social services, whānau and hapū development, poverty relief, youth development, support of Ngāti Manawatanga and marae, and spiritual support.

As part of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement between the Crown and Ngāti Whare, exotic plantation forest land is now being returned to Ngāti Whare to enable iwi members to progressively replace about 600 hectares of exotic plantation forest in the Whirinaki Crown Forest Licence area with indigenous forest as the exotics are harvested. Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Whare established the Whirinaki Te Pua a Tane Regeneration Trust to manage Project Whirinaki as a partnership between Ngāti Whare and the Crown.

Criticism has been levelled at the Rūnanga which are seen to be investing in the wrong things, losing money and lacking the skills to know how to manage Settlement money. Nevertheless, the focus on educating the young people and working to establish jobs in Murupara for Ngāti Manawa are seen as the right way to go (Interviews AP15.09.14; AR27.07.14). Many have bright visions for future local employment when the Treaty Settlement funds come through such as working with Tūhoe to grow tourism in the area.

Despite the fractured nature of the communities living within the rohe of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare, including many newcomers and people who had become disconnected from their whānau and marae, the core group of families who staunchly maintain their tikanga principles has provided leadership and an example to others. These families have achieved a resilience which has enabled them to endure, persevere and cope. Ultimately it has enabled major progress to be made, not only in adjusting to modern realities, but also fighting in the courts for justice and some compensation for the economic and other disasters resulting from

colonial settlement and the imposition of western values. What is it about their staunchly held philosophy and value system that has enabled these iwi to be so resilient?

PART 4: A RESILIENCE FRAMEWORK

Resilience is a dynamic process of adaptation to adversity which ultimately enhances wellbeing. A sense of optimism arises when, instead of being at the mercy of unmanageable external forces, people can use their adaptive capacity to absorb change and take control over their future direction (McIntosh *et al* 2008:3-4). Extensive international research by Douglas Paton (2007) and others (for example, Colussi *et al* 2000, Daly *et al* 2009) have identified eight key generic attributes of community resilience. Their research shows that, in the context of disaster management, action to build community resilience occurs at three levels: individual, community and institutional[46]. At the personal or individual level people know about and do small things to make a difference for themselves, their families and their neighbours. At the community level people work together to identify and articulate issues and risks, and collectively determine solutions and actions. In doing this communities are supported by institutions (such as government and non-government agencies, rūnanga, businesses, schools) which by encouraging community-led initiatives empower the community and help build mutual trust and respect.

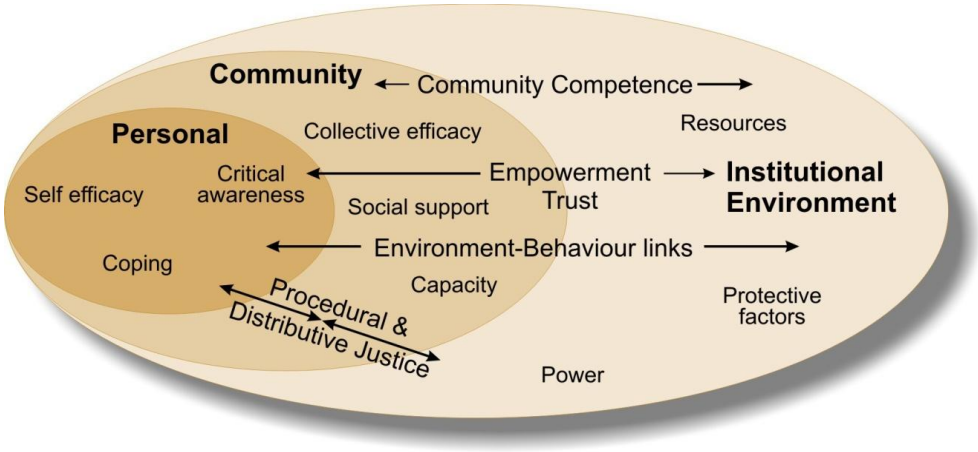


Figure 28: Model of the inter-relationship of the key generic attributes of community resilience (Paton 2006)

At the personal or individual level, the research identifies four generic resilience attributes:

- Critical awareness
- Self-belief
- Outcome expectations
- Taking action

Critical Awareness

Critical awareness describes the extent to which people understand their vulnerabilities and the risks they face in their everyday lives, whether hazards like earthquakes, drought or floods, economic risks (loss of job, theft of valuable assets), and health and safety risks. Research suggests that discussing hazards and risks with others can help people recognise how vulnerable they are likely to be to various risks and hazards, and how to prepare for and deal with them (Paton 2007).

[46] This section is based on the GNS Science Report *Building Community Resilience to Disasters; A Practical Guide for the Emergency Management Sector* Becker *et al* 2011

Self-belief

Self-belief (or as it is known in the disaster management literature 'self-efficacy') is the confidence people have in knowing they are capable of preparing for a disaster, coping and recovering. People with a high degree of self-belief are more likely to prepare for adverse events. Self-belief is strengthened in people who actively problem-solve. The research literature shows that people who are involved in community activities, whether helping to run a voluntary organisation or being keen participants in a community group, often become very good at problem solving.

Outcome expectations

When people have expectations that what they do will reduce a problem or risk, or improve their wellbeing after an adverse event, they are more likely to take action to prepare for adversity. Even when people think that taking action won't make any appreciable difference they can be encouraged to see what they can do to mitigate the effects (such as investing in various kinds of insurance policy, installing smoke alarms, and preparing an evacuation emergency kit). This requires people to be informed about risks and the measures they can take to counter risks.

Taking action

This is taking action to prepare for adverse events by identifying likely hazards, problem-solving on how to cope with them, and then taking action to eliminate hazards where possible or at least reduce the magnitude of their impact. This includes making good choices to reduce the potential adverse impact of disasters (disaster risk reduction), as well as planning to be ready for potential disasters.

<u>Community resilience: risk reduction, readiness, response and recovery</u>

While the four attributes above are individual responses, they are strengthened when people work collectively across communities, engaging collaboratively to identify risks at the community level, problem solve and address issues. By working together, people are better able to recognise potential hazards and risks, and articulate processes for dealing with them. This in turn raises the capacity of a community as a whole to prepare for adversity and recover from disasters. Just as conflict and fragmentation at the community level can contribute to vulnerability and hinder preparation for and recovery after a disaster, connected-communities with pre-existing community infrastructure find it easier to cope and adapt in an emergency (Thornley *et al* 2015).

Paton identifies two generic resilience attributes at the community level. These are:

- Community participation
- Articulating problems

Community participation

Where people are actively involved in local community affairs and projects they are likely to develop, as individuals, problem solving skills which are useful for resilience building. Examples include people working with others to improve community life; establishing or participating in local activities and events; contributing to good causes either with financial donations, in kind, or with their time; attending public meetings on a community issue; serving on local committees, being involved in volunteer activities that benefit the community and taking public office (Paton 2007:31).

People living in a resilient community feel they can influence what happens there. For example, ideally they will feel that it is worth while voting in local elections. By being involved they are often able to influence decision-making and help solve problems in their community. Particularly in the smaller rural settlements people find that there are positive consequences from participating in community activities. As they see this affects their own lives they take an active part in keeping their community going (Paton 2007:34). They care about the appearance of their community, they express their opinions about the way things are done by elected representatives, and expect their elected representatives to carefully consider the opinions of people in the community and use that information to influence what goes on in the community (Paton 2007:34).

People living in rural settlements note the importance of having opportunities to meet together to talk together (Thornley *et al* 2015). The closure of businesses and local services can remove the physical infrastructure and places where people meet (such as community hubs provided by schools, churches, post offices, farmers markets, and cafés) reducing opportunities for socialising and discussion.

Articulating problems

Articulating problems relates to the ability of the community to collectively discuss issues and more importantly understand the attitudes and needs of people from different parts of the community. It also means understanding the processes that can be used to manage different attitudes so that community needs and issues are addressed. Good leadership and facilitation is required to ensure that the voices of people from different parts of the community are heard.

Paton's work shows that when people are actively involved in community affairs and projects they make a contribution to defining and achieving community goals. The more people do this, the more likely they are to develop collective problem solving skills (Paton 2007, Blackett and Hume 2006). The more people from different parts of the community work together, the better the understanding of different view points, and the better the solutions.

Working collectively to resolve community issues or run an event at a community level enables people to build their own skills, and their knowledge about the skills, capability and competence of others in their community. The networks which evolve from this kind of participation in community activities are invaluable. Knowledge about people's strengths and weaknesses and the range of resources available in the community, means these people can be called on to prepare for, and recover from an emergency. Often however, most networking tends to occur within people's own social groups and there is little communication between different segments of society (Pomeroy 2011:56-62). However, where conscious efforts are made to build consensus to deal with a particular issue, very positive outcomes usually emerge (Pomeroy 2011:75). This requires good leadership.

<u>Community empowerment and institutional relationships</u>

Finally, Paton identifies two generic resilience attributes at the institutional level:

- Trust
- Empowerment

Trust

With good knowledge about each other, people are more willing to express their opinions in public - even when they know that what they say may be unpopular (Paton 2007:32-33). Having developed a level of trust, people feel more able to take the lead or actively support another person's lead. The quality of particular individuals and the knowledge she or he is

known to have when putting ideas forward, influences the uptake of ideas by others, and also the community's perception of the issue. How the community sees problems and responds to them impacts on what people do to collectively prepare for, and recover from, disasters.

Empowerment

When people know their ideas and concerns are listened to, and influence what goes on in their community, they are empowered. Empowerment influences a range of attributes of individual resilience. These include critical awareness of hazards and risks; having a positive expectation about the outcomes of taking action; having confidence in what can be achieved in a given situation; having the confidence to solve problems, and plan ahead; and the ability to recognise and use available resources to recover from an emergency. By feeling empowered people draw on their own inner capabilities and resources. They also work with others. By knowing in advance who to call on for help (whether unofficial support or official local, regional or national services), uncertainty is reduced.

Infrastructure and leadership

Community participation leads to social connectedness (which in turn builds social capital). which is also facilitated by community infrastructure, and good leadership.

Public facilities are important in providing meeting places and opportunities for people to meet and talk (such as the community hall, local shops, parks, pubs and farmers' markets). Likewise public events (whether a school working bee, a drought buster BBQ, fund raising concerts or competitions) are important for enabling people to meet (Thornley *et al* 2015:26).

On one of her speaking tours through New Zealand in 2006, Organisational Consultant Margaret Wheatley spoke of some of the lessons which were learned from coping with the disastrous floods generated by Hurricane Katrina:

> *When you need resources you have to know, well in advance, the people that can get them for you. You can't start to build networks with people at two in the morning* (Wheatley 2006).

Wheatley's commentary reflects the importance of networks for building resilience.

> *Networks begin with the circulation of information. This is how members find each other, learn from each other and develop strategies and actions…once the network has momentum, its passion and individual creativity propel it forward*" (Wheatley 2006).

Community resilience is strengthened by community leaders knowing where to get the support of institutions (and people) located within and outside the community (both in an emergency and in general). These include management services, social and administrative services, public infrastructure, as well as regional and national links (Twigg 2007:6). Belonging to community and voluntary organisations (such as marae committees), is also pivotal.

Effective local leadership is critical for resilience especially when such leaders are empathetic and 'walk the talk', so are trusted. Local people do not like being told what to by outsiders (particularly bureaucrats with limited knowledge of the district and how things are done), but are very willing to listen to people who have personal experience of the issue at hand, and work with the locals long term to solve problems and address issues.

While this is a western perspective mostly focused on resilience in the context of natural disasters, the principles are also those held by Māori. However, Māori who are embedded in kaupapa Māori and live and practice their traditional values take resilience to a whole different level.

PART 5: INDIGENOUS RESILIENCE

> *We have seen the strength of this people from the time of the depression to now. When work was abundant to high unemployment. The people of Murupara remain resilient and vigilant and will never be shaken by the challenges of tauiwi* (Programme presenters, Waka Huia 1998)

Against a backdrop of economic and social hardship, disasters and rampant discrimination, Māori remain resilient. This section discusses the key aspects of Māori culture which underpins their resilience including kaupapa Māori, attachment to land, the role of the marae, tikanga, leaders, language, total immersion schools and kapa haka.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is the philosophy and strategy for living which underpins Māori culture, the Māori way of living. For the people of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare culture is, in the words of Joan Metge:

> *"a living and lived-in reality…[which] encompasses a wide range of behaviour, including everyday practices…[including] not only outward visible forms but also deep inward feelings and values, which are relevant to and expressed in all they do* (Metge 1976: 45)

Those who hold onto their Manawatanga (or Wharetanga), that is, identification as Ngāti Manawa (or Ngāti Whare) and with Ngāti Manawa ways and cultural practices (*ngā tikanga o Ngāti Manawa),* and with Ngāti Whare customs and cultural practices (*ngā tikanga o Ngāti Whare*), have a set of attitudes and values (tikanga) which guide their behaviour and provide the foundation and framework for the way they live their lives. These practices have been handed down through the generations.

Kaupapa Māori is an approach based on the holistic makeup of Māori, both as individuals and as collective members of community, which works to advance the well-being of the collective. A significant aspect of the approach is that it asserts Māori language and cultural values. Integral to the practice of kaupapa Māori is that it is based on Māori thinking, values, knowledge, language, cultural protocols and views of the world (Mane 2009).

A series of articles covered by *Mai Journal* in 2014 on resilience from a Māori perspective make clear the very different philosophies which guide people who are raised within kaupapa Māori frameworks, compared to people raised within mainstream westernised/Pākehā cultures. Tocker (2012:15) identifies the difficulties encountered by people living Māori cultural values in a society governed by the English language and a set of values and social structure which are quite different from those in the traditional world of Māori.

One key difference is that Māori practice co-operation and collaboration in critical activities, particularly collective decision-making. For example, in te reo the term 'whānau' represents a collective that is more complex than the basic social institution of the family as understood in Pākehā culture. Whānau can be both whakapapa whānau (based on kinship), and kaupapa whānau which is purpose driven (Baker 2010:18, 64-65). In this context the relationships which bind whānau together and the protection and caring which whānau members provide each other are instrumental in enabling Māori to be resilient.

Baker's analysis builds on the work of Mason Durie. The latter states that whether people act as individuals, or as members of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori collectives:

> *A secure cultural identity derived from ready access to Māori cultural, social, and physical resources, can provide a strong foundation for well-being* (Durie 2003:71).

Durie (2003:23-24) lists six primary capacities which Māori expect of whānau. These are:

- Capacity to care
- Capacity to share
- Capacity for guardianship
- The capacity to empower
- The capacity to plan ahead
- Capacity for growth.

Manaakitia (capacity to care) and manaakitanga (nurturing relationships, looking after people) are critical for whānau. This is the expectation that whānau will care for the young and old, for those who are sick and disabled and for those who are temporarily out of pocket (Durie 2003:23). Durie adds, however, that material and social resources are required to do this effectively, as well as geographical closeness. Mead (2003:29) reflects that being careful about how others are treated is one of the key principles or values of tikanga Māori. He also notes that aroha (love, respect, compassion) is an essential part of manaakitanga and an expected dimension of whānaungatanga (relationships).

Tohatohatia (capacity to share) requires generosity and a sense of collective responsibility. The redistribution of wealth among family members is based on a spirit of selflessness, and reduces emphasis on personal possessions at the expense of the group (Durie 2003:23). While sharing means no-one becomes rich in material goods, the whānau acts as a buffer during hard times.

Pupuri taonga (capacity for guardianship) is acting as the trustees for whānau heritage whether cultural (language and stories), physical (land, carvings), and other heritage such as wāhi tapu (sacred sites) and knowledge of where to find food (Durie 2003:23).

Whakamana (capacity to empower) provides support and facilitates the entry of members of the whānau into the wider community, whether marae, school, sport or work:

> *Rather than individuals negotiating the terms of their own entry, the whānau is able to exercise its wider influence to ease the passage; to advocate on behalf of its people* (Durie 2003:24).

Whakatakoto tikanga (capacity to plan ahead) is exemplified by Ngāti Manawa's establishment of a Trust (Ngāti Manawa Incorporated) in 1975 to manage their iwi land development and also the long term planning for, and maintenance of, their marae.

A sixth capacity whakatini (capacity for growth), is exemplified by the gift of the women who, in light of the massive population losses following colonisation, bore large families (often ten or more children) through to the sixties. At that point the total Māori fertility rate dropped from around 6.6 to just under 2.5 births per woman today.

To achieve its aims Ngāti Manawa Charitable Trust has drawn on Sir Mason Durie's Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health model. According to the website of Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Manawa (TRONM 2015), the model uses the symbolism of the four stars of the southern cross, along

with the two pointer stars, to produce six navigational beacons to point Ngāti Manawa iwi in the right direction, being:

- Māuriora – Cultural
- Waiora – Physical Environment
- Te Oranga – Participation in Society
- Toiora – Healthy lifestyles
- Ngā Manukura – Community Leadership
- Te Mana Whakahaere – Autonomy.

The iwi incorporates "Te Puawaitanga o te Whānau" markers of flourishing whānau model (Te Kani Kingi) to build on Durie's theme. This states that a "flourishing whānau is when they are truly living, rather than just existing. Their lives fill them with a sense of ongoing vitality and they look forward to the future with confidence and enthusiasm". The Rūnanga's website (TRONM 2015) lists the six markers of flourishing whānau as:

1. Whānau Heritage – whānau know their distinctive Ngāti Manawa heritage – whakapapa, te reo, tikanga, waiata, customary land, presence on marae, access to waahi tapu and knowledge of Ngāti Manawatanga.
2. Whānau Wealth – whānau have sufficient wealth to enable a high standard of living – whānau assets, incomes, financial reserves, housing, land ownership, whānau financial security, job security, income security.
3. Whānau capacities – whānau have the capacity to participate fully in society – education, lifestyles, self-management of health, employment, positive interaction with institutions like schools, government departments etc, access to reliable transport
4. Whānau Cohesion – whānau are cohesive, practice whānaungatanga and foster positive intergenerational transfers of knowledge and experiences, quality relationships, open positive communication, whānau worldwide are able to participate in whānau life, positive whānau leadership, whānau events and involvement in traditions, whānau wānanga.
5. Whānau Connectedness – whānau connections lead to empowerment – positive use of social institutions like schools, healthcare, community facilities, whānau participate in community groups and events, whānau exercise their citizenship rights (vote), contribute to community boards, committees etc, and whānau are able to look inward and outward.
6. Whānau Resilience – whānau are able to overcome adversity and adapt to change – futures planning, positive whānau change over time, transmission of knowledge and values across generations, retain heritage while participating in mainstream, enduring whānau leadership and resilience.

People follow these principles because this was how they were brought up and it's the right thing to do (Interview AP15.9.14.11). The families that actively put these values into practice are secure in their tribal identity. In turn having a strong cultural identity strengthens health status[47] and enables resilience.

[47] For Māori, hauora is holistic and is a state of both mind and body. Smith and Reid (2000) comment that as with education the Pākehā health system does not serve Māori well.

Whenua

Underlying Durie's six primary capacities is the value system which guides behaviour. For example, as the mana whenua of the land within the rohe of Ngāti Manawa, the members of Ngāti Manawa have both the right and the responsibility (derived from spiritual sources) to maintain the land and manage it sustainably. Given that whenua is also the name for placenta, and that where possible mothers bury their baby's placenta within in the land of their hapū, there is, as Mead (2003:269) points out, a high value placed on land, and bonds which tie the people to the land. In pre-colonial times people didn't own land, rather they belonged to the land[48] (Mead 2003:273).

A critical point about connection with the whenua comes from one of the women who participated in discussions that framed Naomi Simmonds' [49] thesis:

> *It's that tūrangawaewae – the place where you stand. That's where you belong. It's who you are and that's part of you as much as you are part of that place. I think you just pick it up being around, it wasn't actually specifically said but you pick it up from, and absorb it, when you go back home, when you go back to the marae. And you just don't realise that you've taken it on board* (Simmonds 2014:114)

Similarly Baker discusses the role of the ahi kaa (iwi with a long unbroken occupation and authority in an area – those who live within the rohe as opposed to those who live elsewhere):

> *The ahi kaa are the whānau that literally keep the fires of mana whenua/mana moana burning. Without these whānau standing strong, there is no platform for the people as a whole* (Baker 2010:66).

Baker reflects on the considerable work done by the people left behind in rural areas to fill daily cultural obligations once shared by large numbers of whānau. She says:

> *The rural whānau fulfilled the ahi kaa obligations for their whanaunga living away. This included the upkeep of marae, papakāinga and multiple-owned land, looking after mahinga kai and other kaitiaki roles as well as attending inter-hapū and inter-tribal events. These whānau by necessity often became the repositories of expertise on culture and language and its transmission. They kept the ties to the land warm for their urban relatives, thus providing those living away with a tūrangawaewae on which to stand. Furthermore, they are often the repositories of oral historical account* (Baker 2010:66).

No matter where tangata whenua relocate to, the connection with place and people is never erased. One of those interviewed (on a visit back to Murupara) said

> *I come home as often as I can… Though I've left the community* [for work], *I have strong ties here. It doesn't matter how long you've been away, you're recognised. People greet you; they know who you are. … I keep in touch with the whānau by ringing them, texting, facebook, visits… I try to acknowledge cousins' birthdays and*

[48] While many Pākehā assert that they are also linked to particular parcels of land, it is of a completely different (lesser) order of magnitude than for Māori. For Pākehā, land is treated as just another piece of individually owned property. Pākehā have no hesitation in selling. For Māori the collectively owned land to which they are bound is not theirs to sell. They are the stewards of the land (kaitiaki), part of a long line of stewards, from those that went before to those that are coming after.

[49] Naomi Simmonds is Raukawa

keep involved in their lives. We keep each other updated – even the ones in Aussie. You have to make an effort when you're away (Interview AR27.07.14).

In her essay on Māori Geography, Evelyn Stokes (1987) quotes a Tūhoe proverb *Hokia ki ngā maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea.* "Return to the mountains to be cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimatea." As she says, this wise saying is an instruction to:

> *Return to your tribal home in Te Urewera to recharge your batteries, to reinforce your ties with tribe and region, to regain strength to carry on living in this world of conflicting demands, conflicting loyalties* (Stokes 1987:120)

And indeed, iwi members feel the pull: "Many of us leave. We have to in order to get training and employment. But we come back, particularly for tangi and weddings, including from overseas, and then to retire here" (Interview AP15.09.14.10). Nevertheless, when those that leave come back, they have to work to regain their place and position within the iwi.

Describing the importance of place (whenua) and the role of tīpuna and other kaumātua in transmitting understanding of individual and collective affiliation with tribal land, Stokes also quotes from Witi Ihimaera's *The Matriarch*.

> '*You are descended of many tribes…<u>but this is where you were born</u>…<u>this is where you belong</u>. And because this is your land, you must know it like it knows itself, and you must love it even more than it loves itself. You must get to know its very boundaries, e mokopuna, and every part of it because without this knowledge you are lost. Without it, you do not possess the land. You become a person without a homeland. You become a man who will never know aroha ki to iwi, love for your people and for the land. If you do not know this love then you cannot fight. Someday, you may need to know so as to challenge any person who might wish to take this land from you'* (Ihimaera 1986:95 in Stokes 1987:120).

The stories passed down from generation to generation (including the mythologies describing geological events such as volcanic eruptions) confirm understanding of what lands and waterways were used by which families, how the land was used, where food was obtained, gifts of land to honour relationships or in recognition of friendship and reciprocity, location of battle grounds, pā sites, and tapu places, and not least the māuri (life giving force) of the land (interview AP15.9.14.19, and see Roberts 2013).

Marae

Marae are identified as a key place where children learn to give their time, skills and resources. People's relationship with their marae is pivotal in their understanding of tikanga. Carrying out activities around the marae is the way in which most learn the importance of mahi aroha in supporting whānau and others and sustaining the integrity and mana of themselves and the whānau, hapū or iwi (OCVS 2007:22). Marae offer a range of opportunities to nurture the resilience of individuals, whānau, hapū, and iwi at all levels of society.

> *Marae are important - they are part of our life and culture. Our tīpuna walked through the marae, they raised their kids there… Nanny Taima spent a lot of time up there. She used to sit on the veranda with the other kuia. It was special. She used to keep an eye on us. Not that I remember her kōrero – but she had her expectations of us. She didn't have to tell you, you got a sense from her. She just had to give you a look and you would know! … When Rangitahi wharenui* [meeting house] *burnt down it was devastating. We lost all the photos of our relatives. For the four years before the new*

> *one was built we shared the whare of other Ngāti Manawa hapū. Everyone is connected, and everyone was supportive. Everyone turned up to help with the rebuild… Our ties are deeply buried in the subconscious – it's just what you do. We are one whānau, one people… I still remember the opening. I remember how beautiful it was* (Interview AR27.07.14).

Marae are important places where issues are discussed at length, consensus reached and decisions made:

> *The key qualities in regard to a hui are respect, consideration, patience, and cooperation. People need to feel that they have the right and the time to express their point of view. You may not always agree with the speakers, but it is considered bad form to interrupt their flow of speech while they are standing on their feet; one has to wait to make a comment. People may be as frank as they like about others at the hui, but usually state their case in such a way that the person being criticised can stand up with some dignity in his/her right of reply. Once everything has been fully discussed and the members come to some form of consensus, the hui concludes with a prayer and the partaking of food* (Pere 1997:44 quoted in Simmonds 2014)

The marae of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare provide familiar settings for discussion and connecting.

> *At Painoaiho marae the young ones have always had a voice. Colonisation meant the young ones had to be quiet (seen and not heard). But here the young ones get a chance to be heard. They have a voice. It's about getting the young ones to come home. You feel you are listened to. At hui everyone has a say. Male or female, in a hui setting, you all get to have a say*. (Interview AR27.07.14).

Even gang members work in the marae kitchens or help with maintenance work. They are part of the whānau (Interview AP15.9.14 14).

The marae are civil defence hubs as they are self contained. They are also a useful venue for all kinds of events. For example, short educational courses have been run at Tipapa marae on behalf of Waiariki Bay of Plenty Polytechnic. Because the marae is familiar territory, this works well. Most of the students need a visual approach in their learning (which Waiariki provides), and they also get pastoral care. It is easy for the kuia to come to the marae to talk to the students and tell them the stories of their ancestors and impart their tikanga (Interview AP01.10.14).

Tikanga

A key theme is the sharing of tasks, co-operating and working collaboratively. Combined with the strong ethos of caring for others (manaakitanga), such indisputable strongly held values enable resilience. For example,

> *Working with the harakeke* [flax]: *when you create something you create it with aroha* [love]*, it comes out beautifully. It's the wairua* [soul] *of the harakeke You connect with the māuri* [life force/spirit] *of the harakeke when extracting the silky inner fabric from the flax. I was taught by my Tīpuna. The skills come from her and I am connecting with her when I prepare the harakeke - the māuri comes through from that. You have to cut and clean the flax bush so that it keeps on growing for the next family that will need the flax* [using it sustainably]*. Then preparing the flax and learning to weave is hard at the beginning, but doing it together honours the Tūpuna* [ancestors] *and you are working*

with your iwi and hapū. My designs come from their designs. Weaving is so creative. It sets you up for life. When someone is shy and finds it difficult to engage, you get them started on the weaving. It draws them in. It's creating something from nothing. It's lovely to share this work. The women love to share the preparation, since the better the preparation the better the final piece. You have to prepare to work with the flax, and prepare the right design. It's like life. You have to be prepared to do well in life. You create for others. The final pieces are beautiful taonga [treasures]*. They are awesome gifts. You give your aroha out and the harakeke gives it back to you. Your whakairo* [carving – in this context the woven cloth you've created] *is aroha. You are weaving your people together as a family* (Interview ST10.05.13).

Similarly, while today some families in Murupara have gardens and grow their own food, people who have retained knowledge of traditional lore know, when money is short, where to forage for additional food and how to prepare it (Interview AP15.09.14.14). For example at the old village of Kiorenui, aruhe (bracken fern root) was a staple food in plentiful supply and, as Tom Higgins reports, a delicacy (Waka Huia 1998). Others note that berries and apples are plentiful (in season), while water cress and trout are available all year round (Interview AP 03.02.14). Many people talked about the importance of knowing where to gather greens, hunt for wild pigs and catch eels. A key aspect of their kōrero is the collaboration which underpins this work. It was then, and still is, a joint effort:

People helped each other – everyone was poor and everyone struggled. People didn't have gardens then, [they] *were like nomads moving around from place to place to replenish the stocks of food. People shared searching for kai* [food]*. They walked everywhere then, in flax shoes - everything was made from flax (and feathers) then. Special people did different things (had responsibility for doing special things) but people shared everything and did things together. We had big families. Ten was the norm. We shared preparing (cutting and cleaning) the flax, and the weaving and we did everything together. Sharing the preparation makes the work easier and quicker* (Interview AP23.04.14)*.*

There is a clear divide between the older members of the community who were raised on the marae, know their whakapapa, and learned the traditions from their kaumātua when they were young (have learned to honour and respect others and understand the importance of tikanga Māori), compared to some of today's youth who haven't participated, don't understand, lack pride, and lack connection with the land (Interview AP15.09.14.11). The older people who are familiar with their Manawatanga or Wharetanga are today's leaders. Their knowledge has been handed down to them from their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents, and they know they have a responsibility to hand this knowledge on to their children and grandchildren.

Simmonds observes how important kuia are as both guardians (kaitiaki) and disseminators of knowledge, whether tribal histories, cosmological narratives, traditional ecological knowledges, matters pertaining to pregnancy, childbirth and mothering, and so on. The kuia and koroua, but particularly the kuia, take the lead, but they do it quietly. They don't grandstand. They have the knowledge and they share it. They are the ones with the mana. They are the glue that hold things together, give advice, make things happen (Interview AP15.09.14.14).

Strong leaders are seen as essential to resilience and the continuance of the kaupapa Māori approach. Leaders vary considerably in style: people who are hard, those who are soft, and those who listen. But the people that the young ones look up to are the ones with the mana and knowledge which has been passed to them from their kuia and koro. They are not "the biggest mouths!" but they have charisma and concern for others (Interview AR27.07.14), they

do not have their own hidden agendas – they are selfless in working for the community (Interview AP30.09.14).

People interviewed spoke of how their parents, grandparents and other elders had instilled in them lifelong values and skills, such as this:

> *Respect others, be considerate of and kind to others, treat other people the way you would like to be treated, be honest and true, but not subservient – stand up for your beliefs* (Interview AP10.10.13).

These values are played out in the respect the young ones have for the old folk and the way they watch out for the elderly, gather firewood, help them maintain their houses, 'check in with them' and listen to them (Interview AP15.09.14.10). If the old people didn't talk about tikanga, it was because they lived it. Mere Berryman (2008:109) writes of the knowledge she acquired growing up within a culture of Tūhoetanga. It is a similar background to that which many children of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare experienced at the time.

> *I was the middle child in a family of nine children. My eldest sister and I learned from our mother to help care for our younger siblings. My four older brothers learned from our father to hunt in the bush, to gather food from the sea, the estuaries and streams. Together we all learned to nurture and cultivate Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, who in turn would sustain and nurture us. Our table was always supplemented by the foods we had gathered or grown ourselves, and we always shared these foods with others. In turn, our gifts were reciprocated. We learned the traditional ways, the tikanga associated with everyday occasions and life in general. However, although my father and mother spoke Māori they did not teach the language to us*.

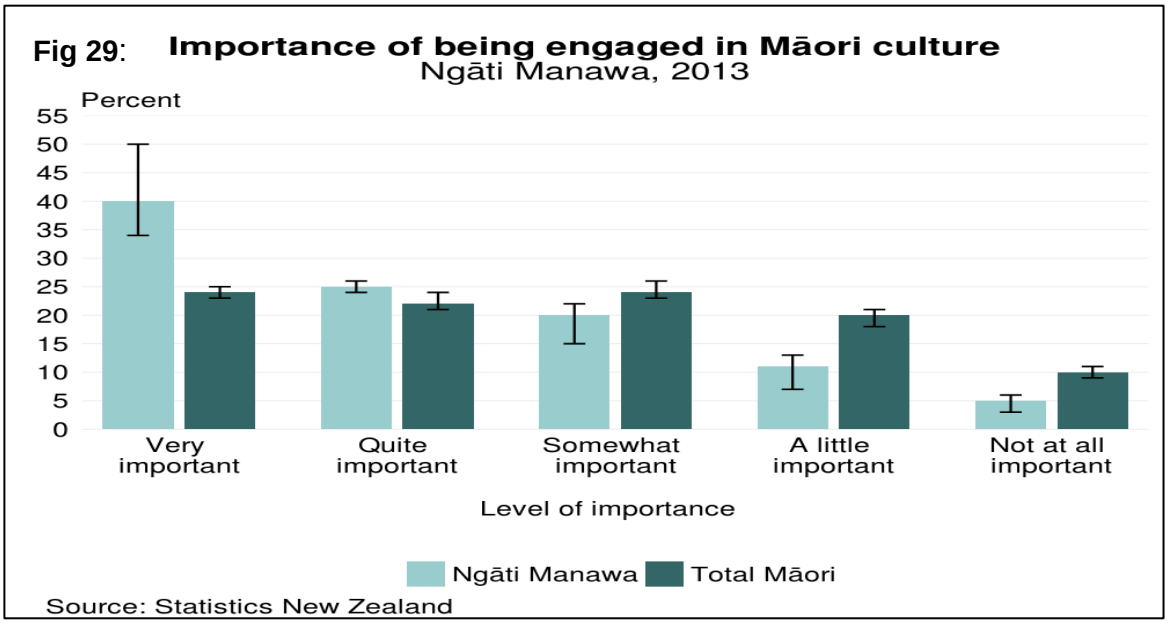
People who learn their tikanga from kaumātua and through lifelong involvement in te ao Māori (Māori world view) know that mahi aroha (cultural obligations/unpaid voluntary work), especially work done for Māori, is rarely a choice (OCVS 2007:15). Rather, it is undertaken out of a strongly felt sense of duty to whānau. This duty is a moral imperative – part of being Māori. To maintain the mana of the collective it is imperative to act according to tikanga. So when asked to do something by an elder it is understood that while you may choose to opt out, there is also an obligation or an act of reciprocity involved, so that there are consequences for those who remove themselves from mahi aroha or mahi marae. Having said that, those who do disconnect will still receive aroha from the whānau, and people who are away for many years will be received back (Interview ST 09.09.15). In effect, the implications of breaching tikanga through, for example, putting one's own needs before those of the whānau, provides a strong disincentive to assert individual will over the wishes of kaumātua. Implications might include the effects on one's mana and that of whānau, and the knowledge that you are placing additional burdens on whānau and community by failing to contribute to the wellbeing of the whole (OCVS 2007:15).

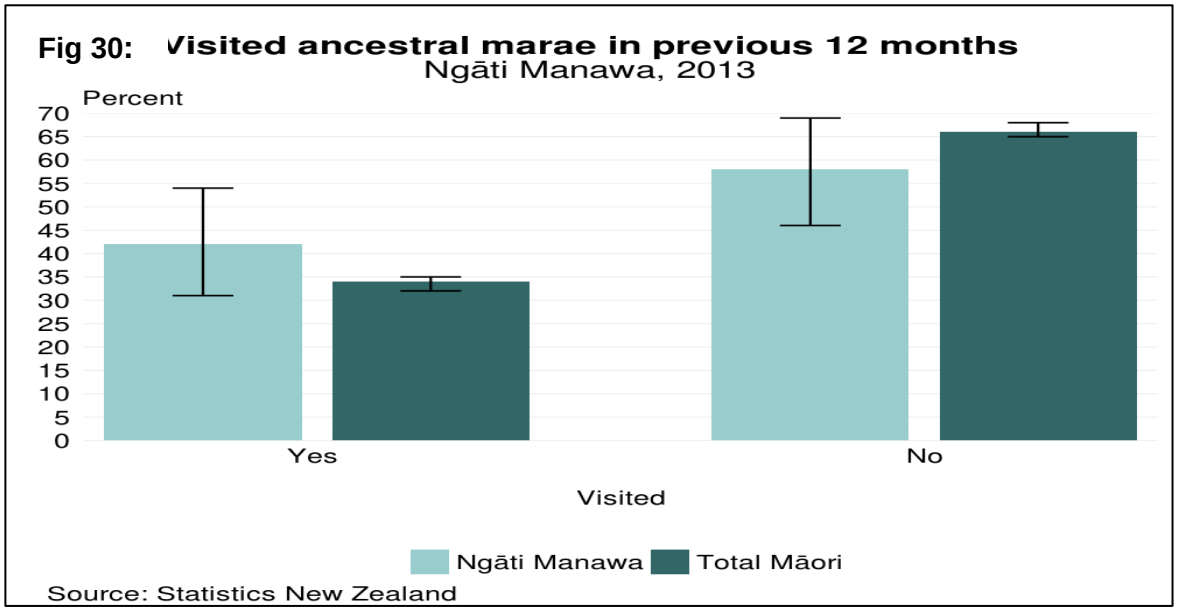
Needless to say, most people interviewed were honest about the failures within the community. Alcohol, drug and gambling addictions have affected role modelling of traditional values. "Families so affected end up with the wrong food, and their normal is the wrong image" (Interview AP03.02.14).

Nevertheless, there is a strong affinity with retaining the traditions and cultural heritage, including efforts to build succession planning into the strategic plans of the two Rūnanga including establishing youth councils. As kaumātua age they know it is essential that the younger people (particularly 25-45 year olds) have a firm grounding in the traditions, as well as experience with governance and management (Interview AP03.02.14).

Cultural connection

Statistics New Zealand has made available information on iwi cultural wellbeing based on the 2013 census (Te Kupenga). The tool provides information for Ngāti Manawa but not for Ngāti Whare (due to small numbers)[50]. Figure 29 shows Ngāti Manawa is an iwi which takes cultural engagement very seriously with 65% seeing culture as quite or very important compared to 46% of Māori in general.





Ngāti Manawa were also more likely to have visited their mare in the previous 12 months (Fig 30) (42% had done so, compared to 34% of Māori in general).

[50] The statistics are estimates using a methodology called small domain estimation. They are for the usually resident Māori population (and Ngāti Manawa population) of New Zealand living in occupied private dwellings on 2013 Census night, aged 15 years and over, and who identified themselves as having Māori ethnicity or Māori descent (and in the case of Ngāti Manawa, gave Ngāti Manawa as their iwi or one of several iwi). The confidence intervals give the range in which Statistics NZ is 95 percent confident that the true population value falls.

Te reo

People with a deep understanding of te reo (even if learned later in life) and familiarity with the legends are able to "think in the Māori way, rather than in a westernised way" (Interview AP14.09.14.19). These people are strong, staunch and resilient. They know the family histories (even though there may be five different versions), the history of arguments and foolish doings, of bravery and skill. When it comes to getting something done, everyone knows who will lead the waiata, who will lead in the kitchen, who will ensure continuing education, who will lead sports activities, and who will lead the movement to sustain the environment. No-one has a bigger role than anyone else, and everyone speaks. There is democracy, discussion and sharing of ideas, critical thinking and argument. Here even the children can speak (though not necessarily listened to) (Interview AP14.09.14.19).

According to the 2013 census, 36% of the population of Murupara speak te reo Māori (Table 4). Across New Zealand, 43% of the 1,251 people who affiliated with Ngāti Whare, and 37% of the 2,256 people who affiliated with Ngāti Manawa in 2013 could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori. This is a significantly higher proportion than New Zealand Māori as a whole. Many speakers of te reo in Murupara have learned the language as adults since they did not have the opportunity to learn as children.

Table 4: Percentage of people able to hold a conversation in te reo Māori (2013)

	Ngāti Manawa	Ngāti Whare	NZ Māori	Murupara	NZ
< 15 years	26%	28%	17%		5%
15-64 years	62%	60%	22%		4%
65 years +	12%	13%	39%		3%
Total	**37%**	**43%**	**21%**	**36%**	**4%**

Te reo Māori immersion schools

Tom Higgins, who taught in the Community Board area for many years, noted in 1998 that many parents were sending their children to schools outside the district (Waka Huia 1998). This is still a matter of concern in 2015. Higgins' dream in 1998 was that the children could be educated in Murupara at schools that would cater from the new entrant to the seventh form (year 13). They would learn their own waiata, their own heritage:

> *You cannot know a language if you do not understand how to use it, likewise our Marae, and how we live as a people. The genealogies are important* [for mokopuna] *so when they grow they will know who they are. Our traditional customs, those of our ancestors, caring for each other, elders looking after the youngsters, all of these principles are important. They remind us that we are a proud people, proud to be Māori.* …. [The] f*irst thing for me is that they* [the next generation] *understand the importance of the language they learn. So they are reminded of their uniqueness as Māori. We have language, we have belief systems, things that other peoples do not have, we need to embrace these things as Māori. Love for each other is also important to remember, even if we don't know them or they are troubled, we are there to help and support. These values we do not see often in other peoples. Education is fundamental, they can go and learn the pākehā system, but within them they will know who they are* (translated words of Tom Higgins, Waka Huia 1998).

In 1982 a group of Māori leaders aiming for a 'by Māori for Māori' approach to education established the first Te Kōhunga Reo (Māori language nest at pre-school level). These were followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schools), Whare Kura (Māori medium secondary schools) and Wānanga Māori (Māori tertiary institutions) (Bishop and Glynn1999:63). The objectives of these schools include preserving the Māori language and culture, validating traditional Māori knowledge and pedagogy while producing bi-lingual and bicultural children, and ensuring children retain their Māori identity as they enter the western world (Tocker 2012:16).

The value of this approach to education is that it is based on the traditional concepts of learning where whānau play a central role in decision-making about what children learn, how they lean it and who is involved in the learning (McClune 2013:5). Unlike English medium schools which start with the curriculum, Māori medium schools begin with a values framework. This means that the children who attend these schools emerge as bi-lingual and understand their local tribal history and beliefs. By having a strong knowledge of tikanga Māori concepts such as whānau (family), whānaungatanga (building relationships) manaakitanga (caring and nurturing support and respect), aroha (love and friendship), and mahitahi (collaborative and co-operative learning), children grow up with a strong identity - knowing who they are and where they have come from.

Ngāti Manawa were quick to engage in this approach to education. The iwi first established Te Ope Take Matauranga o Ngāti Manawa Charitable Trust (incorporated in April 1999). The Trust's mandate reached out beyond Ngāti Manawa to other iwi, community organisations and individuals, and had the following objectives:

- Create appropriate and accessible education and training opportunities for all the Murupara, Kaingaroa, Galatea, Te Whāiti, Minginui, Ruatahuna and Waiohau communities (the region)
- Empower learners with appropriate skills, knowledge and values for the workplace
- Create opportunities for further enhanced training and employment through liaison and networking with industry and other providers
- Foster personal and community development through kaupapa of inclusiveness and participation in the work of the Trust including seminars and wānanga
- Regularly research the needs of the region in respect to training and education
- Uphold the integrity of Ngāti Manawa's cultural, spiritual and intellectual property
- Honour the Treaty of Waitangi
- Actively involve the region in its activities.

Then with the support of Pem Bird (Ngāti Manawa, Ngāi Tahu), Murupara opened its first Kura Kaupapa Māori: Te Kura Kaupapa Motuhake o Tawhiuau, now a year 1-15 school[51], in 2000. Four of the schools trustees are appointed by Te Ope Take Matauranga o Ngāti Manawa, and the school's curriculum and core values are based on Ngāti Manawatanga and taonga tuku iho – Ngāti Manawa's spiritual and cultural inheritance.

According to the public announcement of the Kura's opening in the New Zealand Gazette, the aims, purposes and objectives of Te Kura o Tawhiuau are, together with the use of te reo Māori as the principal language of instruction, to:

[51] The school now also provides an opportunity for students to take degree studies in conjunction with Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki. The students combine lectures at the Kura and extramural studies at the Wānanga.

i. learn through te reo and tikanga o Ngāti Manawa
ii. lift the academic achievement of all children
iii. pursue excellence and quality in all areas of the kura
iv. produce bilingual and biliterate students
v. treasure children as taonga
vi. engender pride in mana Māori Motuhake
vii. honour the Treaty of Waitangi
viii. honour the principles of tika, transparency, accountability and kaimahi mo te iwi
ix. maintain a commitment to mana, manaakitanga, eke taumata, and whānaungatanga
x. create an environment where Ngāti Manawatanga permeates every aspect of the teaching and learning and in which children may have their māuri, mana and wairua nurtured so they may grow tall and proud as Ngāti Manawa and fulfil their potential. (New Zealand Gazette of 9 December 1999, No. 189, page 4472).

Within the classroom, educational practitioners who have adopted a Kaupapa Māori approach to education take a professional commitment and responsibility for their student's learning. When teachers recognise that there is a relationship between how they engage their students, and their students becoming positively engaged, their students' level of educational achievement rises. Such teachers explicitly reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining students' poor educational outcomes[52]. First and foremost these teachers 'care for their student's as culturally located individuals' (Bishop et al 2007).

The Education Review Reports for the school are very complimentary. For example, the following comments are typical:

> *The concept of culture as defined by the kura, captures the essence of what it means to be Ngāti Manawa, from the past to the present and into the future. Kaumātua and kuia play an integral role in the transmission of cultural knowledge (including te reo o Tawhiuau) to the next generation of descendants from Ngāti Manawa. Students display an unwavering belief and pride in who they are and where they come from. … Teachers are highly motivated and provide effective learning experiences for students. In addition to being well organised and prepared, teachers maintain high levels of critical reflection and ongoing evaluation practices* (ERO 2010).

Academic head of Kura Kaupapa Motuhake o Tawhiuau, Lianne Bird, has developed 39 titles in te reo Māori (in the Ngāti Manawa dialect) as a reader series for the kura tamariki (children). The readers tell the stories of Ngāti Manawa making the reading relevant for the young local readers, and were funded through Tau Mai Te Reo - the Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017 which aims at encouraging a bilingual New Zealand. In addition to their kura teachers, students are supported by the involvement of kaumātua, whānau, and hapū and their engagement with marae activities. These are all invaluable in retaining the aspects of identity, language and culture that are important to Ngāti Manawa (Kinita 2014). The Kura Kaupapa Māori approach to education is an example of how Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare are rejecting mainstream Pākehā models of education which don't work for them. By giving

[52] That is, they don't blame the students for their lack of progress, or blame parents for not being engaged enough, or families' poor socio-economic status (lack of books, study space, warm housing and nutritious food), even where such factors may well contribute to low morale and a disinterest in learning. Instead they look at their own teaching methods and find new ways to actively awaken a love of acquiring knowledge in their students.

expression to their own values and principles they are recovering the rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the whānau, and demonstrating their resilience.

Many parents are strongly supportive of their children's learning. "The men take their kids to the Kōhanga. They make as big an input into their kids' education as the mums" (Interview AP 15.09.14.10). Nevertheless, parents need to support their kids in extracurricular activities including sports and trips and not leave it to the same few (Interview AP15.09.14.11).

While Māori children attending English-only speaking early-childhood education or schools can experience "a crippling loss of confidence" (Blundell 2015) which impacts on their achievement levels, kura kids have strong confidence in their ability[53]. The Kura in this district are enabling the realisation of the elders' vision (to turn the community around and enable people to achieve their educational and life goals), despite the low socio-economic background of the participants (Interview AP03.02.14). Kaumātua, particularly kuia, also play a significant role in the kōhanga. According to the ERO report for He Maungarongo Te Kōhanga Reo:

> *The kuia and nanny speak te reo Māori throughout the day. Their fluency helps make sure te reo Mäori is normalised and a natural part of the day. Many of the children are confident speakers of te reo Māori. They initiate conversations with one another and adults* (ERO 2012).

ERO reports for Te Rangitahi Kōhanga Reo are similar:

> *Ngāti Manawatanga is the guiding principle that provides purpose and direction for the kōhanga management and learning programmes. Kaumātua, kuia, the whānau and kaimahi contribute and foster children's knowledge about their identity.* [They do this by] *learning waiata, mōteatea and pūrakau specifically about Ngāti Manawa, taking part in Rangitahi Marae events, and learning experiences involving the awa, ngahere and maunga* (ERO 2007).
>
> *The whānau are dedicated and passionate about the education and wellbeing of their children….The children experience a learning programme that affirms them as individuals as well as valued members of the Kōhanga reo and the wider community of Murupara* (ERO 2014a).

The teachers have high aspirations for their students and they are not being disappointed. Many more students are now going on to attend university and securing good jobs. Many kura graduates have gone on to obtain higher degrees, including doctorates. Some of these people have returned to the community where they are using their knowledge to support iwi projects.

Kapa Haka

The schools encourage participation in kapa haka as a celebration of mātauranga Māori, performance excellence and literary arts (Smith 2015). Not only is it the perfect incubator to foster te reo and tikanga among the whānau, but it encourages pride and connection with others. This extends to people who are not related. They are kaupapa whānau and included as family (Interview AP15.09.14.11). Kapa is a way of expressing the educational and cultural revitalisation of Māori and presenting traditional and contemporary perspectives on the Māori and wider world. As Ngāpō ('Bub') and Pīmia ('Nen') Wehi describe it, kapa haka is more than cultural performance. "It was, and still is, a lifestyle that was all about maintaining the values

[53] The profound value of bi- and multilingualism for raising cognitive skills not related to language *per se* has only recently been recognised.

and ideals of *being Māori, being whānau* and *being community"* (Haami 2013:14). In composing and choreographing waiata for their kapa haka teams, Nen and Bub "tried to impart strong family values, appropriate cultural mores, and a clear work ethic" (Haami 2013:15).

> *For me, the melodies, actions and drama of our performances were only a vehicle to carry the most important thing to our people, and that is the kaupapa, the theme and context of the songs…For the past 30 years I have chosen the haka as a vehicle to make personal statements about political and social issues* (Bub Wehi in Haami 2013:19-20)

Kapa haka consists of six elements (Haami 2013, Interview AP15.09.14.19):

- whakaeke (entrance)
- mōteatea (traditional chant)
- poi (action song and dance with highly skilled manipulation of a ball on a string performed by the women)
- waiata-ā-ringa (action song)
- haka (predominantly male action dance)
- whakāwatea (exit).

All the elements contribute to the story being conveyed. It starts with identifying the group performing and its connections back to creation, the place of humanity in the cosmos and spiritual roots, then recognising and greeting the host. The songs and poi dances may be a celebration of great leaders, such as educator Dame Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira (whose efforts to revive te reo led to the growth of the Māori immersion schools) and their visions of the future. The haka reflect key issues of concern such as youth issues, suicides, peer pressures, child abuse, solvent abuse, alcoholism, dealing with racism and other matters of social conscience. When in 2015 Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Christchurch) sponsored Te Matatini National Kapa Haka Festival, topics aired on stage included mining and oil exploration, TTPA, environmental issues, poverty, politics, child abuse, the media and cultural issues (Smith 2015). The words link with the actions. The exit is 'pure theatre'. It may be traditional or contemporary and humorous or serious (or both) (Interview AP15.09.14.19).

Months of preparation go into getting ready for the kapa haka competitions, from the making of costumes (including preparing and weaving the flax for bodices and skirt, and learning what each design on the bodice, or of the moko, signifies), to the learning of the songs and dances and understanding every word and every nuance of movement. It is team work and children learn to model positive ways of channelling their energy (Interviews AP15.09.14.14 AP15.09.14.19). While there is huge prestige in gaining places and winning these competitions, it is the knowledge that is gained in the process which is of such value in building a resilient people.

Kuia and koroua

Holding everything together, keeping cool, calm and collected during stressful times, and with the ability to unify people, the elders, the community leaders, are crucial in maintaining strong community relationships (Interview AP01.10.14.14). They do this through the respect they garner from their knowledge and the effective way they work with others (including not being judgemental). More particularly the way they live their lives, the philosophy which guides them, and their role modelling of this behaviour, becomes absorbed in turn by younger generations.

The value contributed particularly by kuia (female elders) is reflected in the following comment by Jo Mane[54] in a discussion on kaupapa Māori:

> *A significant legacy of the elders was that they promoted and lived by the values of tika, pono and aroha (to be correct, to uphold truth and love). These core values were integral to how they lived and were a central part of their cultural values, where decisions were made primarily for the benefit of the collective of whānau, of the extended family. The 'kaupapa' or the thinking was always centred on the well-being of the collective. Tika was about doing things right, for the right reasons, for the long term benefit of the collective. Pono upheld principles of being truthful and acting with integrity, as it was also about spiritual faith and connection to the spiritual realm, the acknowledgement of a greater being; and also of those who came before us. Pono was also about having faith in ourselves. Aroha was specific to the notions of compassion, care and empathy for others and also for the self. Aroha is also expressed as love for who and what we are, our language and culture, our people and our environment* (Mane 2009:3).

With the kaumātua as their mentors, the 'middle' generation of the hapū are also playing a critical role in the retention and use of traditional language, knowledge of the stories and history of the hapū, cultural practices and values. Following this kaupapa enables these people and families to be resilient.

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[54] Jo Mane is Ngāpuhi.

PART 6: CONCLUSION

Since the invasion of their lands by European settlers 150 or so years ago, and the perpetuation of injustice, racism, disregard for the Treaty of Waitangi, dispossession from their resources, epidemics, economic shocks and natural disasters, the majority of the people from Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare have remained true to their principles, values and culture. Their staunch attachment to kaupapa Māori, to their tikanga and language, has enabled these iwi to keep focused on what is really important: caring for others, sharing and taking collective responsibility, and continuing to guard their heritage. Nor is this an exclusive ideology. Newcomers to the community are welcomed. Non-kin who understand and practise the tikanga of kaupapa Māori are accepted into the whānau. As I found, the people of Murupara have integrity. They are humble. They look after you. They have a wonderful sense of humour. They are known for their manaakitanga. And they are staunch and uncompromising in their collective and honest approach to living. This, and their sense of identity and belonging, makes them resilient.

The principles of kaupapa Māori include key generic attributes and drivers of community resilience as documented by Paton (2007) and others. But kaupapa Māori goes much deeper than western understanding of the drivers of resilience. The people of these iwi understand their vulnerabilities and risks, but they hold the belief of knowing that as a collective, as individuals within a web or network of relationships (see Penehira *et al* 2014) they will cope and recover no matter what is thrown at them. These are people who have been resistant to assimilation pressures, who have never given up hope though it has taken 150 years to get an official apology for some of the wrongs perpetrated by officials, politicians and the judiciary. They have taken action and continue to do so, whether ensuring their children are educated in Ngāti Manawatanga or Ngāti Wharetanga, preparing for natural disasters, or dealing with gang violence.

As koroua Pem Bird says:

> *What makes us tick are our values of taking care of one another… If you do your job right, the children will become leaders…my children understand that they are working for their people. That's your role. If you can't acquire knowledge and skills for your people, you have no use* (Waka Huia 2015).

Murupara is a community where most people meet together regularly to discuss the issues. Marae not only provide a venue for socialising and exchanging news, but are places where everyone has the opportunity to talk through issues and make decisions in a democratic way. On the marae people work and laugh together, hear and share the stories and gain and retain the knowledge which enables not just being able to cope in an emergency, but to plan, and move forward.

The collective approach ensures that older people and children are cared for. Whānau 'pop in' to keep the elders up with the news and ensure they have everything they need. Emphasis is not on material possessions but on shelter, warmth, being socially involved, having a good laugh, and working together to maintain the marae and the houses of those who can no longer do this for themselves. Whānau members consequently have a strong sense of identity and 'social memory' of significant environmental sites, good fishing spots, cultural heritage, and other matters which strengthen identity. This enables collective decision-making and collective action, forward planning and anticipation of the needs of future generations. Most important, it enables the putting in place of systems to manage whānau resources and safeguard future generations (Durie 2006).

The whānau capacities identified by Durie are driven by the community leaders. Kuia and koroua with mana and knowledge mentor the 'middle' generation and engage the mokopuna with story-telling through which hapū history and values are transmitted.

Despite multiple apologies in legislation for Treaty of Waitangi transgressions, many Pākehā are unaware of the injustices perpetrated on Māori by our predecessors, if not ourselves. This history is not systematically taught in New Zealand classrooms, and has only really come to light in the last few decades as iwi bring their grievances and stories to the Waitangi Tribunal. Many older Pākehā have never thought to question the culture we grew up with, or the education which reinforced racist beliefs. We continued unwittingly to assume, like the English colonialists before us, that Pākehā were somehow superior. Consequently we are either oblivious to different approaches, or misunderstand or water-down what we hear.

Worse, the education system, the legal system, courts, social services, corporate and political entities are based on Pākehā culture, so are geared to the Pākehā way of doing things. This means:

> *Even before they start at pre-school Māori are behind. Pākehā say 'why can't you be like us?' But Māori are not them* [Pākehā]*. It's not just the values or content of the education system, but the whole educational establishment has to realise that Māori have a different culture, a different language, they learn differently, they have a different sense of humour, they see the world differently, they have a different value system … Government initiatives insist that Māori re-mould themselves to fit into Pākehā boxes. Everything is done in a Pākehā way* (Interview ST05.07.14).

While things have changed in the education system for those who go through Te Reo Māori immersion schools, the world for Māori still seems little different to that described by Robert Mahuta a quarter century ago:

> *…it puzzled us as children listening on the marae that we seemed to be out on a limb…Our perspective of history was a totally different perspective from what we were being taught in the schools… Since the dominant culture sets the pattern for development, we the Māori have suffered the ideological onslaught… There was always one group in power, the other was always the recipient of what that power structure decided. …Most of the decisions – planning, political, and economic decisions*… [were made] *'to serve the national interest'. When we seek to define the national interest, we find that it tends to be heavily weighted towards the Pākehā perspective* (Mahuta 1979).

Mahuta's solution was 'he hurihanga o te hinengaro' – a revolution of the mind (Mahuta 19979:20), and this in fact is being achieved by the nurturing of kaupapa Māori, te reo and tikanga. Kaupapa Māori gives people hope and hope is what motivates people and communities to stay connected and continue to work together for the common good (Interview ST05.07.14). At all levels of education in Ngāti Manawa' and Ngāti Whare' te reo Māori immersion schools, the tikanga, values and beliefs of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare are emphasised in the teaching programme. This is not only successful in producing exemplary results for the students, but it is building firm foundations for resilient whānau, hapū and iwi into the future.

The outcome for Māori students at mainstream schools is less hopeful, although it is vastly improved from the situation in 2008. Education review office reports note that at the recently established area school "many students are disengaged. Attendance levels in the senior

school are too low to permit students to progress and achieve at intended levels" (ERO 2014b). Not helping the situation was the speed of the merger of the former college and primary school in 2013, with the school operating across two sites at a considerable distance apart, and many specialist buildings for the senior students, including modern flexible learning spaces, still to be built or completed. Some 96% of the students are Māori and for most of these Ngāti Manawa tikanga is the norm. In 2015 a strong focus of Ngāti Manawa tikanga was introduced into the school day to positively influence the school culture and this has improved attendance and the attention of particularly the younger students. For the older students effort has also gone into creating vocational pathways with partner organisations to try to give the students meaningful and inspiring learning opportunities (ERO 2016).

Despite all the changes that came in the 1950s, the failed promises in the 1980s, and the drug and gang problems at the turn of the century, Murupara has remained a community that continues to maintain hope and dares to dream of better things (Māori TV 2015).

Why do people remain? The easy answer is cheap housing. Cheap housing has pluses and minuses. While you may be able to afford to buy when a house is cheap so gaining the benefits of security and being able to fashion it for your own needs, a cheap house locks you into a location because you can't afford to move somewhere else where the housing is more expensive, and this restricts opportunities to find employment. However, the real answer is "this is the place where our whānau are, it's our whakapapa. We are connected to the land and people. We all know each other. We are related to most of them". People imbued in tikanga and kaupapa Māori care for each other, acknowledge their whānaungatanga (bonds of kinship), and practice manaakitanga and kotahitanga (respect for others) and consensus decision-making.

Connectedness and a collective approach is evidenced in many of the formal actions taken by tangata whenua, including the CNI Collective action and the creation of Te Ope Take Matauranga o Ngāti Manawa. But essentially:

> *The women run the community – they are the strong leaders: they look after the kids and run the meetings* (Interview AP15.09.14.14).

> *Above all they consult and consult. It may be time consuming but it's a strength. It ensures that there is a holistic approach taken to resolving issues. You don't miss major points, and when changes are made, everyone is on board. There is strong trust in each other in this community. You know who to go to to get things moving, and you always run things past the kaumātua – even just to express what you see needs doing in a way that will appeal to others and reflects tikanga* (Interview AP16.09.14).

The role of Government

As noted above, state sector restructuring resulted in the decimation of the commercial core of the timber towns. Public entities such as the Murupara Post Office and Savings Bank also closed. In the aftermath, postal services and EFT-POS banking were run from the government funded Resource Centre (Scott 1995:116). Scott comments that without this, benefit money would have been spent in Rotorua or Whakatane leading to further closures of local business. Interviewed in 1992, the view of the manager of the Murupara Resource Centre was that successful community development schemes relied as much on the injection of social services as on business services. It is not clear that the Government understood this or followed-through. Much has been left to the Rūnanga, the elders, and the Kura Kaupapa Māori to do.

Even though protocols may be recognised by officials, it is sometimes just 'lip service'. Outsiders not brought up with a Kaupapa Māori perspective don't fully understand, and don't spend the time needed to get to grip with the issues from this very different non-Pākehā perspective. While officials may think their clients should explain more coherently what the problems are, this is not easy. Clients don't always know what the service provider is actually asking them to explain. And how much to explain. Government programmes often have a limited life span. "Wellington doesn't realise that it can take years to get real traction with the hard core problem families that have lost hope and aren't connected" (Interview AP01.10.14.14)

Nevertheless, there have been some excellent officials, particularly some of the teachers who have come to this district, who speak te reo - even if they are from a different iwi. For example: "We have had some inspirational Tūhoe teachers here, and others from elsewhere, who have developed a system for growing teachers by inspiring the kids to get teacher training themselves, and also mentoring new teachers" (Interview AP30.09.14).

Mahi aroha

As resilient and pro-active people, the iwi are taking back control and making changes to turn their lives around. For example, a voluntary group of young people in Murupara have established a Youth Leadership Projects Team to provide activities for rangatahi. The team:

> *grew from a few passionate people who wanted to see their whānau reconnecting with their community. From there, the group has reached new heights and is providing an incredible base for the young people of Murupara to reconnect with the area and take part in smoke-free and drug-free activities. The group is promoting leadership by training their unemployed to become youth workers* (Cook 2015).

The Project team promotes healthy living and healthy eating, They are helping each other to give up drugs and alcohol, while having fun "bringing positive vibes to the young people, and having fun ourselves dreaming up activities [like rafting and basketball] for the rangatahi" (Tapara 2016). While they have won awards for their efforts this unpaid work is making a major difference to the lives of whānau. Activities like these rebuild broken family and community structures and reinforce understanding of the value of a collective, value-based approach to resilience.

Lessons for Pākehā resilience

Mainstream New Zealand could acquire some valuable skills by learning how to apply the basic principles of kaupapa Māori. For example, learning te reo Māori at a young age alongside English is in itself of value for building cognitive and language skills, for generating more creative thinking and awareness and sensitivity to the nuances of communication. Given how te reo Māori and tikanga are interlinked, learning te reo introduces different world views and perspectives, an appreciation of cultural diversity, and how culture influences behaviour, as well as adding value and meaning to life. Embracing our Māori-side (our taha Māori) is long overdue as is more comprehensive coverage of the history of Aotearoa. It would also be useful for Pākehā to trace our own roots and understand why our tīpuna migrated to this country. Now that we are here, it behoves us to take a more holistic view of our world, and the actions we need to take to care for each other, practise environmental sustainability and develop a value system that will strengthen our own resilience and the resilience of those who follow us.

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GLOSSARY

ahi kā	‘keeping the fires burning’ on the land by continued occupation
aroha	love, friendship
aruhe	bracken fern (root)
awa	river
hapū	sub-tribe / clan
harakeke	flax
hauora	health
hikoi	march / rally
hui	meeting / discussion
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kāinga	a Māori village or small settlement / foodstuffs
kaimahi	teacher/mentor
kaitiaki	guardianship
kaitiakitanga	active protection of the environment
kaiwhakaruruhau	patron / holistic support
kapa haka	Māori performing arts (literally form a line and dance)
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	Māori world view - concepts / values, principles and ideas which act as a base or foundation for action
kete	basket
kōhanga	pre-school
kōrero	talk / speech / narrative
koroua/koro	elder / leader (male)
kotahitanga	having respect for the individual in combination with consensual decision-making
kuia	elder / leader (female)
kura	school
mahi aroha	voluntary work
mahinga kai	guardianship of food gathering areas, resources
mahitahi	collaborative and co-operative learning
mana	honour, prestige, influence
mana whenua	owners of the land
marae	the meeting house and place of assembly/community venue of each hapū
manaakitia	capacity to care
manaakitanga	caring and nurturing support and respect, obligation of hospitality
mātauranga	knowledge

maunga	mountain
māuri	life-giving force
moko	face / body tattoo design
mokopuna	grandchildren
mōteatea	lament
ngāhere	forest
pā	fortified village
Pākehā	non-Māori, New Zealander generally of European ancestry
panui	newsletter
papakāinga	housing on land with multiple owners
pepeha	proverbs/figures of speech
poi	ball on string
pono	truth / truthful
pouako	teacher
pupuri taonga	guardianship
pūrakau	myth, story
rāhui	ban
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	self determination, sovereignty
rohe	territory, domain, boundaries of tribal groups
roopu whakaruruhau	steering group
rūnanga	council, tribal council, assembly, board
taha	side / perspective (taha Māori means the Māori side of an issue as distinct from the Pākehā or European perspective: the acknowledgment of the customs of one's Māori ancestors and their appropriateness - a person who tries to live by tikanga Māori principles)
tamariki	children / young people
taonga	treasures
taonga tuku iho	esteem for tangible and intangible assets passed down through the generations
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangihanga	funeral
tauira	students
tauiwi	non-Māori people of New Zealand
te ao Māori	Māori world view
Te Kāhui Māngai	directory of iwi and Māori organisations
Te Kōhanga Reo	Māori-medium pre-school
te reo Mäori	Māori language
tīpuna	ancestor(s)

tika	being correct
tikanga	culture, customs, traditions, values (practical codes of conduct that come from the dawn of time that permeate all aspects of life)
tohatohatia	capacity to share
tuna	eel
tūrangawaewae	place to stand (the place to which a person is especially empowered and connected)
wāhi tapu	sacred sites
waiata	song
waiata-ā-ringa	action song
wairua	soul
whakaeke	entrance
whakairo	carving
whakamā	shame
whakamana	empowerment
whakapapa	genealogies or stories which create a base or foundation of meaning for people
whakatakoto tikanga	planning ahead
whakatini	growth
whakāwatea	exit
whānau	extended family
whānaunga	relation/relative
whānaungatanga	building relationships, acknowledgement of bonds of kinship
whare wānanga	university
wharenui	meeting house
whenua	land