

Prologue

General Background (Adapted for Non-New Zealanders)

This chapter gives a little background information about the country known by some as Aotearoa New Zealand, or simply New Zealand by the majority of the world. This material is principally aimed at non-New Zealanders so that they may appreciate the book that is to follow. Having said that, many New Zealanders may find it useful to skim through this relatively short chapter. This is especially true of the history section, as general knowledge of even the most basic historical details in New Zealand is quite poor.

The information given in this chapter is rather terse. In most cases, I simply give the material fact by fact with little comment. In addition to being terse, the material provided in this chapter is also highly selective. On the whole I keep it to the barest minimum and only note what is relevant to this book. There are many general books out there on New Zealand, or its history, and I have no wish to compete with these. The purpose of this chapter is simply to collect together some basic information, so that I don't have to send the reader away to another book every time I need to refer to it.

There is another important reason why I have kept this chapter to a bare minimum. I wish to make the point—especially to New Zealanders—that very little background is needed to form the arguments within this book. Many of the arguments between Pākehā and Māori raging in New Zealand today get bogged down in history—either the facts or the interpretation of them. One of the basic claims of this book is that an in-depth analysis of history is not needed to support the Māori cause. To a certain extent, only two facts are needed. First, that Māori have been in Aotearoa for a very much longer time than Pākehā have been in New Zealand. And second, that Pākehā now dominate the country numerically, culturally and economically.

Finally by way of preliminaries, the non-New Zealander needn't worry that this chapter is all the help they are going to get in this book. They won't be ignored and expected to follow along as if they were native to New Zealand. On the contrary, I have tried my best to give an explanation, either in the text or in a footnote, whenever I refer to a New Zealand peculiarity. In addition, the non-New Zealand can also be reassured that much of the material in this chapter—particular the recent history and politics—will be visited again in more detail later on in the book. This is because the amount of detail required in the later stages of this book will be equally unfamiliar to most New Zealanders as well.

Geography, Geology and the Natural Environment:

New Zealand is a small country comprising two main islands and a number of smaller ones (see the diagram opposite, or Appendix 2 for a more normal and detailed map). These two main islands are simply called the North Island and the South Island, although Māori have several different names for them. One of the more popular Māori names for the North Island is Te Ika A Maui. And one of the more popular Māori names for the South Island is Te Wai Pounamu.¹ The third largest island in New Zealand sits at the bottom of the South Island and is called Stewart Island, or Rakiura by Māori.

The physical size of New Zealand is slightly greater than the whole of the UK, and somewhat less than the state of California. Many people, including some New Zealanders, often have a poor appreciation of precisely where New Zealand sits on the globe. Of course people know that New Zealand lies in the South Pacific Ocean. However, many people think New Zealand is much closer to the South Pole than the Equator. In



¹ See the glossary (Appendix 1) for the significance of the Māori names.

actual fact the reverse is true for the majority of the country. I have surprised Europeans many times by showing them a picture of New Zealand projected through the earth onto the other side of the world (see diagram). The standard expectation is that New Zealand comes out somewhere near the UK. The reality of this picture, though, is that most of New Zealand sits right on top of Spain. In fact, the tip of New Zealand even lies on North Africa, while the principle city of Auckland sits virtually over Gibraltar. Having said that, the image of New Zealand projected through the earth does extend further north than Spain. However the furthest it extends is somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean at about the same latitude as Paris. The UK is considerably further north than this.

The span from Paris to North Africa covers a considerable amount of latitude. One might expect that this span would give New Zealand a huge climate variation, from very hot to quite cold. However, the island status of New Zealand, along with its locality in the South Pacific, mean that the country's climate is much less varied than one might expect. The heat of North Africa is certainly not present in New Zealand.

Having placed New Zealand on the globe, the next important geographical feature of New Zealand to note is its isolation. New Zealand is literally miles from anywhere. Its nearest neighbour of any size is Australia over 2000km away, or about three hours flight in a 747 aeroplane. This isolation has had a profound effect on New Zealand. In the first place, it was the last sizeable land mass on earth to be inhabited by humans. Although the precise figure is uncertain, there is growing consensus that New Zealand has only been inhabited for about 800 years.²

The other major consequence of New Zealand's isolation is its unique flora and fauna. In geological terms this isolation began a long time ago. As a result, New Zealand's flora and fauna developed quite separately from that in the rest of the world. This led to the extraordinary situation of having birds more or less at the top of the food chain. Apart from one tiny bat, there were no mammals at all in New Zealand prior to human contact. The birds had no predators at all. They did not have to fly from danger, and so many lost their ability to fly altogether. The prime example of this is the kiwi. This bird has become an icon of New Zealand internationally, and it is even quite common to refer to New Zealanders themselves as kiwis.

Unsurprisingly New Zealand's birds have struggled for survival since the arrival of humans to the country. They were simply not equipped to cope with what man and their imported animals could throw at them. Consequently, many bird species have become extinct, with many more seriously threatened, including the kiwi. Probably the most well known extinct species are the moa. Moa is a generic name given to several species of large flightless birds, the largest of which was similar to the ostrich or emu but of greater size.

Another curious feature of New Zealand's flora and fauna is the tuatara. This is a small lizard-like creature. What is strange about it is that it is literally a living dinosaur. It is the sole surviving member of a whole class of reptiles that were dinosaurs in the traditional sense. The tuatara literally belongs in a class of its own amongst living reptiles—it is normal to categorise living reptiles under four different headings, one of which is reserved solely for tuatara.³ Unfortunately, like many of the bird species in New Zealand, the tuatara is also an endangered species.

There are many more curious features of New Zealand's flora and fauna but I will just limit myself now to a general comment about the trees of New Zealand. In their undisturbed state, New Zealand trees form a very distinctive dense bush of many species. One of the many distinctive features is the tree ferns. Another distinctive feature, at least in the northern half of the North Island, is the kauri tree. Fully grown kauri trees are massive and can live for thousands of years. The only trees that grow bigger in the whole world are the giant redwoods of California.

So much for the distinctiveness of New Zealand's flora and fauna. A word needs to be said now about the distinctiveness of New Zealand's geology. New Zealand straddles two of the earth's continental tectonic plates—the Australian-Indian Plate and the Pacific Plate. As a result, the country is extremely active in a geological sense, with frequent earthquakes and volcanoes. Nowhere in the country is safe from this. For

² This consensus is very recent and comes from many completely separate lines of enquiry. For a detailed account of this see the excellent book *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands* by Kerry Howe. Incidentally, the most extreme recent estimate (with any credible basis) of when New Zealand was first inhabited is about 2000 years ago.

³ Roughly speaking, the other three categories are crocodiles and alligators, snakes and lizards, and turtles and tortoises.

instance, the capital, Wellington, literally straddles a major fault line and so is particularly vulnerable to earthquakes. And Auckland sits literally on top of an active volcanic field ('active' in a technical geological sense—the last eruption was the one that created Rangitoto Island some 600 years ago).

To give some idea of what New Zealand is capable of, about 1800 years ago there was an eruption that was the largest the earth has seen in the last 5000 years. It was so large that the debris travelled the globe and changed the colour of the sky. We know this because it has been recorded by both the Chinese and Romans. The crater left behind is the present day Lake Taupo in the central North Island, the largest lake in New Zealand.

Demographics:

The population of New Zealand is a little over four million. This population is roughly divided up along ethnic lines as follows:⁴

- European (i.e. Pākehā)—68% (i.e. about two thirds);
- Māori—15%;
- Asian—9%;
- Pacific Islands—7%.

A few comments need to be made about this. First, an individual's ethnic category is all about ancestry. Thus Pākehā have European ancestry. As a matter of fact, most Pākehā actually have British or Irish ancestry, rather than that of some other European nation. The sorts of countries represented under the 'Asian' heading are China, Korea, Taiwan and India. The countries represented by the heading 'Pacific Islands' are predominately Samoa, Fiji, the Cook Islands, Tonga, and Niue, although there are numerous others.

The next comment to make is that an individual's ethnic category is the one that they primarily identify with. There are many people, of course, with mixed descent by blood. This is particularly true of Māori. The number of Māori with Māori ancestry only and no other (i.e. so called 'full-blooded' Māori) is actually extremely small. In fact, it is debatable whether there are any at all. This is something that Pākehā are only too keen to mention.

Ethnicity aside, let me now mention the principle urban centres in New Zealand. There are five main cities in New Zealand. The largest is Auckland, with a population of about 1.3 million, or about one third of the entire population of the country. The next biggest city is Christchurch at about 400,000, with the capital, Wellington, not too far behind. The other two major urban centres are Hamilton and Dunedin with populations around the 120,000 mark. Obviously in international terms, these are small, but this is New Zealand. Apart from Auckland, perhaps, New Zealand is not a crowded place.

Politics:

New Zealand is a stable Parliamentary democracy modelled on the Westminster system. It therefore has a style of government similar to the UK, although unlike the UK, the New Zealand Parliament consists of only one chamber. The Head of State is the Queen. She is represented in New Zealand by the Governor-General (known by other similar titles throughout New Zealand history, such as Lieutenant-Governor, or simply Governor). Like the UK though, the Head of State is largely a symbolic figure. For all intents and purposes, then, the country is headed by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister of New Zealand during the writing of this book, and indeed since 1999, has been Helen Clark. She has led a coalition government dominated by her party, the Labour Party.

There have always been a number of parties in Opposition, but Labour's long-standing and main rival is the National Party. This has been headed by various people since 1999, one of whom was Don Brash (from 2003–2006).

⁴ The figures are rounded to the nearest whole percentage from the 2006 national census (available online at <<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage>>).

The emergence of coalition governments in New Zealand is a relatively recent phenomenon. In particular, they are a direct result of the inclusion of proportional representation within the electoral system since 1996.

History:

Before I begin, let me repeat a point from the beginning of this chapter:—this section is not intended to provide a well-rounded view of New Zealand history. Instead it is simply meant to be a summary of the key points that will be useful to have in mind throughout this book. This means that several points which would normally be considered part of standard New Zealand history are glossed over, or missed out altogether. Conversely, a couple of the points mentioned below are given more prominence than they would in a standard history of New Zealand. The reason for this is that some of the information given is there so that I may place myself in the historical context. This book begins with me and how I fit into New Zealand. From a personal point of view, some historical events are highly significant, yet in the overall scheme of things, they do not register very highly at all.

With these caveats then about what is to follow, let me begin.

As mentioned above, the first settlers came to New Zealand about 800 years ago, that is, sometime around the thirteenth century. These people came from various Pacific Islands in an extraordinary feat of skill and navigation. After settling in New Zealand, they evolved culturally and linguistically to become the Māori first seen by Europeans.

The earliest known European contact with New Zealand was by the Dutchman Abel Tasman in 1642, although he didn't step foot in the country due to a hostile encounter with Māori. The next European contact was by the Englishman Captain James Cook in 1769. He landed at several places in New Zealand, circumnavigated the whole country, and charted it along the way. Cook subsequently made two other voyages to New Zealand.

Over the following few decades, many Europeans and those of European decent (e.g. Americans) came to New Zealand. These included whalers, sealers, escaped convicts from the Australian penal colony, missionaries, and traders. The unregulated influx of Pākehā brought with it diseases, alcohol, misunderstanding, and the musket. The latter soon became in great demand by the Māori and was used with devastating effect in the early nineteenth-century to settle old scores amongst tribes.

Eventually Britain resolved to make New Zealand a British colony. This was due to a number of reasons, such as the lawlessness of settlers, concern for Māori, and growing French interests in the country. However, Britain did not simply take over the country as had they had done in Australia. Instead they sought prior Māori agreement before colonising New Zealand. In particular, unlike Australia, the British followed standard international practice at the time and drew up a treaty for Māori to sign.⁵ The first signing on the treaty occurred on 6th February 1840 at a place known as Waitangi. As a result, the treaty has since become known as the 'Treaty of Waitangi'.

After the initial signing, the Treaty was taken around most of the country in order to secure as many signatures as possible. Despite these efforts, some rangatira (chiefs) refused to sign. This has remained a contentious issue throughout New Zealand history. However, this is just one of the many areas of contention surrounding the Treaty today. In the first place, the document itself was drawn up very hastily by legal amateurs and very poorly translated into Māori. This led, and has led, to much misunderstanding and confusion.

In addition, for much of the nineteenth-century, and the early part of the twentieth-century, many Pākehā saw the Treaty as an irrelevance. Nevertheless, Māori have constantly referred to it throughout New Zealand history. The result of this Māori persistence is that many people—both Pākehā and Māori—now consider it the founding document of New Zealand. This is despite the fact that it is not enshrined in law by Parliament.

⁵ This will come as a great surprise to many New Zealanders, as it did to me when I first found this out. Most New Zealanders have the belief, as I once did, that the agreement with Māori, i.e. the Treaty of Waitangi was a unique gesture of British humanitarianism. However, as I show in Chapter 7, treaties with indigenous peoples were actually the norm in British policy, as indeed they were by any European power at the time. If anything, the lack of treaty in Australia stands out as being unique.

The text of the Treaty, the Māori translation, and the translation of that translation back into English are given in Appendix 4. Although I have little to say about the Treaty in this book, it is so important to understanding contemporary New Zealand that it makes sense to give a brief summary here.

The Treaty itself is divided into three articles, a preamble, and conclusion. Roughly speaking, the preamble states that Her Majesty Queen Victoria desires to protect the Natives of New Zealand from the effects of rapid and unregulated settlement by her subjects. It then goes on to name Captain William Hobson as her representative (Lieutenant-Governor) for these purposes.

The first article states that the Chiefs of the Tribes of New Zealand cede to Her Majesty some form of sovereignty. The precise form that sovereignty takes varies hugely between the English and Māori versions of the Treaty.

The second article states that the Māori are to retain possession of their belongings. In the English version the 'belongings' are lands, forest and fisheries. In the Māori version it is simply *taonga*, or treasured possessions. The second article of the English version also states that Māori must only sell their land to Her Majesty. This exclusive right of purchase is not clear in the Māori version.

The third article states that the Natives become British subjects with everything that that entails. The document ends with a statement saying that the Chiefs enter into the agreement fully and voluntarily.

That is the text of the Treaty in a nutshell. British sovereignty was declared over the whole of New Zealand soon after the initial signing of the Treaty at Waitangi. From there on, colonisation proceeded at an ever-increasing rate aided by vast and numerous land purchases. Many of these purchases were highly dubious. Unsurprisingly tensions over land purchases eventually surfaced. These tensions dominated much of the early colonial history of New Zealand, especially in the North Island where Māori were more numerous. They were dealt with in many ways, but two mechanisms stand out as particularly influential, i.e. effective according to Pākehā, or devastating according to Māori. The two mechanisms are the Native Land Court established in 1865, and the land wars of the 1840s and 1860s–70s.

The Native Land Court was designed to resolve Pākehā confusion about Māori land ownership by hearing evidence from Māori and awarding legal title to the owners. This meant that traditional Māori forms of ownership was swept aside and replaced by British values. This was devastating to Māori because collective responsibility for land was replaced by capitalism and individual vulnerability to land hungry Pākehā.

As for the land wars (sometimes also referred to as 'sovereignty' wars), these became an excuse to take land. After some of these wars, the government of the day (completely Pākehā) confiscated large tracts of Māori land as recompense for their 'rebellion'. The Governor during the bulk of these wars was one Sir George Grey. In fact, he was summoned to New Zealand for the very purpose of sorting out the wars during the 1840s and 1860s (having left New Zealand to be Governor of the Cape Colony, South Africa in between). Grey was therefore largely responsible for the conclusion of the wars and the policies following them. In addition, he was also responsible for purchasing large swathes of land for very little money, particularly the bulk of the South Island.

Apart from land, one of the causes cited by the Pākehā for a major component of the wars (the Waikato Wars) is the King Movement, or Kingitanga. This movement grew out of failed attempts by Māori to get representation in Parliament. The idea on the Māori side was to create a Māori King to represent Māori in the same way that Queen Victoria represented Pākehā. The vision was that these sovereigns would have equal status. With this in mind, the first Māori King was installed in 1858. Although it was impossible to get complete unity of the Māori iwi (tribes) behind this new venture, the King did represent a significant proportion of the Māori people. Nevertheless Pākehā were not pleased. They saw this as an attempt to challenge the existing authority, and so war was declared on the supporters of this King.

Despite this war, the institution of Kingitanga still continues today. Nevertheless, most Pākehā are still very ignorant about this institution, although there have been several prominent Māori associated with it. One of these was Te Pūea (mentioned several times in the Chapter 1). She was a granddaughter of the second

Māori King. The current King is Te Arikinui Tuheitia Pahi. He became King in 2006 following the long reign of a very well respected Queen (Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu).

Returning to the nineteenth-century, Māori didn't go away completely empty handed from the wars associated with Kingitanga. In particular, Māori obtained political representation in Parliament. In 1867 Parliament created four seats especially for Māori. These were Māori in the sense that only Māori could be vote for them. The Māori seats have continued to today, increasing in number in 1996 when proportional representation was introduced into the New Zealand Parliament. These seats continue to be contentious, with some Pākehā arguing they should be abolished, and some Māori arguing there are not enough. Incidentally, Māori are not restricted to voting for the Māori seats—they can vote in the same electorates as Pākehā if they so wish, although they cannot vote for both.

Apart from the events mentioned, the nineteenth-century is characterised by an overall decline in Māori and an overall growth in Pākehā (along with other cultures, especially Chinese). This decline in Māori and growth of Pākehā occurred both numerically, as well as in the vitality and use of their respective cultures and languages. By the turn of the twentieth century, many people thought that the Māori people, along with their culture and language, were going to be wiped out altogether.

One reason for the decline in the Māori population was their huge loss of land—whether by fair means or foul—with the subsequent loss of the ability to support themselves. However the main reason for this decline was the introduction of Pākehā (i.e. European) diseases to New Zealand for which Māori had no natural defence. The impact of these diseases was made even worse by the altered living conditions and alcohol. It is not surprising that the decline in culture and language occurred in tandem to these population losses. The population was simply not there to sustain it. In addition, many felt that Pākehā-created problems required Pākehā solutions. Perhaps this was true in many circumstances, especially disease control. However, what transpired was that Māori were encouraged to forget *all* their supposedly 'inferior' Māori ways and adopt *all* the supposedly 'superior' Pākehā ways instead.

The history of New Zealand in the late nineteenth/early twentieth-century therefore becomes the history of the Pākehā in many sources. This style of history has been ingrained into the Pākehā psyche (although not necessarily their conscious knowledge). It is a history of progress, of development, and in some respects, of world innovation. Most of this history is not relevant to this book, although a few points should be mentioned.

The first of these concerns the right of women to vote in national elections. In 1893, under the premiership of Richard Seddon, New Zealand became the first country in the world to give women the vote.

The second is a date—25th April 1915. On this date, the combined forces from the New Zealand and Australian armies landed at Anzac Cove in Gallipoli, Turkey in the course of World War One. Upon landing, the soldiers encountered a steep cliff and heavy attack, and suffered many casualties. This event is commemorated every year on the 25th April (now known as ANZAC Day) and is seen by many as the first time New Zealand acted on the international stage as an independent nation. For many Pākehā, 25th April 1915 represents New Zealand's coming of age, and its emergence as a separate country—i.e. separate from Great Britain.

While Gallipoli may represent New Zealand's first step of independence from Great Britain in psychological terms, formal ties with Great Britain were still very much in place in 1915. In many ways the story of New Zealand throughout the twentieth-century and beyond is very much one of severing these ties one by one, whether they be political, legal, or economic. On the legal side, several key stages are worth noting:

- Dominion status (1907);
- Fully independent member of the Commonwealth (1947);
- Constitutionally independent nation (1986).

New Zealand is still in the process of severing ties with Great Britain. For instance, the last court of appeal in New Zealand was the Privy Council in England right up until 2004. And, of course, this process is not complete—for the Queen remains Head of State in New Zealand.

The final point to note in the standard history dominated by Pākehā progress is the establishment of the Welfare State under New Zealand's first Labour government. This occurred largely from 1935–1938 under the premiership of Michael Savage. The measures introduced during this time included unemployment benefit, sickness benefit, old age pension, and free health care. Much of this was new to the world at the time.

That is the standard story of Pākehā progress in a very tiny nutshell. As mentioned above, Māori do not feature very prominently in this story at all. Nevertheless, Māori are not completely absent from standard accounts of late nineteenth/early twentieth-century New Zealand history. However 'Māori' here tends to mean individual Māori, rather than Māori as a whole. Prominent among these are Sir Peter Buck, Sir Maui Pomare, and Sir Āpirana Ngata. These three were all educated at university level and also became Members of Parliament. Of these, Ngata held office for the longest. All three were Māori who had converted to the 'superior' Pākehā culture and, initially at least, were prime movers in encouraging others to do the same. These people are often held up by Pākehā now as paragons of virtue and examples for all Māori to follow.

Having said this, it would be completely wrong to say that these men are rejected by Māori as figureheads. The real world is not neatly divided into goodies and baddies. On the contrary, these men are revered amongst Māori, not least for their contribution to regenerating the culture they had tried to undermine. This is especially true of Ngata. During his time in Parliament he strove to put measures in place that would help Māori economically. In addition, he sought to protect and revive those aspects of Māori culture that he deemed worthy of preservation. These included songs, arts and crafts, and in his later years, language. Ngata's work was particularly effective in reviving many aspects of Māori arts and crafts, especially carving via the formation of a Māori carving school in the 1920s.

However, what emerges from the legacy of these men and national policies in general, is a view of Māori that still dominates the Pākehā mind today. It is a view of Māori assimilated into everyday Pākehā life, while maintaining the entertainment value of their culture. It is a view of Māori speaking English, acting like Pākehā in normal, everyday life, but still retaining the ability to carve wood, perform haka, poi dances and sing songs. It is the view of Māori still portrayed to the world at large. And it is a view of Māori succinctly captured in the phrase 'countrymen on stage' mentioned frequently in Chapter 1.

Nevertheless there is much more to Māori culture than performing or decorative art. However realisation of this has been very slow in New Zealand at large, and still remains a major stumbling block for most Pākehā. In any case, such concerns have not been an issue for most New Zealanders until very recently. This recent development had to wait for the major social upheaval of Māori during the middle of the twentieth-century.

This major social upheaval was urbanisation. After World War Two, Māori migrated *en masse* to the towns and cities in search of work and a 'better life'. This move was encouraged by government since the growing industries in the cities were short of unskilled labour. Initially there was a definite policy of integrating Māori completely into city life by scattering, or 'pepper potting', them amongst Pākehā. However, eventually new suburbs were created in the major cities to accommodate the influx, and Māori settled in these. In Auckland, most of these new suburbs were to the south of the main urban area. This region is now collectively known as South Auckland. One of these new suburbs, and one that had a particularly high rate of Māori influx, is called Māngere where I grew up (this is further divided into Māngere East, Māngere Central, and Māngere Bridge).

These new suburbs, especially those in Auckland, are also notable for their high influx of Pacific Islanders from Polynesia (a large triangle of the Pacific Ocean with Hawaii, New Zealand and Easter Island at its apexes). The shortage of unskilled labour in New Zealand following WW2 also led the government to encourage immigration from these small countries. Consequently, Pacific Islanders arrived to New Zealand in large numbers at a similar time to the internal Māori migration. Unsurprisingly, when they arrived they settled in the same urban places as Māori. The result of this migration from the Pacific Islands is the extraordinary situation that the ethnic population from many of these islands is greater in Auckland than the population of the islands themselves. For this reason, Auckland is often referred to as the Polynesian capital of the world.

The mass urbanisation of Māori (and immigration of Pacific Islanders) had a profound effect on the whole country. Indeed, this is the point where Māori re-enter standard accounts of New Zealand history. In the first place, this urbanisation created massive social problems. Both Māori and Pacific Islanders had become cut off from their traditional roots and social structures. They were cut off from their wider social network, far broader than the extended family, and housed in an environment geared towards the nuclear family. In addition, since both groups worked in unskilled jobs, they were at the bottom of the heap economically—with all the negative statistics that this entails, e.g. poor housing, poor health, higher crime, higher unemployment...

However these statistics are not where Māori urbanisation has had their greatest impact on Pākehā. Statistics associated with low economic status have been around for centuries. What really had an impact on Pākehā were the twin forces of integration and education. In the first place, Māori urbanisation meant that Pākehā as a whole came into contact with Māori as a whole for the first time in a century or more. In the second place, Māori began to be educated in the Pākehā world. They began to learn how the Pākehā world worked.

These twin forces of integration and education led to protest. Māori began to articulate their history of neglect and abuse. They began to articulate their social deprivation. And they began to articulate their broader culture beyond the 'countrymen on stage' image. Most of this was completely new to Pākehā and the government.

This protest gathered steam during the 1970s. Two events in particular from that decade are permanently etched in Pākehā minds. In 1975 there was a massive hīkoi (march) to Parliament starting from the top of the North Island and working its way down to the capital, Wellington, at the bottom. Those who were alive then will never forget the scenes of large numbers of Māori marching across the Auckland Harbour Bridge. Three years later Māori occupied a piece of land known as Bastion Point. This land was right in the heart of Auckland and therefore prime real estate. The occupation continued for several months and resulted in a massive standoff with police that was eventually broken-up by force. Contemporary Pākehā had never seen anything like this and were completely bewildered by what was going on.

So too was the government. Nevertheless, they couldn't ignore it and began to respond in many ways, most of which were quite limited. With hindsight, the most significant government response of the 1970s was the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975. This Tribunal was set up to hear Māori claims of injustice under the Treaty of Waitangi. Initially only claims arising after 1975 could be heard, but in 1985 the Tribunal was given powers to hear claims from as far back as 1840 (the year of the Treaty of Waitangi).

There have been many other tribunals throughout New Zealand history to hear Māori grievances, but these have all been on a very small scale and very limited in scope. The Waitangi Tribunal is a different being altogether. Some Pākehā now would even say it is a monster. Its remit is nationwide, covers the entire history of formal colonisation, and is open to any Māori. Nevertheless, the Tribunal can only make recommendations to government. In most instances these recommendations carry no legal weight whatsoever. Nevertheless, Parliament has now learnt that they ignore these recommendations with great difficulty and at great cost.

In the decades following the 1970s, Māori issues continued to surface more and more frequently. Much of this was given a stamp of officialdom in the Waitangi Tribunal reports that started to appear with increasing frequency throughout the 1980s. Slowly, and somewhat reluctantly, the government responded to these matters. However, unlike the 1970s, small changes weren't sufficient. The number, depth and breadth of the issues raised required big changes. The end result, though, has been something in between.

Broadly speaking, these changes have fallen into three categories. The first of these are measures aimed at removing some of the negative statistics mentioned above—often called affirmative action. Examples of such things include special grants, extra places at university, and special business initiatives. Incidentally, given that Pacific Islanders have also shared the same negative statistics, much of this affirmative action has been extended to them as well.

The second group of government initiatives aimed at Māori have been the settlement packages in response to Waitangi Tribunal reports or direct negotiations with the government. These settlement packages

have included such benefits to relevant Māori as the return of land, handing over government assets, fish quota, cash payments, the right share in decision making about the management of certain resources, and the recognition of traditional tribal structures.

The final group of government initiatives can be loosely described as cultural measures. Such measures are aimed at allowing Māori to develop and live within their cultural environment, while at the same time allowing this environment to adapt to the modern world. Examples of these include the creation of Māori educational institutions from pre-school (*kōhanga reo*), through school (*kura kaupapa Māori*), to the tertiary level (*wānanga*). These educational institutions receive state funding, but are run by Māori according to Māori values. The *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* also operate totally within the Māori language. Other examples of cultural measures include Māori healthcare facilities, Māori radio and television, not to mention the 1960s development of Māori councils to give advice to the government on Māori matters.

Many of these cultural measures are underpinned by one that is probably the most significant for Māori as a whole. This is the recognition of the Māori language (*te reo Māori*) as an official language of New Zealand in 1987. Non-New Zealand readers may be somewhat surprised to read that this recognition occurred so recently. However this is indicative of the level of assimilation required by Māori in the past and the level of destruction suffered by Māori culture as a whole since colonisation.

This destruction has now turned a corner. With all these government measures in place, Māori culture has seen a massive revival over the last couple of decades. This revival goes way beyond those cultural areas encouraged by Ngata, that is, way beyond being simply a matter of performing or decorative arts. Many Māori are now reconnecting with their culture and allowing it to influence all areas of their lives. Old ways are being rediscovered and new ways created. The last few years have been an exciting time for many Māori.

Pākehā, on the other hand—i.e. the majority in New Zealand—have a different story to tell. For most of the twentieth-century Māori concerns did not affect Pākehā. They were out of sight and out of mind. However, as these government measures became more substantial, they began to have an impact on the daily life of Pākehā, or at least their daily perception of life. Pākehā began to hear more about the Treaty. They were told that they had to respect the Treaty. And they were also told that New Zealand was a bicultural nation, and that this meant that Māori had to have the same rights as Pākehā. At the same time they heard about large sums of money being given in settlement claims. They heard about the establishment of special grants for Māori, special institutions, extra places at universities for Māori, and public funds being used for the setting up and running of Māori radio and television. It seemed to Pākehā that there was no equality at all. It seemed that Māori were being given privileges over and above Pākehā. Not only that, but reports of squandering and fraudulent use of all this government money—the taxpayers' money—were rife.

The tension and resentment mounted. Pākehā did not understand what was going on at all. They did not accept the argument that Māori and Pākehā required different things. They argued that because Māori were living in the cities, going to the same jobs, same schools, same clubs as them, that there was no difference between Māori and Pākehā. The races weren't segregated like in so many other countries—a fact which Pākehā were proud of and portrayed to the world as racial harmony. In addition there had been so much intermingling of the races that the number of full-blooded Māori left was very small (nobody seems to know quite how many). Thus the so-called 'Māori' were not truly Māori at all, but also part Pākehā. Not only that, but there was even a sneaking suspicion that all this 'revival' of Māori culture was, in fact, a sham. Pākehā did not realise the extent to which Māori culture had been so thoroughly squashed or ignored in the past, so they thought that the real motive behind this 'revival' was monetary greed.

Pākehā were also unmoved by the statistics. They knew very well that, in relation to Pākehā, Māori had poor health, poor academic achievement, high rates of crime, high unemployment, high level of alcohol use, and high rates of domestic violence. Yet they also knew that some Māori were prosperous and successful—way beyond the majority of Pākehā. Why, then, bring race into the equation? By all means give help to the poor, the sick, the underachievers, the unemployed, and the victim. But why should Māori in these categories be singled out for special treatment?

Although matters have come to a head in some way many times since the protests of the 1970s, none quite match those of 2004. Just prior to this, Māori had begun to question their right to ownership of the 'foreshore and seabed' in the courts—the foreshore being that area of land between the high water and low water marks on the coastline. The question of ownership had arisen in relation to Māori fishing rights in this area. Marine farming was booming in the Marlborough Sounds (in the north of the South Island) but local Māori were shut out. They wanted to get involved as well and claimed they had the right to do this because they owned the foreshore and seabed there (or at least part of it).

This issue exploded in the Pākehā mind and media. It exploded into the fear that Māori were trying to take away all the beaches in New Zealand. Now there is nothing a Pākehā likes more than his beach. A large amount of Pākehā recreation takes place at the beach—fishing, swimming, surfing, sailing. Many spend their summer holidays there. Therefore an attack on beaches struck right at the heart of Pākehā freedom.

Enter Don Brash, leader of the main opposition party, the National Party, in 2004. Early on in that year Don Brash gave a speech to a small club in a small town just north of Auckland. The full text of this speech is given in Appendix 5, but it basically said enough was enough. No more Treaty nonsense. No more special grants. Māori and Pākehā must be treated as individuals with the same rights.

It was explosive. Pākehā came out in support. Māori went on a massive hīkoi to Parliament. And the government passed the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 preventing Māori from pursuing their claims to the foreshore and seabed. This Act further divided the country. Pākehā supported it wholeheartedly, while Māori condemned it as blatant theft of their land. The argument even reached the United Nations who criticised the Act as an abuse of human rights.

All this had the potential for tearing the country apart. Fortunately, though, this is New Zealand and not some less stable country. So the protests stayed peaceful, new political alliances emerged, and a new political party was formed—the Māori Party.

These events are still very recent as I write (2007–2008) and so the effects of these events are still very keenly felt. There is still much resentment on both sides of the Māori/Pākehā divide. If anything good has come out of all this, though, it is that Māori/Pākehā relations have been pushed right to the forefront of the New Zealand consciousness. Māori/Pākehā issues are a hot topic in New Zealand today.

Further Reading About New Zealand History:

As mentioned above, this has been a very brief and lopsided statement of New Zealand history. If the reader wishes to know more, there are several good general sources available. The best single introduction to New Zealand history as a whole for the general reader is probably Michael King's *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. If the reader wishes to go into more depth, then other excellent sources are the multi-authored *The Oxford History of New Zealand History* (edited by Geoffrey Rice), and James Belich's two volume series *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, and *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders: From the 1880s to the Year 2000*.

Having said that, this present book is primarily concerned with history of relevance to Māori. The reader may therefore wish to refer to a book specifically on this topic. If that is the case, there is Michael King's *Nga Iwi O Te Motu: 1000 Years of Māori History* or Ranginui Walker's *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*.

The reader will note that references to many of these books on history, and my reaction to them, will appear throughout this book. In fact, it will soon become clear, if it hasn't already, that reading Ranginui Walker's book was my prime motivation for writing this book in front of you in the first place.