STANDING IN THIS PLACE

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INTRODUCTION

Standing in this place, Aotearoa New Zealand, means recognising the first peoples of the land and respecting their rights. Standing in this place means doing everything possible to ensure that the Treaty of Waitangi[1] is honoured in both spirit and letter.

In this lecture, four Pākehā[2] people analyse their past and continuing roles as supporters of justice for indigenous peoples. They consider firstly how these roles have changed over time, and secondly how they might evolve as claims relating to the Treaty are settled (i.e. during the post-settlement[3] period). To assist in the analysis, use has been made of a book by Jen Margaret: *Working as Allies: Supporters of Indigenous Justice Reflect*[4]*.* The book documents interviews with a number of supporters of justice for indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Australia. In the interviews, supporters describe the challenges of their role, how they have responded to the challenges and what informs their approach.

Settlement of Māori claims by the Waitangi Tribunal and through direct negotiation with the Government have always involved a Crown apology for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty)[5] and some redress in the form of monetary and/or land ownership compensation. Each settlement has a mix of other elements which reflects the unique nature of the claim.

While settlements generally provide minor compensation when compared with damage caused through breaches of the Treaty, the assets included in the process of redress contribute to the economic base of iwi[6] and hapū. The post-settlement period is likely to see iwi and hapū increasingly focus on cultural, economic and social development and establishing greater independence. A recent deed of settlement with Tūhoe included a clause containing some elements of mana motuhake. The Iwi describes these as being "*...directly connected to the Iwi's ability to restore and redevelop its own independence and cultural permanency*."[7]

With renewed emphasis on independence and tribal development in the post-settlement period, Pākehā wishing to continue to support justice for indigenous peoples will need to review their approach in order to ensure that their contributions are relevant, appropriate and not counter-productive.

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[1] The Treaty of Waitangi is an international treaty between the British Crown and Māori iwi. It was signed in 1840.

[2] See page 30 for a glossary of Māori words.

[3] Post-settlement refers to the period following settlement of iwi claims relating to actions or omissions by the New Zealand Government that breach provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi. Such claims can be heard by the Waitangi Tribunal, a permanent commission of inquiry established in 1975 to investigate and make recommendations to the Government, or through direct negotiation between the Crown and iwi.

[4] Margaret, J. 2013. *Working as Allies: Supporters of Justice for Indigenous People Reflect.* Auckland Workers Educational Association, Auckland.

[5] All references to the Treaty relate to the Māori language original, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Subsequent English language versions differ in significant respects.

[6] Iwi is capitalised when it refers to a specific body or organisation, and left lower case at other times.

[7] See http://www.ngaiTūhoe.Iwi.nz/

What follows is a series of reviews by four Pākehā authors who are considering their past and future roles in the light of new and continuing challenges in the post-settlement period.

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Most of our joint experience in trying to be supporters of justice for the tāngata whenua has been obtained through our role as educators of adults. This has been developed in our freelance work as the Rowan Partnership. The content of the work originated in our early years in Northland after we began to live together there in 1980.

Each of us separately had become members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in the previous year, following the normal "apprenticeship" as Attenders. Quakerism has shaped our shared work and our approaches to it. In what we have to say here we reflect partly on our own experience, partly on an important collective set of experiences shared with other Whanganui Friends, and partly on the way these experiences relate to Quaker commitments made at a national level through our Yearly Meeting.

We moved from the North to Whanganui in 1988, and quickly discovered that there were few prospects of employment in our new setting. We decided to establish ourselves as a freelance training and educational partnership. This would be based on a very wide range of offerings developed and practised in Te Tai Tokerau, including mediation and conflict resolution, communication skills, training of group facilitators, and training for organisations grappling with issues relating to the Treaty as it affected their operation.

This last area developed quickly into our major focus. Local government was considering its obligations under the 1991 Resource Management Act. Government departments were now required in a variety of legislation to take account of "the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi". Non-government organisations were being challenged in a similar way.

Among other individuals and groups providing training to meet this demand, we were somewhat unusual in being free to travel wherever the need arose. This meant that we worked in many parts of the country. We were often sought out by Māori staff within organisations, and would always seek meetings with representatives of the local tāngata whenua for their approval before going any further. This has yielded a rich source of stories and mentors.[8]

All of this resulted from previous personal experiences and commitments, descriptions of which require a brief account from each of us.

David

I arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1961, a graduate embarking on my first full-time job, almost totally ignorant about the country. I was employed by the University of Auckland as "Country Tutor-organiser" in adult education for the whole of Te Tai Tokerau. The first visit to my patch was made under the wing of Matiu Te Hau of Te Whakatohea. He was the Māori Tutor-organiser for the same area, so my first experience of the North took the form of total immersion in the Māori world and its manaakitanga.

[8] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit.*, p 200. She reflects here on working with non-indigenous people while remaining accountable to indigenous people.

My first wife and I rented a former sharemilker's cottage in the tiny settlement of Hukerenui, where we became deeply embedded in a whānau that farmed a few cows on ancestral land. I was happy to learn and to help with milking, catching eels, and spearing flounder on the mud-flats. We also took walks through the bush, hearing about the uses of each type of tree, and I provided transport to hui.

In the 1960s, the period of Aotearoa New Zealand's greatest prosperity, talk of injustice and Te Tiriti was muted, so I was learning about the Māori world in a political vacuum. Subsequently my career took me to Auckland and then to Wellington. I returned in 1978 to the new Northland Community College. This was a time when structural unemployment was hitting Māori especially hard and when protest about the present and the past was in the air.

The mood had altered. I was aware that I must make sense of it all and try to fill the huge gap in my knowledge about how injustices had arisen. A sense of obligation arose from the way I had in earlier times been accepted and nurtured in the Māori world, and from the blunt challenges that were now arising. These combined to start me on the road I now walk in trying to assist fellow Pākehā (and some Māori too) to explore their history, the ways in which it has shaped the present, and the obligations we have once these things are understood.

Jillian

I arrived from England in 1956. I was a teenager and came for what was expected to be a three-year stay while I trained as a nurse before starting a social work course at Bristol University. Instead I have lived here for 58 years. I belong here: this is home. Two of my three children live here, and three of my five grandchildren.

I am a registered nurse and a teacher, but most of my work during the last 30 years has been in adult education. Most of the past 25 years have been spent on Treaty of Waitangi education in a variety of settings that include work among Friends.

The catalyst for a move into such a specialised area was my appointment in 1982 as a member of a Community Health Committee in Whangarei. This was one of several committees set up to be the interface between community groups and the new Area Health Boards. The two Māori members told the rest of us that they were unwilling to be part of a Pākehā committee. They wanted a specifically Māori committee of their own.

I needed to make sense of this statement. With David I attended a workshop run by the Programme on Racism set up by the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand. I realised that my previous 24 years in Wellington had been lived in a monocultural setting. I was completely ignorant of the indigenous history of this land, and had been so for the whole time I had lived here.[9]

My new learning began there and has continued ever since. The work of the Women's Refuge movement has been one of the many influences. The Whangarei Women's Refuge appointed a Māori and a Pākehā coordinator, and required them to work together in what was then termed a bicultural relationship. They frequently came to me to discuss issues of injustice, inequality and Māori invisibility in positions of influence. It is from such experience that my understanding and commitment have grown into "working as an ally" (Jen Margaret's words) and they have ultimately brought me here to stand in this place.

[9] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*. p. 199. Much of this reflects Jen Margaret's notes on recognising and addressing issues of power and privilege.

David and Jillian together

In 1991, at the invitation of Australian Friends, we gave the annual Backhouse Lecture under the title *Loving the Distances Between: Racism, Culture and Spirituality*[10]. Looking at it now and reviewing events since that time, we note several changes at a national level:

- Increasing awareness of the reality and potential effects of climate change and environmental degradation.
- A variety of settlements of historic Māori grievances against the Crown.
- The first faint stirrings in the non-Māori community of concern for constitutional change.
- The rapid development of a larger Māori professional and managerial class.
- The continuing erosion and casualisation of opportunities for insecure workers.
- The way in which the nation's limited economic gains have primarily benefited a small privileged elite[11];
- The prospect of a Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement.

All of these developments have major implications for Pākehā who see ourselves as allies with Māori in the post-settlement period. They are all taking place in a context of widespread public ignorance and some resistance, well-orchestrated by those whose short-term interests lie in maintaining business as usual.

The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement in particular seems likely to give unprecedented influence over internal affairs to overseas corporate interests. It could reduce national control of environmental and labour relationships as well as our domestic economy. Understanding these matters is difficult, since much is being negotiated behind closed doors with no public or parliamentary access to the text of what is proposed.

Ironically, we may be seeing a process in action that has uncanny parallels with the process of setting up the Treaty/Te Tiriti. Māori in 1840 understood that it would bring them greater economic opportunities with no loss of authority over their affairs. The English draft of the Treaty revealed a different understanding, one that would subordinate Māori as "British subjects", and that accurately foreshadowed what eventually took place. If more New Zealanders knew our history, this experience might make us wary of present Government reassurances about the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement.

For the past quarter-century the Rowan Partnership has been addressing this public lack of understanding of Māori /Pākehā issues through regular workshops in workplaces and in community settings. Our efforts and those of other Pākehā Treaty workers have reached thousands of participants over the years. We are sharply aware that although this is still a minority, we now encounter less overt hostility than was common in earlier years. Perhaps we can hope that a different attitude is developing. Even if this only means that open expression of anti-Māori attitudes has become less acceptable, that in itself is a significant change.

Many participants in our workshops are surprised that we are Pākehā when they were expecting Māori trainers. We make it clear that Te Tiriti is important to all of us and that there is a clear role for Pākehā to work with it. It is a fact that few Māori care to endanger their

[10] James, D. and Wychel, J. 1991. *Loving the Distances Between: Racism, Culture and Spirituality*. 27th James Backhouse Lecture. Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Australia.
[11] Rashbrooke, M. (ed.) 2013. *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis.* Bridget Williams Books Ltd, Chapter 2.

cultural safety by working with Pākehā who are new to these matters. Even some well-meaning comments and questions based on a lack of information can cut to the quick.

As allies we have needed to work predominantly with Pākehā, making the past and the present more intelligible to them and enabling them to take part in change in their social environment. Our particular style involves a good deal of story-telling. We have faith in the power of the lived story when it is told without bias. We recall a passage from Philip Pullman's 1996 Carnegie Medal acceptance speech: "*All stories teach, whether the storyteller intends them to or not. They teach the world we create. They teach the morality we live by. They teach it much more effectively than moral precepts and instructions...We don't need lists of rights and wrongs, tables of do's and don'ts: we need books, time, and silence. Thou shalt not is soon forgotten, but Once upon a time lasts forever*."

We have maintained commitment to our educational work partly because it speaks to our sense of justice, partly because we are encouraged by the feedback we receive – sometimes years after the event – and also because of the development of relationships that have meant a great deal to us. Every hongi, with its respectful symbolic sharing of breath, simultaneously honours specific cultural imperatives and takes us beyond culture to the deepest place where we can connect with each other and with the life force of the universe. "*Knowing one another in the things that are eternal*" is the Quaker phrase for it.

As allies we must constantly nurture the quality of relationships that include sensitivity to issues of power, alertness to any hint of resistance, and openness to the giving and receiving of feedback. It is only to be expected that in the early stages of any new relationship with Māori people there will be an understandable wariness of any Pākehā as part of the dominant culture. Even when a deeper perception has been established, there can be rapid reversion to suspicion and resistance if obstacles arise.[12]

We learned this in a different context – that of Northern Ireland in 1996. We were visiting the community of Corrymeela, where Protestant and Catholic staff had come to live together and offer learning experiences to young people of both communities. They told us that despite their closeness, whenever a violent sectarian act took place in Northern Ireland it shook up their relationships and they had to work together to establish them all over again.

It is so easy to get things wrong. About 15 years ago we arranged a weekend gathering with Pākehā and Māori friends and colleagues. The purpose was to find better ways of communicating and cooperating in the search for justice. The interactions went horribly awry. In our efforts to avoid taking control, we misjudged the expectations of Māori participants. In their view we had called the hui and were therefore responsible for ensuring that it ran smoothly and effectively.[13] A great deal of repair work was needed. We were given a good dressing down by a kuia – and then, over a cup of tea, we were lovingly asked how we were and how our work was going. Honesty, integrity and trust are fundamental to all relationships, along with willingness to learn from mistakes and not be discouraged by them.

The Whanganui experience

In 1995, a land occupation (or as the Iwi would put it, a land reclamation) by local Māori brought a very direct challenge to Quakers and others in the city of Whanganui. It was an opportunity for putting the theory of alliance into practice.

[12] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p. 202. On building trust.
[13] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit.* p. 202. On the discomforts of working cross-culturally.

At a national level, Quakers had made several collective commitments. Part of the 1987 Peace Statement[14] says that "*Our individual human skills, courage, endurance, and wisdom, are vastly augmented by the power of the loving Spirit that connects all people … We will struggle to remove the causes of impasse and confrontation by every means of nonviolent resistance available.*"

The Quaker Yearly Business Meeting in 1988-89 produced a minute on what were called "bicultural issues"[15]. This noted that Quakers' traditional commitment to social justice "*compels us to acknowledge the rights of the indigenous people, of Māori, as tāngata whenua*". One paragraph of that minute reads: "*We call upon local communities ... to recognise the Treaty of Waitangi, and to address sources of Māori grievance in their area, using decision-making methods that include genuine partnership with the local Māori people.*"

By 1995 Quakers were ready to add a further statement on Māori-Pākehā issues[16]: "*We also recognise the extreme frustration experienced by Māori tribes and people, especially those of the younger generation, at the lack of real progress towards redressing historical grievances. This has led some of them to assert dramatically, by their physical presence on disputed land, their claim to the rangatiratanga (uncontested authority) guaranteed by the Treaty which their ancestors signed. We acknowledge that this guarantee has not yet been honoured in more than 150 years.*" This paragraph arose from the direct experience of Whanganui Quakers who decided to turn national statements into local action. In 1995 Te Ātihaunui a Pāpārangi, the Iwi of the Whanganui River, occupied a small public park in the city for 79 days. The park is known as Pākaitore[17] or Moutoa Gardens. The occupation/reclamation, which transformed the park into a living marae, expressed the grievances and the sense of identity of the Iwi, and made national and international news. It ended with a peaceful hīkoi away from the site and across the river to the Pūtiki marae. This avoided forceful eviction by police and the risk of violence.

On the night of the departure there was a kōrero at Pūtiki. Some of the younger Māori were furious at what they saw as surrender by their elders. One after another they stood and forcefully expressed their sense of betrayal. The elders did not defend themselves but simply listened – and eventually, as always in such situations, the rangatahi ran out of steam. Then Niko Tangaroa stood up and quietly explained why the decision had been made. He referred to the example of Parihaka[18], how the people there had responded to armed force with peace, nonviolence, manaakitanga and community. His contribution to the korero was a superb demonstration of conflict resolution skill. It gave a clear message to the rangatahi that violence and retaliation were not part of their kaupapa. We wish that more Pākehā beside ourselves had been able to observe proceedings on that evening. The message exemplified what Quakers wish to strive for in such situations – patient waiting and listening for the right way, non-defensiveness, appropriate use of silence, and final ministry.

Quaker responses to the Pākaitore land occupation/reclamation

In the early days of the occupation/reclamation, members of the Whanganui Quaker Worship Group went in a body to Pākaitore to show their support, and they were formally welcomed.

[14] Available on website: quaker.org.nz\Publications\Yearly Meeting Statements.
[15] *Ibid*.
[16] *Ibid*.
[17] Pākaitore was a traditional refuge and gathering place for the Iwi. The park contains several monuments of great historical significance.
[18] A village in Taranaki where in the nineteenth century two prophets led a campaign of nonviolent resistance.

Probably no one realised at the time what that visit would mean, or how important it was that Quakers were expressing collective rather than purely individual support. It illustrated Tim Howard's point that the relationships of Te Tiriti are primarily collective relationships: *Our cultural bias is individualistic. We have more collective power as Pākehā than we realise or are prepared to admit, as the colonisation of this country continues. And what is going to make a difference to that process from the Pākehā side is us allies working together effectively. I think there is something healing in that for us Pākehā too, as we work towards a more collective cultural identity in relation to these lands and waters, to these indigenous peoples. And not as some transposed Europeans with fragmented interests. At any rate, the relationship embedded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi is very much a relationship between peoples, between collectives.*[19]

That initial group commitment provided an opening for individual Friends to discover many practical ways of acting as allies. Again as a group, the local Quakers became part of citizen initiatives encouraging the District Council to exercise restraint and continue negotiations with the Iwi.

Later, when it seemed that police were likely to move in and evict the occupiers, other Friends used their networks to call on as many people as possible to form a human barrier around the grounds, so that police would have to break through that thin cordon in order to reach the occupiers. In the end there was no eviction, but the event has assumed a place in Māori consciousness in some quarters. Quakers were certainly not in the majority in the human cordon, but their action has given Friends increased credibility as a group. It has enabled Quakers to visit the Māori world without encountering so many barriers. Perhaps in a small way this is similar to the enhancement of the reputation of Friends that resulted from their famine relief work in Germany after World War I, and in their action in Ireland during the Famine (when they gave food relief without requiring conversion as other churches did)...

It was not hard for Friends to support the Whanganui occupation/reclamation, given the commitment of the Māori leaders to non-violence and their conduct of the event in the spirit of Parihaka[20]. A number of Whanganui Friends were continuously involved during those 79 days and afterwards. During the occupation/reclamation itself the two of us, just as an example, were engaged in the following ways:

- by joining small groups posted on perimeter-security duty. Here our role was observation of interactions with police and the outside community, so that we could act as witnesses in any court case that might arise;
- by lobbying the Mayor of Whanganui;
- by joining with others in sponsoring a newspaper advertisement asking for patience and negotiation;
- by being present in a silent vigil held in the centre of the city;
- by making financial contributions;
- by quietly transporting an occupier who had to be evacuated to an outside marae;
- by delivering a series of three public talks for the Race Relations Conciliator;
- by attending a debriefing session with a group of kuia after each talk;
- by being part of the human cordon;
- by being present on the site as often as possible - this was a signal to occupiers and to the community that some Pākehā were supportive;
- on the morning of departure from the site, by checking with a kaumātua about what was needed, and then by calling the District Police Commander to tell his officers to keep the public back while the kaumātua worked with the rangatahi who were still on the site until they were ready to leave.

[19] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p 33.
[20] Peaceful reaction to Government confiscation of their lands.

That period of intense activity strengthened and created relationships which have lasted through subsequent years. These relationships have been reinforced intermittently as we and other Friends have found ways to assist later developments. Quakers were centrally involved in programmes featuring public talks by Māori speakers. These included a series entitled "*Getting On, Moving On*".

The annual return to Pākaitore on 28 February 2000, the fifth anniversary of the start of the 1995 events, seemed likely to lead to full-scale re-occupation/reclamation. The aim would have been the registering of frustration caused by failure of the District Council to develop an appropriate relationship with the Iwi or to resolve with them the future of the land.

We received word of this, with no restriction on sharing it, and Jillian then spent a weekend drawing on our Pākehā networks through telephone calls and face to face conversations. The result was an acknowledgment from Prime Minister Helen Clark that the Crown had until then been an absent party to the issue. Iwi and District Council representatives were invited to Wellington to work things out with Crown representatives. The outcome, effective for the past 13 years, was reversion of the land from the Whanganui Council to the Crown.[21] It is now administered by a joint group of Iwi and Council representatives with a Crown Chair. From the Iwi perspective this is an interim arrangement pending final settlement of their historic land claims. These events have shown that when timing is appropriate, allies can achieve unexpected results through networks built for other purposes.

The year 2015 will mark the 20th anniversary of the occupation/reclamation. We are currently involved with iwi representatives and representatives of other civic institutions in administering a Pākaitore Oral History Project. It is creating an audio-archive of interviews with a wide range of people with varied experiences and perspectives not only on the actual occupation/reclamation but also on later developments. One of these is the recurring controversy about the spelling of Whanganui/Wanganui[22].

Te Awa Tupua, the Whanganui River

The most significant development has great interest for Quakers but does not require direct action from any of us. Indirectly it is likely to affect the whole Whanganui community. This is the potential settlement of the Whanganui River claim, now in the final stages of negotiation with the Crown.

The distinguishing feature of the settlement, similar in some respects to settlement of the Ngai Tūhoe claim, is likely to be that the entire awa – "*Te Awa Tupua, an integrated, living whole from the mountains to sea*" – will belong neither to the Crown nor to the Iwi. Te Awa Tupua will be recognised as a legal entity with two agents and guardians. One will be appointed by the Iwi, the other by the Crown. They will not however act on behalf of either the Crown or the Iwi, but on behalf of Te Awa Tupua to protect the health, wellbeing, culture and values of the river. In consultation with each other they will develop a statement of the values that will guide all decisions affecting the river. They will also develop a Whole of River Strategy by collaborating with all affected parties, and this will become legally enforceable. The Crown will vest the supposedly Crown-owned parts of the riverbed in Te Pou Tupua.

[21] Effectively the New Zealand Government.

[22] The city has been known as Wanganui for many years, and many Pākehā citizens are attached to that spelling for sentimental and historical reasons. It arose because the local Iwi dialect in its spoken form does not emphasise the "h". However the "h" is required in writing in order to make sense, and the Iwi have wanted the "Whanganui" spelling to be reinstated. More recently this has received the support of the New Zealand Geographic Board.

Current rights by others for use or ownership will not be changed but must be exercised in accordance with agreed values and strategy.

If the process proceeds as intended, this way of ending the long and litigious search for resolution of the Iwi grievance must be welcome to Friends. It would accord with all Quaker social testimonies[23], and especially with the statement about sustainability.

Constitutional change

The Te Awa Tupua settlement could also be the local gateway to a major addition to our national constitution. In discussing constitutional changes in Aotearoa New Zealand, Friends have shown interest in recent changes to the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia. These nations have recognised the entity Pachamama as an independent stakeholder in their constitutional affairs. Pachamama is the Latin American name for Mother Earth or Papatūānuku as we know her. Aotearoa New Zealand may be a long way from making such an acknowledgment in its national constitution, but the Whanganui and Tūhoe settlements could show the way to development of a similar concept at a real and local level, using processes that make the change more than mere tokenism.

Quakers, as well as Peace Movement Aotearoa and other Treaty workers, have been actively involved in the promotion of community discussions about constitutional change.[24] The Pachamama example has been raised as part of those discussions.

Ngāpuhi have introduced a further dimension to constitutional discussions in the first part of their claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. They have directly challenged conventional understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi. "*The Crown through its agents has perpetuated a fraudulent misrepresentation of Ngapuhi history by promoting the suggestion that Ngapuhi ceded its sovereignty through the Treaty of Waitangi … the legal, economic and political authority over Ngapuhi-nui-tonu lands, assets, people, hapū, marae are the sole domain of the iwi.*"[25]

This claim is still under consideration. In an unusual move, the kuia and kaumātua of Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu commissioned an independent report on their claim and this will sit alongside any report that the Waitangi Tribunal issues. The independent report, *Ngāpuhi Speaks*[26]*,* was prepared by an invited panel consisting of two Māori and two Pākehā. Contributions were made by other Pākehā including David. This is another example of ways in which Pākehā can act as allies.

Diversity in a post-settlement environment

The financial component of the settlements has given the affected Iwi a degree of actual or potential economic influence. This is already apparent among those who were first off the mark. Although the settlement process is flawed, and anything but generous, it does offer a way for iwi to return to the economic mainstream after a long exile from it. On a per capita

[23] Often roughly summarised as "Simplicity, Peace, Integrity, Community and Equality".
[24] Peace Movement Aotearoa, 2012. *Time for a change: A framework for community discussion on values-based and Treaty-based constitutional arrangements*. www.converge.org.nz/pma/change.htm
[25] *Ngāpuhi Speaks: He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.* Te Kawariki and Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2012. From Appendix 2, Statement of Claim 2008 (Wai 1040).
[26] *Ibid*.

basis the settlements are very limited indeed, but as capital concentrated into the hands of each iwi holding body they are a significant source of new or expanded ventures within the Māori economy.

Given the wide spectrum of Māori experience and perception, we can expect that some iwi will operate within the conventions of corporate business, while others may look for opportunities that will also address issues of inequality and kaitiakitanga. At present there seems to be a strong desire among iwi to oppose deep sea oil-drilling, but there may be less unanimity about other opportunities for prosperity and much-needed jobs even if they are based on unsustainable practice and on exploitation of finite resources.[27]

In the post-settlement environment the nation has an opportunity for rediscovering something of great value that has been lost for a century and a half. In his recent book *The Meeting Place*[28], Vincent O'Malley describes early encounters between Pākehā and Māori in which each was important and necessary to the other. They had to work out a way of living together which honoured this relationship. Meeting on the middle ground enabled each group to make modifications and adaptations to its expectations without sacrificing its cultural integrity.

In the country as a whole, the "middle ground" had disappeared by the 1860s. Māori were marginalised by colonial domination and the weight of Pākehā numbers. Re-emergence of iwi and Māori influence in business, politics, the arts and elsewhere creates new possibilities for reviving the middle-ground approach. Wherever numbers determine results, as in politics, Māori need allies who will speak and vote alongside them and will keep up the pressure to listen and respond to Māori needs.

Another view of allies

The terms "ally" and "alliance" need some thought. For some, the words are associated with military contexts. For others they may invoke a sense of being subordinate, of compromising one's own values. Neither of these interpretations is justified by history or usage. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* gives as two of the main meanings "*Combination for a common object" and "People united by kinship or friendship".* It notes particular application to treaty relationships between states, and to marriage. In "The Auld Alliance" between France and Scotland which continued between 1295 and 1560, there was no implication that one kingdom was subordinate to the other. It was much more than a military relationship.

If we are uncomfortable with use of the word "allies", it may be helpful to consider ourselves as mostly members of the '"auxiliary class" in the terminology of the Structural Analysis movement. It is another term for the middle class which emphasises the need to choose who we support and assist. As Tim Howard puts it: "*What is the role of people who by life choice, experience, education, or whatever, are auxiliary or helper class, 'middle-class'? Is it a role to benefit the elite – because that is what we are geared for – or is it to work alongside conscientised groups within the working class struggle?*" [29]

We are involved in a system, partly inherited, partly created over the past thirty years, that gives major benefits to the elite 10% whose incomes have increased in real terms and

[27] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p 202. Jen Margaret notes as one challenge for allies "*respecting different/conflicting expectations*" and says "*We should not expect unity. We need to be able to deal with working in environments where there are contradictions and complexity*."

[28] O'Malley, V. 2012. *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840.* Auckland University Press.

[29] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p. 35.

whose interests determine the direction of the country[30]. Tim Howard says: "*As Pākehā in this country there is a choice, but our natural tendency might be to...work with the existing system, a deeply colonial system that doesn't benefit indigenous people*."

Alternatively we can align ourselves with those who are disenfranchised and whose opportunities and incomes have remained static or actually decreased. Many of them are young indigenous people, but there are plenty of others whose situation is similar. They may be able to recognise the commonalities between the groups if they can overcome the barriers and divisions fostered by lack of information and deterioration of the standard of current affairs reporting in the media.

Being an ally does not imply subservience. We need not accept everything that our partners do or want. Tim Howard comments that *"A huge part of being an ally is being in a relationship of respect with Māori, with tāngata whenua, and actually acting that out. The other part is that there is a challenge to us not to go into the relationship as passive, unthinking servants but to go in with some strength, some spine. We're more use to Māori if we're coming in with all our skills, all our strength, and particularly all our integrity.*[31]

Māori demonstrated this during the wars of the 1860s. Those who chose the path of military alliance with the forces of the Crown caused despair among Pākehā commanders who were used to immediate obedience to their orders. For Māori allies such an order was the starting point for discussion about appropriate action. Māori allies were also distrusted because the forces they were fighting were not simply "the enemy" but were hapū and iwi with whom they had historic relationships and with whom they usually maintained a degree of communication.

As Quaker allies we can learn much from those precedents and from the Māori view of alliances. We too need to consider what we are prepared to do or not to do in a given situation. We have links with people among our own who may not share our perspective, but cannot be simply dismissed.

Quakers as a body cannot be expected to ignore other priorities that may restrict others' action on our particular concern. On the other hand we should be able to count on one another for support and understanding towards those of us who make Māori/Pākehā relationships an active priority. More than that, we should be able to count on wider participation by other Quakers at key moments such as those which occurred at Pākaitore.

Future experience will be varied. Some iwi will achieve great success; others may fail in their endeavours. Members of the expanding Māori professional and managerial class face temptations as well as opportunities. Some will serve their people and the wider community; others will serve themselves. Some who start from positions of great disadvantage will be able to discover great abilities; others will remain dependent or marginal. It has never been possible to make a statement about Māori which is true for all of them, and generalisations will be even less appropriate in the post-settlement era.

What we need is greater willingness to question the ways in which Māori issues are selectively presented or ignored by the media. We need to work on the basic assumption that the ideas, proposals and actions put forward through *representative* Māori voices will be worth exploration, whether or not we finally agree. This as we see it is hoa tautoko – the supportive stance of a friend, or of a Friend.

[30] Rashbrooke, M. 2013 *op. cit*.
[31] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p. 39.

In the words of Michael Leunig's *Prayer for Friends*:

We give thanks for our friends.
Our dear friends.
We anger each other;
We fail each other.
We share this sad earth, this tender life, this precious time.
Such richness. Such wildness.
Together we are blown about.
Together we are dragged along.
All this delight.
All this suffering.
All this forgiving life.
We hold it together.

MURRAY SHORT
Consultant (Management and Leadership Development and Treaty Work)

In this contribution I describe the origins of my involvement in supporting justice for indigenous people. This support was initially given in the context of the organisations within which I worked. It was mostly a part of collaborative efforts with colleagues aimed at improvement of the responsiveness of those organisations to Māori clients and the Māori community.

I have not used the term "ally" myself, but when appointed to more senior positions I did, as an individual, use those positions to promote improvements, because that is how hierarchical bureaucracies operate. Mitzi Nairn describes allies in this way in her contribution to Jen Margaret's book: "*I don't really have the same perception of individuals unless they are in key positions in otherwise hostile organisations, so you might say, 'so and so is a good ally*'"[32]. The agenda for such improvements was however, always developed collaboratively.

Origins of commitment to justice for indigenous people

As is common in my Pākehā generation[33], awareness of Māori came relatively late in my life. I had progressed through an education system that largely ignored pre-colonial history and the process of colonial oppression, including warfare, which followed the arrival of European settlers in the nineteenth century. Most of the schools I attended in Auckland and Wellington had few or no Māori pupils, and this lack of contact, together with the lack of relevant learning, meant that I lacked knowledge about Māori as peoples, their history, language and culture. I had some exposure through the Quaker community which had links with Māori, but this did not enter my consciousness much, if at all.

As a 23 year-old in 1970 I undertook a social work traineeship with the State Services Commission and accepted a 12-month placement as Māori Welfare Officer in the Department of Māori and Island Affairs in Rotorua. On my second day in this position, the District Welfare Officer, John Rangihau, took me to the local Tūhoe marae, Mātaatua, where a tangi was in progress. This was my first experience of Māori community life and it made an immediate and powerful impact.

My only previous experience of funerals had been in the Pākehā context. This usually involved a church-based service with a closed coffin and minimal evidence of grief.[34] I had no memory of seeing a dead person and the open expression of grief, anger and a range of other emotions was very new to me. All the proceedings were in the Māori language which heightened the sense of being in a totally different world, one that had existed next to mine without my ever knowing about it.

This experience at Mātaatua was the first in a series that I sometimes describe as the completion of my education as a citizen of Aotearoa New Zealand. It was actually much more than that. After the 12-month placement I applied successfully for a substantive position as a Māori Welfare Officer and lived and worked in Rotorua for a further 3 years. I

[32] Margaret J. *op. cit*., p. 182

[33] For a good description of Pākehā knowledge of and attitudes to Māori up to the 1970s see King, M. 1985. *Being Pakeha.* Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton. Pp 9-11; 105.

[34] I later learnt that this was relatively recent practice and that there was a Pākehā tradition of more expressive funerals, such as the wake, in earlier times.

began to learn the Māori language and participated in marae activities including the Mātaatua haka group.

My connection with the Tūhoe Iwi was cemented when I married Niwa. She came from Ruātoki, a settlement lying within Tūhoe lands in the Bay of Plenty. We have two children and four grandchildren and remain actively engaged with the extended family and the wider Tūhoe community.

Experience of Māori community life has highlighted for me the inadequacy and misleading nature of my early education. It has created in me a deep sense of the injustice with the way in which Māori, the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, have been treated in the process of colonisation, right through to the present time. This was the origin of my commitment to justice for indigenous peoples.

Initial challenges

The risk of loss of perspective was the main challenge facing me as I developed this commitment. Jen Margaret lists "*Knowing yourself – your identity and history*"[35] as one of the qualities needed by an ally. This is more difficult than one might think. I have already alluded to my lack of awareness of the politics of indigenous issues and there were other dimensions to this as well.

It is not uncommon for Pākehā to 'go overboard' and desire to "become Māori" (Michael King[36]) when they experience the richness and vitality of Māori culture and see the ways in which it is threatened by the ongoing process of colonisation. Feelings of guilt and loss of identity do not form a sound base from which to support justice. To quote King: *I feel nothing but sadness for Pakeha who want to be Maori, or who believe they have become Maori – usually empty vessels waiting to be filled by the nearest exotic cultural foundation – who romanticise Maori life and want to bask for ever in an aura of aroha and awhina. These are the same people who crumple with disbelief and shock the first time somebody calls them honky or displays some of the more robust characteristics of Maori behaviour*.[37]

There was much in my background that provided a strong foundation of identity and one might think that this would prevent a loss of perspective. However, I can now recognise ways in which the challenge was not adequately met for some time.

My parents provided a family and community environment with a clear set of values and strong appreciation of Western literature and music. Like other children in the Short family I studied music during my school and university years and I played the flute in orchestras and bands until the demands of a career took priority. Our active involvement in the Quaker community provided a framework of values with particular emphasis on peace and egalitarianism. We developed political awareness from an early age and were active participants in peace and anti-racist movements during the Vietnam War and the South African rugby tour period. My upbringing fostered clarity and strength of identity.

Participation in Mātaatua activities was a wonderful experience and it did have a major effect. I well remember the tingling sensation down my spine when taking part in the haka; this was a physical response to the beauty of the music. I was fortunate to be able to compare it with responses to music in a totally different cultural context when playing the flute. That kept me grounded.

[35] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit*., p. 197
[36] King, M. 1985 *op. cit*., p.179.
[37] *Ibid*, p. 179.

With other experiences I responded differently. With the tangi, for example, I was hugely impressed not only with what seemed to me a healthier way of managing the grieving process[38] but also with the commitment to community life that tangi represented. Tangi are significant exercises in logistics with hundreds, sometimes thousands of guests visiting during the three-day event. The people of the marae work long hours to make their visitors welcome by providing food and accommodation. Demands on the time and energy of individual members often conflict with the demands of their paid employment and I observed that several members of the Mātaatua community lost their jobs because of these competing obligations.

In my role as Māori Welfare Officer I was required to find employment opportunities for young Māori and to provide assistance and advice as they settled into their jobs. On occasions I was required to assist when problems arose with demands of the marae on their employment time. I found myself critical of the employers, most of them Pākehā, because they failed to recognise the importance and value of marae work.

This attitude did not recognise the dilemma that the employers faced in their need to meet deadlines and provide service to customers in a competitive environment. It revealed a loss of the sense of who and what I was. I was so impressed with the Māori world that the foundation of my identity and awareness was compromised. Not only were interventions based on this attitude likely to alienate employers but my ability to obtain job placements was threatened.

I would have been more effective if I had made a greater effort to understand the employer perspective as well as that of the employee. This would have encouraged understanding and assisted in the finding of solutions that respected both sides. There were lessons to be learned about the importance of self-awareness to being an effective advocate or supporter.

Bigger challenges were awaiting me. These were due in part to major changes in the Department of Māori and Island Affairs which led me to wonder whether my work was in fact supporting justice for Māori and whether it was appropriate for me to be in such a position at all.

Change of perspective

Until the 1970s the work of Māori Welfare Officers was an integral part of government policy designed to assimilate Māori into a single-culture society based on Western European traditions and practices. A significant gap existed between Māori and the rest of the population in terms of education, employment, health and other social outcomes in that single-culture society. Most of our effort was directed at measures designed to close the gap.

Because I was politically unaware of indigenous issues when I accepted the position, I did not question this at first. I'm sure I would have said at the time that the best way to support justice for Māori was to help to close the economic and social gaps. I did not recognise the risk that the policy may also require Māori to become more like us.

A speech by John Rangihau at a Māori Welfare Officers' Association conference in 1972 was the turning point for me. In challenging Officers about their part in promoting the

[38] By then I was influenced also by the work of Kübler Ross which pointed out that some Western cultural practices were no longer dealing healthily with the grief process: Kübler-Ross, E. 1969. *On Death and Dying.* Scribner, New York.

assimilation policy he used the imagery of the bellwether sheep leading the flock to slaughter. He pointed out that whilst the Welfare Officer worked to settle Māori people into new homes and jobs and improve their success in a Western education system, Māori culture and language was dying.
The Association accepted John's challenge and became an effective pressure group. Partly due to its efforts, the purpose and objectives of the Māori Welfare Division and the wider Department changed dramatically during the 1980s. Most of the employment, housing and welfare work was "mainstreamed", leaving the Department to concentrate on Māori cultural development through programmes such as Tū Tangata, Kohanga Reo and Mātua Whāngai. It was exciting to be part of this process and the new direction led me to deeper examination of my perspective on justice for Māori and my position as a Pākehā in the role of Māori Welfare Officer.

These developments occurred during the reassertion of "mana Māori"[39] in the 1960s and early 70s. This saw the rise of the radical (at that time) young Māori group Ngā Tamatoa and their campaigns which highlighted dishonour of the Treaty of Waitangi and promoted opposition to the All Black tour of 1970. The Māori Land March of 1975 was also influential. These actions increased Pākehā awareness of Māori values, culture and aspirations to an extent that had not existed since the mid 19th century[40].

Pākehā supporters of justice for indigenous people responded to these changes by placing greater emphasis on working to change attitudes among the general population and taking political action against the government polices of assimilation rather than working for or even with Māori. Mitzi Nairn puts it well: "*So anyway, one of the first messages if you like, in my experience of Māori colleagues was, 'Convince, deal with, challenge your own. Challenge other Pākehā, convince them, bring them up to speed, show them, open their eyes, get them out of our hair."* [41]

By 1973 my perspective had changed. I saw that it was no longer appropriate for me to stay in the Māori Welfare field. I resigned and took up a position in the Department of Justice as a Probation Officer. In 1975 I also completed an M.A. in Social Work at Victoria University. That study reinforced learnings from the period of change at the Department of Māori and Island Affairs and expanded my understanding of the role of supporter of justice for indigenous peoples.

Social workers are well aware that their interventions, whilst relieving individual disadvantage or disconnection, fail to affect the social, economic and political policies that are the root cause of individual problems. The interventions in isolation therefore tend to contribute to maintenance of social control and the *status quo*. This dilemma is particularly evident in the Probation Service, which is explicitly a part of the mechanisms for social control.

Peter Day has explored the ethics of social work and social control and concludes that the dilemma places particular obligations on social workers: "*The consensus view sees social work as a benevolent method of social control and this is one of its functions. Its other functions which can complement the control functions include the general aims of relieving social distress and offering material aid and counselling to individuals and families. Another general aim is social reform through pressure on government to implement or change social welfare policy. In arguing for this view it is essential that social workers continually re-*

[39] King, M. 1985 *op. cit*., p. 11.
[40] *Ibid*.
[41] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit.,* p. 184.

examine their position in relation to the norms or rules governing social life which they are supposed to support.[42]

One of the main lessons in this for me is that good intentions are not enough. One needs to maintain constant awareness of the wider context within which one acts. This is as relevant for supporters of justice for indigenous peoples as for social workers. A good ally needs this wider awareness in order to avoid the risk of exacerbating the very issues that are being addressed. My experience in the Department of Justice highlighted this for me.

Working within the justice system

Michael King wrote: "*If the assertion of mana Maori was an accomplished fact by 1985, the process of Pakeha adjustment to it was not. This latter process had barely begun. And it was proceeding at different rates in different areas of the national life. The guardians of the education system were among the first to begin to make changes, guardians of the law among the last to even consider them".*[43]

When I took up a position in Wellington as a senior manager in the Department of Justice in 1986 I was struck by the contrast presented by a prison and probation system that had a high proportion of Māori clients and yet predominantly non-Māori staff. Values, processes and structures were totally Western and there was no mechanism for bringing Māori views into the decision-making process.

It was difficult to know how best to support justice for indigenous peoples in this context. At times I questioned whether it was possible, and I considered moving out of the environment entirely. However, in the Rotorua Probation Office and later as Manager of the Taupo Office I worked closely with a number of Māori staff. Concerns about the lack of a Māori dimension in the Department led us to form an organisation which we called the Cultural Advisory Group. Our aim was to push for change.[44]

From my learnings about the importance of the wider context I could see that any change we might bring about would still be largely about assimilation, because the aim was to encourage greater participation by Māori in a Western institution. I was exercised by the dilemma that any intervention in this context was going to exacerbate the situation, not only by failing to deal with underlying causes but by propping up the existing system. In discussions within the Group we developed the view that this was a necessary stage in the process of development. The concept of a parallel system based on Māori values and processes would have been (and still would be) more effective. When this was proposed by Moana Jackson in a research project report in 1988, the Secretary for Justice wrote: "*Undoubtedly the most controversial part of the report is its advocacy of an autonomous system for dealing with Maori offences that parallels the existing criminal justice system. This proposal is rested on the status of Maori as tangata whenua and on an interpretation of the word rangatiratanga in the Treaty of Waitangi.*

It is not clear from the report what this parallel system might entail in practical terms. But it is a concept that has already raised concerns in the wider community and it is one which the Minister of Justice has specifically rejected. The Minister has made it clear that while he supports the need to make the legal system sensitive to Maori values and needs, he

[42] Day, P. R. 1981. *Social Work and Social Control.* Tavistock Publications Ltd, London.
[43] King, M. 1985 *op. cit*., p. 11.
[44] This was an example of use of my position in management to ensure that an initiative was properly resourced and ultimately recognised as part of the structure of the Department.

believes it is essential that New Zealand retains one legal system in which everyone is equal under the law."[45]

This position is still held by the government and there is little sign of willingness to consider significant change. Those of us in the system who supported justice for indigenous peoples faced a choice of accepting current policy or leaving the Department. My analysis of the situation led me to believe that if all those who were committed to change left the Department, Māori needs would continue to be ignored. This would lead to serious consequences not only for Māori but also wider society.

Of particular concern were Māori who had been or were to be recruited into the Department and were required to work in an institutional context that reflected exclusively Western European cultural origins. The risk was that they would find it a stressful environment and that this would have two potential consequences. One was that the unique contribution of Māori staff would be lost to the Department and the other was that staff turnover of Māori staff was likely to be high. The challenge for those of us who stayed was how best to encourage development of a system sensitive to Māori values and needs.

The Cultural Advisory Group concluded that it was most important to ensure that Māori perspectives were included in the decision-making process. The current minimal Māori participation at senior levels needed to be addressed through changes in recruitment, promotion and equal opportunity procedures. Because such change would take a considerable time, our first push was to have a Māori advisory group established that would have direct access to senior management of the Department.

We knew that this was an inadequate response to a deep and pervasive problem, but it was seen to be a necessary first step in ensuring that Māori perspectives were included in the decisions about more substantial changes. The rationale for this approach is set out in more detail in an article written in 1986 entitled "Biculturalism and Government Administration: Suggestions for Change."[46] In my view, awareness of the inadequacy of this early intervention informed the way in which we operated and we were thus able to avoid the risks of inappropriate action.

As part of its strategy the Cultural Advisory Group in 1985 organised a hui for the Department on a marae. As far as I am aware this was the first such hui for the Department. The deliberations and recommendations from that hui led to the establishment of the Department of Justice Māori Advisory Group which subsequently worked on the raft of substantial changes needed to make the Department more sensitive and responsive to Māori values and needs.

Once the Māori Advisory Group was formed, my role changed. As a senior manager in the Department I supported Group initiatives but was no longer directly involved in their development or processing. Interestingly, the last paper that I had taken through the departmental process recommended "...*that the manual of departmental instructions be amended to make specific reference to the inclusion of, or consultation with the whānau whenever a person requests such for job interviews, probation reports, performance reviews, discipline interviews or dismissal procedures.*"[47] That most of this is now a matter of course in all government departments is some indication of progress.

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[45] Jackson, M. 1988. *The Maori And The Criminal Justice System A New Perspective: He Whaipaanga Hou Part2.* Wellington, Department of Justice.

[46] Church and Society Commission, 1986. *The Pakeha and the Treaty: Signposts.* National Council of Churches in New Zealand, Auckland. Pp. 46-49.

[47] Department of Justice internal memorandum, 1986. *The Role of Whanau in Personnel Procedures.*

My support of justice for indigenous peoples in more recent times has been almost entirely a matter of working with Pākehā and non-Māori people. This has been through the Treaty education workshops that I offer mostly to State Sector organisations and through my work in the Quaker Treaty Relationships Group. Work with this group has involved workshops for Quakers and the preparation of submissions to government bodies on Treaty-related matters.

The post-settlement period

Actions and outcomes based on Pākehā (Western European) world-views can only lead to further imposition of that perspective and suppression of indigenous perspectives. That is why I always worked collaboratively in groups consisting predominantly of Māori staff, seeing my role as that of supporter for changes developed from the Māori viewpoint. Michael King describes adopting a similar role: "*In journalism and in history, I have always regarded myself as a kawe kōrero in the Maori field – someone who tried to carry aspects of the Maori view of the world to those who were not Māori and might otherwise be ignorant of such views. If all this had an ultimate objective, it was to make the Pakeha majority aware of Maori preoccupations, sensitive to Maori values, and responsive to Maori needs.*[48]

This type of role is likely to become even more important in the post-settlement period. I sense the existence of a common non-Māori perception that once the settlement process is complete, Māori should be able to look after their own social and economic outcomes. This perception is often revealed in criticisms that the settlement monies to date are not benefitting the majority of Māori.

Given the size of the settlement monies, this expectation is unrealistic. Iwi and hapū are developing their own economic and financial models that will ultimately deliver benefits widely among their members and this will take time. As long as Māori continue to pay taxes[49] they should also expect the same levels of service as everyone else. As they move towards greater independence they may wish to deliver services in their own way (Tūhoe have signalled that this is their intention), but funding for these services should be available in the same way as it is for any other tax-payers.

The move towards greater independence will accelerate. The post-settlement period is likely to see growing pressure for self-determination. Possible options range from devolution of certain government services, to extensive regional autonomy along the lines of the Scottish Parliament model. Indications from submissions to the recent Constitutional Review Panel suggest that many citizens feel threatened by such possibilities.[50] These common perceptions and fears need to be discussed openly and those who wish to continue to support justice for indigenous people will have an important role in the facilitation of debate.

We need to be aware of another feature of the post-settlement period. As iwi and hapū increasingly focus on economic development they will need to strengthen their organisations. This will lead to competition with other groups, including those in the public sector, for talent and expertise. Iwi and hapū may well give priority to employment of people with expertise in their own tribal knowledge and practices. Non-Māori organisations will continue to need Māori expertise but there is tension created by the competition between their needs and those of iwi organisations. This tension has existed in the past and is likely to become more prominent in the post-settlement future. Policies promoted in the past for

[48] King, M. 1985. *op. cit*., p 164.
[49] Ultimately the question of tax-raising powers for iwi will also need to be addressed.
[50] See Report of the Constitutional Review Panel http://www.ourconstitution.org.nz/The-Report

recruitment of more Māori into the public service will need to be closely reviewed and a broader, cross-sectoral and collaborative approach is required.

Reflections

Jen Margaret describes the challenges facing those who support justice for indigenous peoples and the variety of responses to those challenges. I have found this useful as an aid to reflection on my own involvement. I have referred already to the need for self-awareness and how difficult this is to achieve. It is a critical factor in effectively supporting justice for indigenous peoples. I have also referred to the importance of keeping the bigger picture always in mind. This counteracts the risk of failing to deal with underlying causes of injustice that are present in social, economic and political policy settings.

Other reflections relate to the building of trust and cross-cultural sensitivity. Jen Margaret points out that trust is important for strong relationships[51.] I must acknowledge the good fortune of my connection with Tūhoe through my wife and her family. This has given me a mutually-understood and trusted place in most Māori contexts. I am usually referred to as the hunaonga (son-in-law) and I'm treated as part of the Tūhoe extended family.

Through this relationship and those with Māori colleagues I have gained some insight into the issues that concern Māori and their attitude to these issues. I have been influenced by inclusion in formal and informal discussions and debates in the Māori context. These have provided an important check to my thinking and perspectives. As Jen Margaret suggests "...the whole question of how we know what indigenous people think of our work"[52] is one of the challenges. I have been fortunate to be part of processes where this has been revealed, largely through continuing relationships and dialogue.

Finally, one aspect of cross-cultural work with which I have struggled is the language. At first I gave the learning of te reo a very high priority. I achieved a very basic level of competency that allowed me to follow conversations and gain a sense of what was being said. I worked hard on pronunciation because I consider that to be a matter of basic respect for the language. I did not develop my vocabulary to the level of fluency. This was largely due to the major shift in thinking which, for reasons given earlier, led me to work almost exclusively with Pākehā. Learning the language became less of a priority.

I have struggled with the issue of appropriation of the language which is explored at a number of points in Jen Margaret's work. The interview with Alex Barnes and Melanie Nelson[53] in particular highlights a number of points including the reality that some Māori react against Pākehā use of te reo. Experience of this negativity on a number of occasions led me to examine my motivation for further learning. Despite clear encouragement from the Tūhoe community I have not as yet committed myself to more study of the language. The sensitivities in this area have been a factor in my decision to put my priorities elsewhere.

My uncertainty about the language makes a good point on which to conclude. It illustrates the fact that in this field of human endeavour, as in many others, it can be difficult to get it right. We need to keep working despite the tensions, uncertainties and challenges and accept that we will get it wrong on occasions. Alex Barnes puts it well when he says: "*...I do think there's a degree of humility around not being too earnest...It's hard work and I'm not trying to minimise that, but I also think that we need to give ourselves a break...*"

[51] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit.*, p. 202.
[52] Margaret, J. 2013 *op cit.*, p. 168.
[53] Margaret, J. 2013 *op. cit.*, pp. 41-68.

LINDA WILSON
Consultant, Occupational Therapist

My contribution is a reflection on my experiences as an ally within organisations, both government and professional, as they grapple with making treaty partnerships a reality. This includes the integration of diverse ways of doing things to ensure equitable outcomes, knowing that different structures and processes will be required.

I need to describe my background and its relevance to attempts to manage myself while contributing to a just society in Aotearoa New Zealand. I acknowledge Søren Kierkegaard's wisdom: "*Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards*."[54] Life at any given moment cannot be fully understood, because there is no single moment where time stops to allow us do this. Kierkegaard's observation was made in 1843 - the very time when the Colonial Office ruled that British law and the terms of the Treaty applied even to chiefs and their tribes who had not signed the agreement.

My background is that of an occupational therapist, working in a registered health profession that supports people in regaining or developing involvement in the activities that are important to them. This improves their well-being and quality of life. I have worked not only in practice but also in management and leadership positions within the profession and in other health and education organisations. For a period of time I worked in Hong Kong, and experienced the peculiarity of being perceived as part of the politically dominant minority. I was considered to be a European despite the fact that I had at that stage never been to Europe.

Because of this and also because of certain personal characteristics related to my gender and my previous size, I have personal experience of being considered "Other"[55]. Given my professional background, my age, the influence of feminism on my development as a single woman in the 60s and 70s, and my Quaker understanding about that of God in everyone, I am not surprised that I found it easy to understand the social and justice aspects of the Treaty. I link these together in my understanding of the need for change that will enable iwi to participate in activities that are important to them. At present statistical evidence about health, disability, education and justice in this country shows that this participation is denied to them.

Jen Margaret has written about the work of social justice allies, and it took me a while to see that I did act as a Pākehā ally, albeit in one particular organisation and one particular profession. I will describe some of my experiences in these two environments, focusing on the challenges that I faced. I do this as a Quaker and an educator, believing that the sense I make of my own experience is knowledge that I have to share with others.

[54] Kierkegaard, S. 1843. *Journals* IV A 164.

[55] "Other", often capitalised, is a concept from continental philosophy used especially in the social and psychological sciences to refer to and help understand the processes by which societies and groups exclude others whom they want to subordinate, who do not fit into the dominant society or are seen as different from it.

Otago Polytechnic

I work at Otago Polytechnic, a crown tertiary institution in the rohe of Ngāi Tahu[56]. Ngāi Tahu made its first claim against the Crown for breach of contract in 1849 and settled with the Crown in 1998. As part of that settlement, cultural redress was made in the form of confirmation of the ability of Ngāi Tahu to express its traditional kaitiaki relationship with the environment; tribal redress; an apology from the Crown; acknowledgement of the status; and dual naming of Aoraki / Mt Cook. Economic redress took the form of a payment of $170 million plus the ability to purchase property from the Crown. This financial acknowledgement has allowed the tribe to establish itself as an economic force in the South Island. Prior to settlement, the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board could not undertake any transaction greater than $10,000 without Crown approval. Today, Ngāi Tahu has interests in fishing, tourism and property as well as a diversified equities portfolio. All of these help to deliver social benefits to Iwi members[57].

Since settlement, Ngāi Tahu has worked actively with Crown organisations, for example those concerned with education and health, sharing responsibility for delivery of mutually beneficial services. Organisational changes at Otago Polytechnic such as the ones I describe below are designed to ensure that Kai Tahu ways are considered in all aspects of the Polytechnic's activities. The aim is to ensure that Kai Tahu, and therefore other iwi, have the rights and privileges assured in Article 3 of the Treaty. This has of course led to changes in what and how things are done, and has altered my knowledge and understanding. I have had to move from perceiving the need for change, to taking an active part in it, sometimes whether I liked it or not. These stories and reflections therefore differ from those of the previous speakers. I am describing post-settlement experience.

Any aspect of organisational and professional change requires a vision, a sense of what is possible and how it might be. The vision is normally seen at first by a very small number of people, possibly only one, and over time more people come to share it. I was one of a small group of staff in a position to collaborate in finding ways of transforming vision into policy. This included infiltration of the vision into procedures, persistently (some might say pigheadedly) showing what is possible, while others learned why and how things could change. It also included integration of newer or older methods into a "new normal" way of doing things. Schein [58] has observed that without clear strategies and processes designed to freeze the new normal in place, people will revert to the ways they are used to.

The Māori strategic framework at Otago Polytechnic adapted Mason Durie's three aspirations or strategic visions for iwi education[59]:

- *To live as Māori* – being able to have access to Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, which means access to language, culture, cultural practice, marae, resources, iwi, hapū, and whānau.
- *To actively participate as citizens of the world* – higher education should open doors to technology, to the economy, to the arts and sciences, to understanding others, and to making a contribution to the greater good.
- *To enjoy good health and a high standard of living* – educational achievement correlates directly with employment, income levels, standards of health and quality of life.

[56] Ngāi Tahu is the Iwi spelling of the name in the Deed of Settlement. It has therefore been taken up by the Iwi Corporate as well as being the normal dialect of the north. South of the Waitaki Iwi refer to themselves as Kai Tahu. This spelling is therefore used in local documents and pronunciations so documents coming from the south use the hard K in preference to "ng".

[57] http://ngaitahu.Iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/the-settlement/claim-history/

[58] Schein, E. H. 1985. *Organisational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass.

[59] Māori Tertiary Education Framework. 2003. http://www.minedu.govt.nz/

Six priority areas were identified: The Treaty of Waitangi; Kai Tahu/Māori leadership and staffing; Kai Tahu/Māori students; Kai Tahu/Māori programmes; Inclusive learning environments; and Research and Māori-centred knowledge creation. Progress on each of these is reviewed through annual reporting[60] by the Polytechnic to the local Iwi. It is discussed and critiqued at a meeting with the local Rūnaka. Projects, activities and targets for the following year are then built into every section or academic department's annual business plan. In this way Iwi aspirations are transformed into organisational processes that shape the everyday work of all staff members. Although there has been substantial progress we continue to have fewer than 10% staff who identify as Iwi, and Māori have a lower qualification completion rate than non-Māori students.

There are many reasons for this. As with any organisational change, by the time a vision has become integrated into daily practice and respected as part of the organisational culture, it is likely to have been challenged, diluted, and distorted. I think that such modifications come primarily from a techno-rational concept of problem-solving - the notion that one needs to fully understand the issue and the other's motives before the vision can be respected and implemented. It's very hard to respect different ways of doing things if your world-view requires you first to assess reasons for other behaviours. I learned this from work with students on the marae.

The Occupational Therapy Board of New Zealand sets out requirements for culturally competent therapists. These standards affect the education programme that I helped to deliver. We take first-year students to the marae as part of their social anthropology course. We explain that many of their clients will experience alienation from their familiar environment when they are in hospital and it's good for the students to know what it's like to be out of their ordinary environment on the marae. We also run our version of a Treaty workshop on the marae. All the students do their mihi, so that when they are called on to introduce themselves in practice it will not be the first time they've ever done it.

On one of the early marae visits the Tāua of the house called out rapidly and assertively to a student who was sitting on the pillow while unpacking her overnight possessions, telling her not to do that, correcting her behaviour, and explaining why. I had grown up in a Presbyterian Pākehā environment where an adult behaving inappropriately was taken aside and spoken to quietly. This was to avoid embarrassment, to give time for thinking about what had been learned and for understanding the importance of different behaviour in the future. We didn't "show people up", make a spectacle of them, or pick on them in public.

I felt sympathy for the student, and spent a long time trying to decide how I could make it better for the student. Did I have the courage to talk to a senior iwi woman about ways to avoid scaring the students? Could I improve the sense of safety that we were trying to build on the marae? If I as a relatively senior member of the profession had difficulty in plucking up the necessary courage, what could I expect from young students? I witnessed similar incidents in the next three or four years, and told myself that it wasn't my place to offer advice. I consoled myself with the thought that I shouldn't show her up, while recognising that I was a wimp.

Advice from a Pākehā colleague that things were done differently here, helped me. Several years later I finally got it. I finally realised that the student might feel embarrassed, but that all the others would be able to learn from the rebuke. More importantly, speaking individually to sixty students could breach the mana of the house sixty times. I saw that I was giving greater status to an individual than to the community. I now understood that conditional respect (respect for actions and decisions only if I can understand them) is not true respect. True

[60] http://www.op.ac.nz/assets/PDFs/MaoriAnnualReport2012-WEB-FA.pdf

respect is acknowledgment of the rights and legitimacy of another way of doing things whether or not it makes sense to you. My Pākehā colleague, seeing my concern and reminding me that things were done differently here, was being an ally to both me and the Iwi. We now use this story as we prepare students for their visit, explaining about individual and collective learning so that they will know in advance about what to expect on the marae.

Jen Margaret identifies working with one's own kind as a challenge for Pākehā allies. Some of us are not easy to work with. Following the signing of a formal Memorandum of Understanding between Otago Polytechnic and the Araiteuru Papatipu Rūnaka,[61] Treaty education is dual cultural. This means that Treaty workshops are compulsory for all new staff and are run by one Iwi member appointed by Kai Tahu and one Pākehā. These workshops include comparison of the Māori text and the English draft, and examples of breaches of the Treaty.

The workshops also include the Māori Strategic Plan and Strategic Framework[62]. These documents were developed by an internal committee, the Komiti Kāwanataka, made up of Runaka representatives, Council members and staff. This committee was established to provide a mechanism by which aspirations built into the Memorandum of Understanding could be monitored, reviewed and reported. Its formation was a deliberate response to realisation that the Treaty of Waitangi has no established implementation mechanism. Had there been some form of shared monitoring and reporting between the Northern chiefs, the British Crown, the French Catholics, and other tribes, iwi would not have waited until 1975 to have differences between the vision and daily reality addressed. The Komiti meets monthly to consider issues that arise at the Polytechnic, and provides support to those facing confusion and even hostility.

I was one of the Pākehā facilitators of the workshops for many years. Reception of the Treaty workshops was mostly positive; all were informative and only the occasional one was difficult. The greatest challenge saw me working with and attempting to control a small number of participants who were dominating the conversation. We resorted to issuing speech entitlement tokens: without a token you could not speak. When your tokens had been used, somebody else might give you theirs. By controlling speech we controlled those who participated.

Two of the participants (one Iwi, one Pākehā) had attended only because their organisations had directed them to come in order to comply with the Polytechnic's Strategic Plan. They could think of nothing they would do differently in recruiting, affirming, teaching, assessing or mentoring students who identified themselves as Iwi. It felt strange, but we knew that we had failed them. They felt let down once again by a system that, as they saw it, had progressively diminished their social standing over the last 30 or 40 years, as men, as Pākehā, and as skilled tradesmen. Promotion of systemic equity for iwi can make individual Pākehā feel demoted. Care, courage and compassion are needed when working with them, and this has to be done without changing the expectations that the organisation has of them.

Understanding of the difference between systemic and individual experience is important when working with one's own. Being a cross-cultural interpreter helps people to work out why they need to do what is necessary. I assisted a colleague to make sense of the requirements for consultation with iwi in a research project. In line with expectations established by the Health Research Council,[63] the Polytechnic's institutional ethical approval requires consultation about research design and an indication of the value of the research to

[61] http://www.op.ac.nz/assets/PDFs/Kai-Tahu-MOU.pdf
[62] http://www.op.ac.nz/assets/PDFs/2013-Strategic-Goals/Maori-Strategiuc-Framework-.pdf
[63] http://www.hrc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Te%20Ara%20Tika%20Guidelines%20for%20Maori%20Research%20Ethics.pdf

the Iwi. My colleague expressed concern, even indignation, because she felt that she was being personally challenged. I think she was surprised when I agreed she was being personally challenged, and we explored the very nature of what I understand in the wero and that it is personal; for the Iwi, established personal relationships are the pathway to working together successfully.

Helping others to understand why things may be cross-culturally different and difficult is an important role for an ally. Each of us develops strategies for dealing with difficult situations and relationships within our own culture and work-groups and these do not necessarily apply in all situations. Because of our ethnocentric tendencies, cross-cultural difficulties and problems that arise at personal, social and political boundaries feel more complex. Lynda Jeffs [64] argues that opportunities for learning occur when we are outside our comfort zone; if we are afraid, this learning just can't happen. Allies need to work with colleagues when they are challenged, outside their comfort zone, but not fearful. Allies find ways of explaining and putting differences into context, without glorification or rationalisation of what is just a different way of doing things. Provision of small reassurances and explanations can reduce ignorance. This is important because, as David Mitchell says: "*Ignorance of the Other engenders fear; fear engenders hatred; hatred engenders violence; violence engenders further violence until the only "rights", the only law, are whatever is willed by the most powerful"*[65].

Explanations about difference require recognition that iwi have the same range of human diversity as Pākehā. There are iwi whom I respect as individuals but do not warm to; people with whom I get on really well on a day-to-day basis but who don't always do what they say they will do; people who get a phenomenal number of things done through work, whānau and community involvement. They are just like the range of Pākehā I work with and just like the Quakers in my Monthly and Yearly Meetings.

I have known for a long time that when people evoke negative reactions in me I usually need to look inwards to understand what it is that I don't care for. By doing this I learn to live not only with others but with myself. Anne Wade, a UK Quaker, in an article about not being racist[66], describes her need in this way: *"… to take back my unhappy adolescent self that I was projecting onto them, and grieve with her until she sits easily within me. That's what's in it for me if I deal with my racism - I get back a missing piece of the jigsaw puzzle of myself and come a bit closer to being whole. Never mind worrying about whether this is a selfish approach - it is both healthier and more effective than trying to make ourselves be unprejudiced from the outside in, because we think we 'ought' to".*

Although there are clear ways in which Quakers can deal with structural issues such as constitutional reform[67], there are also ways in which we can combine respect for the Treaty with understanding about the effects of breaches of the agreement that compromise opportunities for iwi and others. These ways may be as small as saying "Kia ora" to Pākehā workmates on Waitangi Day, or reminding meeting organisers that we don't mix food and work here. My Kai Tahu office-mate was letting off steam one day about having to explain the same procedures to so many people. From that conversation we developed a now widely-used and regularly-modified policy document that informs people about where and

[64] Jeffs, L. 2001. Teaching cultural safety the culturally safe way. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand, 17*(3), 41-50.
[65] Mitchell, D. 2004. Cloud Atlas. p 297. Random House.
[66] Wade, A. 1997. *I'm not going to tell you … how not to be racist*. From *Quaker Monthly* and reprinted in *New Zealand Friends' Newsletter 80:2* pp13-16.
[67] Peace Movement Aotearoa, 2013 *op cit.*

why they need to go to consult with whom on matters related to integrating Kai Tahu ways into Otago Polytechnic[68].

Being an ally is about offering what we can when we can, and responding to requests for our involvement from iwi colleagues. Our involvement may change over time. In the early days I worked with the Komiti Kāwanataka: now I may be just as useful by having the courage to attempt karakia in Māori so that Pākehā colleagues can see that trying with good will is better than waiting for ever-distant perfection.

Occupational therapy

Jen Margaret identifies the challenge of sustaining commitment over time[69]. As in any relationship, activities may change but honesty and dependability must remain. My involvement with occupational therapy has offered opportunities at the personal, organisational, and now regulatory level. These opportunities developed as a result of my relationships with individuals and could not have been planned in any deliberate or strategic way.

In the early 1980s I worked with, and she says was helpful to, a student who was having difficulties on a fieldwork placement. At the time I didn't know that she identified as Māori. Many years later we reconnected through professional association. We have since run workshops together[70] and have written parallel pieces that explore differing perspectives on Te Tiriti.[71] I participated in her Master's research, and we continue to work on its subsequent publication. Nothing in this was deliberately planned, but the relationship has created possibilities for contributing to professional change. At the moment we are both involved in a review of professional competencies in occupational therapy[72]. This will have significant implications for the profession and for expectations of the ways in which services are provided to, for and by iwi. We have developed methods for consulting iwi therapists in ways that keep them safe.

I expect that the Occupational Therapy Board of New Zealand will create a competency specifically relating to the history, culture and social structures that influence health and occupational equality of iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand. We expect to receive criticism from people who think that we are going too far and too fast. I think that we are not moving far or fast enough. I expect that occupational therapists (those brought up here and recent immigrants) will feel challenged and extended. We must be ready to tell them that they are allowed to have these feelings, which are understandable, but we expect professionals to be aware of the potential for such attitudes to result in systemically inequitable health and educational outcomes. Individuals are not to be personally held wholly responsible even though collectively we tend to maintain inequitable systems.

In occupational therapy we talk about the "Just right challenge"[73] - extending people beyond what they are currently able to do. We deliberately ask a little bit more of people - because

[68] Otago Polytechnic Document 2012. *Awhina me te Muru*.
[69] Margaret, J. 2013 *op.cit*., p. 204.
[70] Whittington, I., Wilson, L., Hopkirk, J., Nelson, A. and Brown, K. 2010. Cultural safety: firm foundations to fluency. *Shifting Sands: NZA0T Conference Nelson 7-10 September*.
Wilson, L.H. and Hopkirk J. 2011. Bicultural, Multicultural, or My Cultural Perspectives. *NZAOT Clinical Workshops: Waitangi 24 November 2011.*
[71] Hopkirk, J. and Wilson, L. 2012. Bicultural observations. *OT Insight: The newsletter of the NZAOT*.Vol 33:5 p10-11.
[72] http://www.otboard.org.nz/GeneralInfo/PoliciesandPublications/Competenciesproject.aspx
[73] Christie, A. 1999. A meaningful occupation: The just right challenge. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal, 46: 52–68. doi: 10.1046/j.1440-1630.1999.00178.x*

that builds capacity and confidence and competence. The concept is slightly different from that of the "teachable moment" which is about seizing opportunities that present themselves because in that moment the ability to learn a particular task will be possible.[74] We need both approaches - to capitalise on opportunities and create others deliberately. We need to discuss and challenge, but not push people into fear and defence.

Being an ally

There are diverse roles for allies in all strata and regions of this country. I see my part as helping to build a "new normal" into organisational and professional activities, respecting iwi ways as their own, whether or not they make sense to me. I recognise that Pākehā can need a compassionate approach if they are to ensure adequate space for iwi. I see it as my job to support my own people while challenging their assumptions and leading them out of their comfort zones. If Pākehā don't take responsibility in coming to terms with their developing understandings we will perpetuate the section of our community that sees only advantage, not the more substantial injustices and inequities, in the *status quo*. We need to respond to any teachable moments that arise and to create specific challenges that move people to make changes in their daily ways of being here. Without active attention to change we will slip back, doing things the Pākehā way rather than our way.

I have come to understand that the important thing for an ally is to get it right, to be active and to do enough, but not too much. Mia McKenzie, posting on http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/ challenges people to push back against their privilege by recognising and relinquishing power; consciously and deliberately refusing to support activities and events that are non-inclusive; keeping quiet when their contribution is likely to be given status because they are part of the dominant group. She warns against the claiming of identity to which you are not entitled[75]. I need to remember that my experience of having felt "Other" does not entitle me to speak for other Others. McKenzie's website lists ways of not being an ally. These include assumptions that one act of solidarity makes you an ally for ever; making your feelings paramount; challenging oppression in personal situations but not systemic outcomes; and not trying harder[76].

Being an ally is not easy. Just as an educator or a therapist will keep asking for more, so too will iwi ask more of their allies. It's not that we haven't got it right, but that we have got it right up to a point and therefore can be asked to do more. I'm no longer working directly with Kai Tahu at Otago Polytechnic, but that doesn't mean that I can relinquish my responsibilities for helping all who stand in this place to create room for everyone here.

I also need to remember that, as a colleague has pointed out, our understanding of history and individuals is constantly changing. Our views of Treaty matters and our role as allies will also continue to change. It's not about me getting there; it's about me staying here.

I need to be aware of oppression, racism, stereotyping and practices that do not offer Iwi the opportunity to live life as they choose, to actively participate as citizens of the world and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. After all, these are the goals that I have for myself and my own family.

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[74] Havinghurst, R. J. 1952. *Human Development and Education,* p. 7.
[75] http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2014/02/4-ways-push-back-privilege/
[76] http://i2.wp.com/www.blackgirldangerous.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/8-ways-poster.jpg?%20/%3E%3Ca%20href=

CLOSURE

David James, Jillian Wychel, Murray Short, Linda Wilson.

We four have considered some of Jen Margaret's ideas about allies in recounting our experience as Quakers who wish to support justice for indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand. We have worked with Māori individuals and iwi to address some of the aspects of inequity that are observable in this country. This has involved challenges to ourselves, to others and to current systems of administration. We have explored the uneven distribution of power; the problem of dealing with our own ignorance and that of others; the need for working cross-culturally; and the building of trust between Māori, Pākehā and newer immigrants. We have described our respect for different and conflicting expectations; our ways of juggling diverse interests; our recognition of the importance of working with our own; our opinions about the work of other allies, and our view that commitment must be sustained over time.

We deliberately chose to do this as a group consisting of two men and two women born in New Zealand and overseas. Genetically we are all Anglo-Celts, but we have lived and worked in different parts of the world. We have reviewed each other's work and amended it on the basis of feedback. We hope that our collective experience will allow people to see how they can act both individually and collectively to support justice for Māori.

Pākehā have an inherited reverence for individual responsibility and choice. We have attempted to show that by engaging communally and collaboratively, people can work in political, social, organisational and professional spheres to bring about the changes that Māori are calling for. Our Quaker testimonies to equality and integrity demand this approach, exemplified in the words of our Founder, George Fox:

> *Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in everyone*; [77]

[77] George Fox Statement, 1656.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

Aroha	Affections, love, sympathy, empathy
Awa	River
Awhina	Assistance, help
Haka	Performing arts
Hapū	Kinship group, tribe, sub-tribe
Hīkoi	Walk, journey, march
Hoa tautoko	Supportive (tautoko) friend (hoa)
Hongi	Greeting by pressing noses together
Hui	Formal gathering
Hunaonga	Son-in-law
Iwi	Tribe or people
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kaitiakitanga	Responsibility and authority to protect – commonly referred to as guardianship
Karakia	Prayer, chant
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Purpose or agenda
Kawe kōrero	Someone who carries or reports on aspects of the Māori world to a wider audience (Michael King)
Kia ora	Hello! Best wishes
Kōhanga reo	Māori language preschool
Kōrero	Talk, speak
Kuia	Women elders; “aunties”
Mana	Status, prestige, authority, special influence
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Mana motuhake	Separate identity, autonomy, self-determination
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander
Marae	Enclosed and named space for formal gatherings
Mātua Whāngai	A programme in which Māori ‘foster parents’ look after young Māori at risk of criminal offending
Mihi	Speech of greeting which often includes an introduction of the speaker’s ancestral origins, family and self
Ngā Puhi	Tribal group of much of Northland
Ngāi Tahu	Tribal group of much of the South Island
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent, sometimes applied to all non-Māori New Zealanders
Rangatahi	Young people
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship, sovereignty, the right to exercise authority
Rohe	Area, territory, district
Rūnaka	Local (South Island) marae-linked councils
Tāngata whenua	Local people, hosts
Tangi	Funeral ceremony
Tāua	The older leading women of the marae
Te reo	The language
Te Tai Tokerau	Northland, “the tail of Maui’s fish”
Te Tiriti	The Treaty (Māori text)
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty
Tūhoe	Tribal group of the Bay of Plenty
Tū Tangata	Government policy to support the development of Māori culture including the language
Wero	Challenge, ceremonial testing and rite of passage for entry to the marae
Whānau	Extended family