Hāhā-uri, hāhā-tea

Māori Involvement in State Care 1950-1999

Chapter 8: Resistance, response and critical junctures of change

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# Chapter Eight Resistance, response and critical junctures of change

Ko Tū-mata-whāiti.

It is Tū of the small face.[[1]](#footnote-2)

## Summary

Resistance by Māori whānau and their communities to institutional racism and inadequacies of the State Care system occurred consistently throughout the research period (p. 332).

Throughout the research period 1950-1999 critical junctures occurred when Māori responded to enduring legacies of the settler state welfare system. These responses increased in resistance and intensity over the 50-year period with evidence of a rupture in the late 1980’s in response to evidence of institutional racism and over-representation of Māori in the system. Despite the resistance the evidence suggests the state quickly began re-anchoring to assume power and control of the system (p. 332).

Complaints by children and vulnerable adults in the State Care system were generally ineffective in bringing about change. Children tended not to be believed, deemed to be untrustworthy by adults running the institution. Whānau wrote letters to advocates, welfare officers, residence staff, Government departments and Ministers inquiring after tamariki and asking for them to be returned. While the actions of individuals within the system was apparent at the time, they were insufficient alone to influence change within the system (p. 333).

The work of advocacy groups such as ACORD and Ngā Tamatoa is particularly apparent throughout the

 1970’s and 1980’s. Their work resulted in the closure of some institutions like Lake Alice, and changes in conditions within justice and subsequent care for Māori. Their ability to organise and cause rupture in the system is an example of how collectives can support individuals to bring about change (p. 334).

More recently, survivors of abuse in State Care have told their stories via blogs, to researchers and in the media, these testimonies are an act of significant resistance. Recalling events of abuse can be re- traumatising for survivors particularly if they do not have authorship over their own stories or how others perceive them. The collective persistence of these narratives in the public realm have been pivotal in bringing about the Inquiry and other changes within the macro system (p. 342).

Throughout the research period different Māori/iwi organisations have emerged to work within the state system. The state needed and wanted intervention from the macro-level organisations to assist in their assimilative aspirations for Māori. However, once the organisations formed and established their own rangatiratanga they inevitably began to challenge the state. These organisations were constantly engaged in push-pull activity with the state. While the organisations were seeking power to determine their own lives through rangatiratanga, the system was designed to ensure power was retained within the state (p. 344).

Tu Tangata and Mātua Whāngai were examples of state led-interventions as a result of the policy change in the 1980’s. While good intention drove the attempts to change the direction of the state, mechanisms within the state designed to retain power created significant barriers. Funding constraints, the inability to influence other social indicators, and continued intervention by the state in Māori initiatives stymied aspirations. While both

 Tu Tangata and Mātua Whāngai led to changes within the state welfare system, they fell short of the aspirations that underpinned their development (p. 357).

The state anchored and re-anchored towards settler state assimilative ideologies amid complaint, protest, reorganisation and restructuring (p. 366).

## Introduction

Resistance by Māori whānau and their communities to institutional racism and inadequacies of the State Care system emerged as a key theme consistently across literature and interview analysis. It was clear that initiatives were developed to prevent tamariki Māori being taken and/or kept in the State Care system.

Response and resistance do not occur within a vacuum but within a social and political history. A framework described by Liu and Pratto (2018) based on the intersection of Critical Junctures Theory and Power Basis Theory is used in this chapter to understand how human agency is conceptualized at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels as described by Gergen (1973) 40 years ago. Liu and Pratto (2018) use this theory to describe how critical junctures in history (moments of potential for substantive change) result in continuity (no change), anchoring (continuity amid change with new elements), or rupture (p. 261). Critical Junctures Theory has been used to frame the discussion of response and resistance in this chapter. The theory ‘considers that societies sometimes are relatively stable and sometimes change but in ways that are anchored in previous practices and organisation—and sometimes that organisation is ruptured’ (2018, p. 261).

The theory proposes four forms of time-based organisation for societies.

* 1. **continuity**, in which the patterns of behaviour, social structure, and shared beliefs are largely contiguous with the immediate past (see Durkheim, 1912).
	2. **rupture**, which refers to substantial changes in socio-political organisation occurring in relatively short periods of time, including chaos (Liu, Fisher Onar, & Woodward, 2014).
	3. **anchoring**, sets of intra/interpersonal and institutional processes that maintain continuity amid change (see Abric, 1993; Moscovici, 2008); and
	4. **re-anchoring** (restabilising a system after rupture).

Whereas continuity and (re-)anchoring concern societal stability, rupture entails disorganising and perhaps reorganising significant aspects of society (Liu & Pratto, 2018, p. 262). ‘Rather than considering only gradual and evolutionary social change, or the stability of power hierarchies, as many theories of social organisation do, Critical Junctures Theory advocates for understanding ruptures and their relation to periods of organisational stability’ (Liu & Pratto, 2018, p. 277).

Liu and Pratto’s analysis provide a detailed but flexible approach to history that is not deterministic, chaotic, or relativistic (2018, p. 277). Further, their theory places universal human psychology, rather than the psychology of leaders or no psychology at all, at the centre of human history, recognising the potential people have to right the wrongs of the past, and the present (2018).

The framework is used to examine different responses and resistance at the micro- (person/ whānau), meso- (group/organisation), and macro- level (government/intersocietal). In this context these levels are dynamic systems in time, responding to the context, and interactions between the levels. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the interaction between individuals and whānau, organisations and groups, and the larger macro system of government/society.

The intention of this chapter is not to describe all of the resistance and response efforts but rather to demonstrate the push/pull forces between Māori and the state throughout the research period. Critical junctures in history (moments of potential for substantive change) have resulted in continuity (no change), anchoring (continuity amid change with new elements), and rupture. The chapter explores how the state attempted to anchor and re- anchor, the settler state assimilative ideologies amid complaint, protest, reorganisation and restructuring.

## Micro level - the actions of individuals and whānau

Individuals have responded to the settler state intervention under the guise of welfare in their whānau in various ways. Māori tamariki and vulnerable adults who experienced abuse in State Care spoke out about the abuse they experienced. Unfortunately, complaints by children and vulnerable adults in the State Care system were generally ineffective. Cooper and Hill (2019) provide several examples of children complaining of sexual abuse by teachers and staff in residential homes during the research period. However, despite a history of complaints against the staff, the children were considered untrustworthy and unbelievable by the adults managing the institution. Regarding a Campbell Park incident, Cooper and Hill note, ‘the Police declined to press charges, believing the boys would not do well under cross-examination’ (2019, p. 10). Staff members who were found to be abusing children, were often permitted to resign from their positions without referral to the police, or worse, were shifted to another institution (Cooper & Hill, 2019, p. 10).

Figure 8.1. Micro-, Meso- and Macro-Level system

Children who did complain did so within environments that were described as having a culture of violence. It was commonly understood through actions and words that if children disclosed abuse, they would be further punished or targeted for being a ‘nark’ (Cooper & Hill, 2019, p. 14).

There were no official mechanisms for children or vulnerable adults to complain about their treatment in care despite recommendations that a complaints panel should be established (HRC, 1992). Ironically, there were no mechanisms to ensure child protection within what was considered a child protection system. Despite the lack of process and culture of silence, there are a number of records of children making complaints against staff members within institutions and about the abuse suffered in foster families (Archival data, ACORD, 1979, Cooper and Hill, 2019).

Similarly, since 1950, there is evidence in archival material of whānau writing letters to advocates, welfare officers, residence staff, Government departments and Ministers inquiring after their tamariki and asking for them to be returned to their whānau. While individuals took action at the time, it was insufficient to influence change as the system continued on regardless of the complaints. The complaints at the micro-level were effectively shut down by the actions and inactions of the meso- and macro-level organisations.

However, as Liu and Pratto (2018) demonstrate, when individuals are able to connect with collectives, they can create a critical mass movement from below, creating actions that they describe as ‘sticky’ (that is, leading to an enduring state of affairs or enduring change). This is best illustrated through the actions of the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD) and its partnership with Ngā Tamatoa, the Polynesian Panthers party and Arohanui Inc. to support whānau and individuals in the settler State Care system.

The work of ACORD and Ngā Tamatoa in supporting the community (micro system) to change the actions of the settler state (macro system) is particularly apparent throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Their ability to organise and cause rupture in the system is an example of how collectives (or advocacy) can bring about change. The following two cases discuss the work of ACORD widely referenced in this document, and Arohanui Inc.

### Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD)

Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD) was formed in 1973 by Oliver Sutherland (spokesperson) and several other Pākehā[[2]](#footnote-3) following the 1973 annual conference of the New Zealand Race Relations Council. At the conference, Māori and Pacific activist groups Ngā Tamatoa and Polynesian Panthers challenged the Pākehā attendees to organise themselves to fight institutional white racism. The pervasive ‘comfortable mythology of racial equality’ among Pākehā needed to be deconstructed to raise awareness about insidious racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thus, ACORD deliberately used the term ‘racism’ in their name to confront this myth.

At the same conference, Oliver Sutherland, John Hippolite and Ross Galbreath from the Nelson Māori Committee presented a paper entitled ‘Justice and Race: a monocultural system in a multicultural society’. The paper caused controversy from the outset given the opening sentence: ‘Together with venereal disease and measles, the judicial system of Aotearoa New Zealand was brought to this country by pakeha colonists’ (Sutherland, Hippolite, Galbreath, & Smith, 1973, p.1). Oliver Sutherland and his colleagues compared Māori imprisonment rates before and after the start of:

a legal aid scheme [initiated by Oliver Sutherland and John Hippolite of the Nelson Māori Committee in 1972] which aimed at arranging free representation for every Maori and other Polynesian person appearing in the Nelson Magistrate’s and Children’s Courts… At the time there was no duty solicitor or public defender scheme anywhere in the country. (Sutherland, 2020, p. 17).

Based on the magistrate’s court files for the period of 1970 – 1972, Sutherland and his colleagues (1973) found that in the ‘normal years’ of 1970 and 1971 before the scheme started, approximately 18% of Māori defendants had lawyers, in 1972 the figure was 79%. Accordingly, there was a significant increase in ‘not guilty’ pleas in 1972, and for the first time in the three-year period, cases against Māori defendants were dismissed. Additionally, the rate of imprisonment decreased from 34% to 19% - this was lower than the rate for non-Māori offenders for the first time in Aotearoa New Zealand. The authors concluded that the results showed evidence of ‘institutional racism’ and if representation by counsel had a similar effect on sentencing in other courts across Aotearoa New Zealand, then ‘at least one of every three Māori in prison should not be there’ (Sutherland, 2020, pp.25-26).

The paper gained widespread publicity and caused much debate, denials and recriminations within the legal profession. Dr A. M. Finlay, the then Minister of Justice, ‘criticised the language of the report as ‘too colourful’ and ‘biased’ although he said its implications were ‘disturbing’ and promised a departmental investigation into the recommendations in the report for a fully comprehensive, nation-wide duty solicitor scheme’ (Steele, 1973, p.8). Unfortunately, the proposal Dr Finlay put to cabinet fell far short of what ACORD and Ngā Tamatoa believed was necessary, as although it guaranteed legal advice to defendants, it did not guarantee representation (Sutherland, 2020, p.53). Furthermore, due to pressure (which included denying legal aid to his clients) on one of their lawyers to dissociate himself from the report, the Nelson Legal Aid Scheme eventually collapsed (Sutherland, 2020, p.40). However, ACORD continued to fight for:

the introduction of a duty solicitor especially in the children’s court; for the use for Māori and other Pacific languages in the courts; for reform of the ‘closed court’ hearings within prisons; and for reform throughout the penal system, especially post-release procedures. (Sutherland, 2020, p. 42).

The establishment of a Royal Commission on the Courts (which included Māori and female representation) in 1976, offered ACORD some hope and a new forum to press their concerns about the lack of court interpreters for defendants from the Pacific Islands; the conditions under which child defendants were held at the children’s and magistrates courts; children being remanded in adult prisons such as Mt Eden in Auckland; the disproportionately high detention rates for Māori women and girls and the ‘degrading and dehumanising’ facilities for females in police cells; and the lack of Māori staff in the courts. When the report was released in 1978, the Commission’s recommendations included:

“There is a whole file series called Miscellaneous, and within that, there's a most distressing series of letters from a Māori woman ..., whose two boys had been picked up committing a minor crime, and had ended up being put into the system, and shuffled around and put in Campbell Park. One of them might have been at Epuni. But this poor woman could not find out where they were put, and they (the staff members) were openly dismissive, and it's like ... I can remember sitting there reading, and thinking, ‘God, that's inhuman’.”

– Di Dickenson, non-Māori, public servant researcher

* the appointment of Pacific language interpreters to the courts
* that wherever possible children and young people should not be remanded to adult jails
* that determined efforts must be made to recruit Māori and other Polynesian people to all levels of the justice department
* a deliberate policy of encouraging Māori and other Polynesian people to undertake legal studies be introduced.

ACORD was satisfied with most of the recommendations but felt the one regarding children on remand in adult prisons was a ‘weak- kneed … [response and] little different from that of various Ministers of Justice to whom [they] had been complaining since 1973’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 74).

Analysing the annual ‘NZ Justice Statistics’ over a decade from 1971 to 1981, ACORD demonstrated (among other things) that:

children on remand were more likely to be locked up in prison or a welfare home (13.4%) than an adult on remand (6.4%) … [and they concluded that] these statistics proved the deliberate, systematic and increasing oppression of children, particularly Māori children, by the state. (Sutherland, 2020, p. 194).

Indeed, it was not until 1989, as part of the Children and Young Persons Act, that ‘the detention of under 17-year-olds on remand in adult prisons was statutorily ended’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 209). This followed vigorous campaigning by ACORD which had been rescuing boys from Mt Eden and had accumulated several key case histories. Their campaign included three letters of complaint to the Secretary of Justice, before finally their comprehensive letter to Geoffrey Palmer, the new Minister of Justice in 1984, sparked an inquiry by Judge Augusta Wallace who concluded her report by asserting that ‘youths up to the age of 17 years old ought not be placed on remand in Mt Eden Prison’ (Wallace, as cited in Sutherland, 2020, p. 207) and the practice ‘stopped virtually overnight which was a huge success for ACORD’ (O. Sutherland, personal communication, 27th April, 2021).

For 15 years, ACORD conducted a series of investigations and campaigns against the treatment of children, especially Māori, by justice, police, social welfare and the health system exposing the institutional racism within those state departments. It instigated a number of Ombudsmen, Human Rights Commission, Judicial and other official inquiries into the abuses revealed by their research and gained protections for children incarcerated by the state. It also laid the groundwork for a national duty solicitor scheme (Sutherland, 2019, p. 1; The Law Foundation cited in Sutherland, 2020, back cover). Indeed, eighty reports, leaflets, submissions etc. were produced by ACORD between 1973 and 1984 (Sutherland, 2020, pp. 277-280). Over the years, ACORD was supported by Māori and non- Māori Polynesian consultants from Auckland District Māori Council, Māori Women’s Welfare League, Ngā Tamatoa, Polynesian Panther Party, Samoan Progressive Association who provided help and guidance to the members of ACORD (Sutherland, 2020, p. 29).

Oliver Sutherland had first heard about the abuses against children, of whom a ‘hugely disproportionate’ number were Māori, within justice and social welfare institutions during his role as secretary on the Nelson Māori Committee in 1970. However, by 1974 due to ACORD’s high profile, their efforts to gain justice for children in the courts were well known among Māori and Pacific community groups who sent them a steady stream of parents concerned over the treatment of their children by the police, social welfare and the courts (Sutherland, 2020, p. 84). The disclosures made about the homes from ex- residents and their parents, current and ex-staff, as well as those from psychologists and teachers from the Education Department ‘built up a horrendous picture of ill-treatment and abuse’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 85).

On 11 June 1978, following repeated calls to the government to hold a full independent public enquiry into the administration of Social Welfare children’s homes, ACORD in conjunction with Ngā Tamatoa and Arohanui Inc. conducted its own public inquiry. It assembled a panel of four Māori; Donna Awatere (psychologist) and Ripeka Evans (law student) from Ngā Tamatoa; John Hippolite, a Māori Activist who had earlier worked with Sutherland on the Nelson Māori Committee and was at that time a nurse at Tokanui Psychiatric Hospital; Betty Wark, founder and manager of Arohanui, a home in Herne Bay to accommodate children in trouble, homeless or on remand; and Poe Tuiasau, a Samoan from the Polynesian Panther Party. Betty Wark who had often referred cases to ACORD was invited to be the chair. They held the inquiry at Auckland Trades Hall and ‘invited anyone who had first-hand information about the homes to give their testimony publicly’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 93).

The inquiry found evidence of 10 categories of cruel and inhumane treatment in various social welfare homes:

* Secure units (physical conditions) (e.g., extended periods of solitary confinement, non-opening windows, having to eat meals by the toilet).
* Violence and assaults perpetrated by staff.
* Intrusive venereal disease examinations forced on all girls regardless of age or sexual activity.
* Delousing and stripping down: lack of privacy and dignity.
* Blistered feet from forced PT as punishment (e.g., forced barefoot running on asphalt).
* No underwear issued resulting in chafing.
* Ill-fitting clothing and made to wear pyjamas (girls) or shorts (boys) all day and night. Inadequate warmth and ‘repulsive stench’ from being worn continuously.
* Spirit breaking procedures (e.g., nodding system, forced to mow lawns that had already been mown, continuous PT as punishment because other boys had run away – until they returned).
* Health and hygiene (e.g., use of the same dirty rag to clean toilet and hand basin, only issued with four squares of toilet paper per day, lack of fire drills).
* Lack of communication, stimulation and education (in secure units).

The inquiry also identified three major breaches of staff regulations relating to: close custody and secure units, constructive use of time, and health and hygiene (ACORD, Ngā Tamatoa and Arohanui Inc, 1979, p. 27 - appendix; Sutherland, 2020, p. 102).

In April 1979, the newly formed Human Rights Commission (HRC) accepted ACORD’s complaint based on evidence from their public inquiry into ‘Child Welfare’ homes detailing the violation of specific articles of the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which the NZ government had just signed. The inquiry began on 11 February 1980, following delays caused by the death of Harry Dansey, the Race Relations Conciliator, and the need to replace him to ensure Māori representation on the HRC panel as ACORD refused to proceed with an all Pākehā panel (Sutherland, 2020, p. 111). ACORD’s witnesses included 15 ex-inmates, 6 parents/foster parents, 10 present or past staff, 3 social workers and 2 neighbours (Sutherland, 2020, pp. 110-113).

The young ex-inmates mostly reaffirmed earlier accounts of mistreatment, however ex-staff members who had not spoken out before, ‘revealed much more about the inhumane and degrading practices and policies of the homes’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 113). The new testimony of ex-staff members of Wesleydale Boys’ Home included accounts about a ‘most shockingly barbaric practice’ called the ‘Golden Fist’. When a boy had run away, all the other boys lost their privileges (denied morning and afternoon teas, supper, rest periods etc.) until he was found. In this way, a feeling of anger built up against the absconder. When he was eventually caught, staff ordered a ‘boxing match’ between him and the boy who was the best boxer at the home. This continued, in the presence of staff who assembled to watch, until the absconder ‘fell down and could not, or would not, get up’ (ACORD, 1982, p.4; Sutherland, 2020, p. 116).

Without explanation for the delay, the HRC’s report on the inquiry was not released until September 1982, approximately three years after ACORD lodged the complaint. ACORD’s press release, on the day the HRC report was published, stated that the HRC’s findings of Department of Social Welfare’s breaches of basic human rights vindicated their stand, but that they were disappointed by the report’s ‘lack of teeth to bring about real change’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 126).

Meanwhile in 1976, ACORD became aware of a Niuean boy who had been subjected to regular electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) shock treatment (without authorisation from his parents or social welfare officers), some of which were administered as punishment without sedation or anaesthetic. The boy had been made a ward of state at the age of 13 in 1975 after having been assessed as having behavioural problems which manifested as mild offending. He was sent to Owairaka Boys’ Home, but was transferred later that year (1975) to the Adolescent Unit at Lake Alice Psychiatric Hospital (Sutherland, 2020, p. 134-135).

ACORD alerted the media to this case and sent a letter of complaint to the Minister of Social Welfare, Bert Walker, demanding a full inquiry and an immediate suspension of guardianship orders from the Auckland Department of Social Welfare who they deemed incompetent to be trusted with care and protection of children, given that they had sent a behaviourally disturbed 13-year-old boy with minor offences for shoplifting to Lake Alice Hospital for the Criminally Insane. After initial denials about any misconduct, the minister announced a Magisterial Commission Inquiry and appointed W J Mitchell as the ‘Commission’ in January 1977. On receiving a copy of the report, ACORD found that Mitchell had striven to exonerate the actions of all the officials and medical staff who had dealt with the boy and instead sought to blame his family for not looking after him. Additionally, the report was openly hostile to ACORD and it was prefaced by Mitchell ‘noting that one reason for giving ACORD standing in the inquiry was because he might want to apportion costs against [them]’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 141).

Sir Guy Powles, the Chief Ombudsman, who ACORD had kept informed of the situation, initiated an inquiry into a very similar case at Lake Alice. His recommendations included that ‘The Department of Health ensure that the Medical Superintendent of Lake Alice Hospital has closer control over and final responsibility for the administration and operation of the Disturbed Children’s Unit’ (Sutherland, 2020, p.152). The fallout from the Chief Ombudsman’s Inquiry was that several other similar cases emerged detailing accounts of gross misuse of ECT equipment for the punishment of children at Lake Alice including allegations of torture. On behalf of ACORD, Sutherland visited Dr Mirams, Director of Mental Health in the Health Department, to hand over information on further cases. In a press release Sutherland stated, ‘If the allegations are proved, this misuse of the shock [equipment] will constitute perhaps the most appalling abuse of children in the guardianship of the state this country has known’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 159). In contrast, Dr Mirams wrote in a letter to Sutherland that ‘the use of painful electric stimuli as part of aversion therapy is quite acceptable practice’ (Sutherland, 2020, p. 158).

A police inquiry was launched into allegations of the misuse of ECT equipment and although no evidence of criminal conduct was found, the revelations of abuse ultimately (in 1977) led to the resignation of Dr Leeks, the psychiatrist who had administered the ECT, and the closure of Lake Alice Adolescent Unit in 1978 (six years after it first opened). However, ‘the College of Psychiatrists didn't ever publicly criticise him or challenge his approach to managing difficult children’ (O. Sutherland, personal communication, 27th April, 2021). Two decades later, in 1999, scores of victims revealed the scale of the abuse at Lake Alice in the media and following a successful class action brought by lawyer Grant Cameron on their behalf, Prime Minister Helen Clark apologised to the claimants, on behalf of the New Zealand Government, and agreed to a pay-out of approximately $10 million (Sutherland, 2020, pp. 134-164).

“The values and cultural norms become imposed, become so embedded that nobody even thinks twice that this is a Pākehā way of doing things.”

– Oliver Sutherland, advocate for Māori

### Arohanui Inc

Whāea Betty Wark worked with ‘at risk’ Māori youth in Auckland for more than 30 years. She was born at Ōmanaia, a small settlement in southern Hokianga, on 6 June 1924, and raised as a foster child. At the age of eight, Betty moved with a foster family to Motutī, a remote settlement in northern Hokianga. She never felt wanted or part of the family and was forced to sleep in a storage shed. Her Pākehā foster father abused her psychologically, physically and sexually, and her childhood was virtually devoid of stability or love. In her later life, she spoke of this abuse as a motivating force for her heart politics.

Her childhood experiences had left her disconnected from her Māori roots, and she was unaware of her whakapapa until her mid-life. Her identity evolved during the Māori renaissance of the late 1960s and 1970s as she became involved in the urban Māori movement. She got actively involved with the Ponsonby branch of the Māori Women’s Welfare League and the Ponsonby Māori Community Centre.

In the late 1960s, Betty helped establish a hostel for young Māori displaced by urban renewal, with support from the Māori Women’s Welfare League and the Catholic church. She ran the hostel during the day and returned to her family in the afternoon. In 1974, Betty helped set up Arohanui Incorporated, a community-based organisation that provided housing and assistance to young people referred from the courts, prisons, Social Welfare and other sources. At Arohanui, the hostel she managed, young Māori found a bed, a hot meal, help with addiction, and the prospect of education and reconnection with a resurgent Māori culture.

Arohanui, was the main focus of the rest of Betty’s life. She and her colleague Fred Ellis patrolled the streets on winter nights, taking creamed mussel soup and scones to ‘street kids’ urging them to contact Arohanui. Many did and were either reunited with whānau (family) or alternative accommodation was found for them. Many young people received a meal, a place to sleep and ‘a lot of loving care’ at Arohanui, as Betty, together with the other trustees and workers, strove to maintain a positive, family-like environment for the residents.

As Arohanui grew and began applying for government funding, the trust also began offering literacy and numeracy programmes. Arohanui strengthened its Māori culture and language programmes and introduced several innovative health and exercise programmes which used martial arts and Māori weaponry drills. Many residents were addicted to solvents, drugs or alcohol, and Betty investigated various programmes to help them overcome these afflictions.

From the late 1960s Betty’s work was periodically profiled in the news media, where she was portrayed as a ‘mother to lost boys’ and Auckland’s ‘Mother Teresa’. Betty termed her community development work and activism her ‘heart politics’. It was a term that represented her involvement in community grassroots initiatives and the feelings of connectedness she felt with the people and causes she was concerned with (abridged from Connor, 2015).

ACORD spokesperson Oliver Sutherland noted their close association with Betty Wark in his recent book:

For the past five years we had valued a close association with Betty Wark, founder and manager of Arohanui in Herne Bay, a home established to accommodate children in trouble, homeless or on remand. Betty had often referred cases of children in Social Welfare homes or in adult prisons to ACORD. She was well known and trusted in the Māori and wider social welfare community (Sutherland, 2020, p. 93).

As mentioned previously, Betty chaired the 1978 ACORD inquiry into residential care. Her story is just one of many that described how whānau collectivised within the community to support individuals.

On their own, individuals and whānau within the system were unable to cause any change to the settler state welfare provision. Despite evidence of complaint by both individuals who were abused and their whānau, the settler state continued on without any change to policies and practice for the period of the research focus (1950-1999). However, the significant work over a number of years by advocacy groups like ACORD, Ngā Tamatoa and Arohanui Inc, alongside individuals and whānau, did cause the state to reconsider the conditions and provisions of State Care. This resulted in the closure of some institutions like Lake Alice, and changes in conditions within justice and subsequent State Care. The state’s response to the critical juncture caused by advocacy activity was to anchor, and to continue, but with new elements.

More recently, survivors of abuse in State Care have told their stories via blogs, to researchers and in the media to push for an inquiry and expose the abuse of the state (Smale, 2017; Mirfin-Veitch and Conder, 2017; Stanley, 2016; Cohen, 2011; Moyle, 2015).

Recalling events of abuse can be re-traumatising for survivors, particularly if they do not have authorship over their own stories. They also have no control over how others perceive them. Not much is known about how general audiences perceive such trauma stories, however these perceptions can have profound consequences for survivors’ mental health (Delker, Salton, McLean, & Syed, 2020). Testimonies from survivors have been evidenced in reports, inquiries, in the media, personal blogs and are an act of significant resistance. Recently, the collective persistence of these narratives in the public realm have been pivotal in bringing about a critical juncture, which has led to the Royal Commission inquiry and other recent changes within the macro system. Figure 8.2 demonstrates the response of individuals and collectives with the Micro-level structure.

Figure 8.2. Micro responses, Macro re-anchoring

## Meso System – the actions of organisations

Throughout the research period, different Māori organisations have emerged to work within Māori welfare and the settler State Care system. It is apparent from the literature that these organisations supported Māori within the community (micro-level) but were constantly engaged in push-pull activity with the state (macro-level).

These organisations, established on the basis of the enlightenment discourses of the political elite in the nineteenth century, were intended to support Māori to assimilate into an improved life. Liu and Robinson (2016) describe the how enlightenment discourses of benevolence (the government was looking after the interests of all its subjects, including Māori), perfectibility (Māori were new to democratic systems of governance and needed time and training to become capable of full participation), and utilitarianism (the actions of the government produced the best outcomes for the most people by putting Māori owned ‘waste’ land to agricultural use), as well as modern and old-fashioned racism, were used to justify colonisation (p. 274). The state needed and wanted intervention from macro-level organisations to assist in their assimilative aspirations for Māori, however, once the organisations formed and established their own rangatiratanga, they inevitably began to challenge the state.

Liu and Pratto (2018) describe how colonised people, like everyone else, can be expected to figure out how to use the power they do have to gain more power, especially to meet their most acute needs (see Belich, 1986; Liu, Lawson-Te Aho, & Rata, 2014). In the next section we analyse how early in the research period Māori used meso-level organisations to assert rangatiratanga, or power, and how the state responded through either continuing or anchoring, creating a push-pull tension between the meso and macro-level.

### Māori War Effort Organisation

The Māori War Effort Organisation (MWEO), originally tasked with recruiting Māori into the war effort, led to the establishment of the Māori Battalion along tribal lines. It set up 21 districts and more than 300 tribal committees. Beyond recruitment, the MWEO facilitated a good deal of welfare work carried out in association with the village committees with considerable success and efficiency. Recruitment also came to have a welfare function. Tennant (2007) describes how the MWEO’s collective approach to welfare and their tikanga-based methods were a move towards rangatiratanga.

To maintain the momentum of developments generated by the MWEO post-war, MPs Eruera Tirikatene and Paraire Paikea drafted early versions of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. The Act was supposed to herald a new dawn of Māori cooperation and involvement in decision- making with the state, including the development of the Native Affairs Department.

The Māori Welfare Organisation, formed under the Act, was designed to 'give general direction to [all of] the activities' (ref) of the Act. Hill (2005) describes how under the new legislation three dozen paid welfare officers within the 22 zones were established and although not designed as expressions of autonomy, the state had to make autonomist concessions to ensure the newly established official committees worked. However, Hill (2005) asserts the ethos of the department remained, firmly assimilationist rather than autonomist, with professional bureaucrats in control of the welfare organisation activities.

### Māori Welfare Organisation

In late 1949, official committees generally established as flax roots Māori initiatives, were apparent across the whole country. There were 381 Tribal Committees and 65 Tribal Executives. By 1952, the numbers had increased by 59 and 10 respectively, partly because of their establishment in large towns and cities (Hill, 2005). In 1953, the Minister of Native Affairs gave approval for district and national level organisation to occur within the Māori Welfare Organisation. The official committees were intended to help guide the assimilationist journey.

Hill (2005) notes that the state saw these committees as temporary in nature pending full assimilation. In contrast, the Māori committees’ agendas included utilising crown-endorsed mechanisms for the pursuit of rangatiratanga. Hill (2005) wrote that the ‘Māori collective entities strongly asserted rangatiratanga, in ways that changed to suit the times, and the crown responded in an attempt to deal with the manifestations, especially by attempting to appropriate their organisational forms and energies’ (p. 1). In a series of complex negotiations, both parties attempted to maximise their benefits.

Commentators of the time noted that the committees and the Welfare Leagues were ‘rendering magnificent service’ in terms of the retention and revival of tradition, knowledge, arts and craft and communal decision-making through the official system. Māori were preserving and promoting ‘a culture and a philosophy of [their] own’ (Hill, 2005, p. 3). By 1959, it was estimated that ten percent of Māori were involved in an official committee and/or the Māori Women’s Welfare League, which worked with the Māori Welfare Organisation. Through ‘family, tribal and friendship networks, the officially endorsed Māori mechanisms had a very significant impact’ (Hill, 2005, p. 4).

By the 1950s various Māori communities and organisations were voicing their concerns about rising levels of young Māori offending rates and over- representation in children’s courts (Dalley, 1998). At the time the Māori Welfare Organisation system, had become a key channel for Māori resistance to the state agenda of full assimilation. In effect, Hill (2005) describes this as ‘Māori reappropriating the state’s appropriation of Māori flax roots organisational forms and energies’ (Hill, 2005, p. 2).

As an example of how the committees sought to support Māori, Hill (2005) describes how in 1953 the local tribal committee persuaded the Onehunga Borough Council to provide an urban Community Centre at low rent. Up to 400 people used the centre, there were communal meals every Sunday, as many locals ‘still [did] not have suitable homes where they can spend Sundays pleasantly’; there were sporting, cultural and social sub-committees comprising tribal committee members and non- members alike, a major way of rebuilding leadership capacity in urban situations. In all their activities they emphasised their Māoriness, not their official, assimilation-orientated functions (Hill, 2005, p. 6).

In 1950, the Pukekohe tribal committee combated local racism by securing a local Māori school. This became ‘the rally point for a revival of Māoridom in the community, fulfilling the purpose of a marae which this community, drawn from many different tribes, lacked’ (Hill, 2005, p. 6). The committee had created, a social revolution on a small scale. Such small revolutions of empowerment and assertion occurred all around the country, aggregating into a powerful movement. These committees also carried out social control duties among their own people often in order to avoid formal state intervention (Hill, 2005, p. 6).

### Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL)

Established in 1950, the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) has been a highly effective and enduring welfare body. The MWWL was established to draw together Māori women on a national basis, to address their own and their families' needs.

Between June 1950 and September 1951, intense efforts went into preparing for the establishment of the league, particularly on the part of the women who became Māori welfare officers. By March 1951,

160 branches and fourteen district councils had been formed; by September 1951, 187 branches were operating (Rei, 1993).

Whilst nurturing Māori culture, the league's aims and objectives included promoting the health, education and general wellbeing of women and children; providing aid to members and others in sickness and distress; fostering closer liaison with other Māori organisations; and promoting understanding between Māori and Pākehā women through links with other women's organisations.

This emphasis upon Māori responsibility for whānau wellbeing was supported by other Māori organisations. The MWWL firmly believed, ‘the solution to the issue of Māori delinquency lay with Māori communities, not with the officers or institutions of the state child welfare system’ (Dalley, 1998, p. 193). The Māori Women’s Welfare League argued ‘that Māori themselves were best suited to solving their delinquency problems’ (Dalley, 1998, p. 193).

The MWWL believed there were many benefits for whānau in accessing Western technologies, and that modern schooling and health practices would advantage whānau. It is important to note there were immense psychosocial pressures on whānau at the time to abandon their cultural identity and accept the prevailing view that Māori culture was inferior and backward compared with that of the Pākehā (Smith, 1989; Reid, Cormack & Paine, 2019). However, many Māori resisted total assimilation despite societal pressures (Smith, 1989) and never gave up their desire for tino rangatiratanga (Durie, 2003). The history of the MWWL written by Tania Rei (1993) demonstrates the constant push/pull forces between the state and Māori rangatiratanga expressed through the MWWL.

### New Zealand Māori Council (NZMC)

In 1959, the Māori District Councils began to reform or revitalise, and in October a non-official national body, the Dominion Council of Tribal Executive, was established informally at Rotorua. The incoming National government would establish the New Zealand Māori Council (NZMC), created under the Māori Welfare Act 1962 (later called the Māori Community Development Act 1962).

This Act established 14 district Māori councils and the national body, the National Māori Council. The Māori Council was developed to:

* 1. **promote, encourage, and assist Māori**
1. conserve, improve, advance and maintain their physical, economic, industrial, educational, social, moral, and spiritual well-being.
2. assume and maintain self-reliance, thrift, pride of race, and such conduct as will be conducive to their general health and economic well-being. (s18, Māori Community Development Act 1962).

“The Māori Women's Welfare League played a strong role (supporting whānau) and a very proactive role. I don't know whether they're the same today, I'm not sure. But certainly, when I was a Māori welfare officer, they were huge in terms of support within the community.”

– Harry Walker, Māori public servant

It was intended to be a nationally representative body based on a structure of committees feeding into district Māori councils, which in turn provided delegates for the national council. This was to be ‘a two-way channel of communication with the Māori race’ (Stephens, 2013, p. 7). The council came into prominence in the 1980s when it won landmark cases about Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi in court (Te Ara, 2020). However, when the New Zealand Māori Council perceived that the government was not only not working with Māori, but actually working against rangatiratanga, it became from time to time a thorn in the side of the very state of whose machinery it formed a part.

In the next two decades (the Māori Council) developed considerable skill in monitoring parliament, scrutinising legislation and making submissions to ministers and select committees of the house. The League and the Council were the conservative expressions of Māori activism, pursuing Māori rights within the framework of the parliamentary system (Walker, 1984, p. 267).

During this era, there was a fine balance between working with and against the state. Particularly in the 1950s and 1960s as Māori, dependent on the state for funding, attempted to use the state’s resources intended for assimilation to create rangatiratanga movements in the community. Harris (2007) investigated Māori leadership and their processes during the 1950s and 60s with a particular focus on the intersections with the settler state’s policies. Harris (2007) argued that at this time it was ‘a delicate and potentially culturally dangerous balancing act’ (p. 4). In order to survive the continual onslaught of colonisation, assimilation and then integration, Māori leadership sought adjustments to state policies and practices for the betterment of Māori communities (Harris, 2007). Harris argued:

Manifested in this tension was a desire on the part of many modern Māori to remain traditionally Māori, and therefore tribal in outlook, while simultaneously participating fully in a modern Western society - socially, economically and politically. It has been a function of Māori leadership to navigate the stresses and changes of te ao hurihuri while endeavouring to maintain a comfortable balance between full participation in New Zealand society and preservation of cultural distinctiveness (Harris, 2007, p. 4).

The Waitangi tribunal note in their investigation into the WAI 2417 claim, that, for much of its existence, the NZMC has been said to be a bird without feathers referring to the lack of funding. The history of ‘Māori pursuit of mana motuhake or Māori self- government and autonomy is a long one, but it has often foundered on the rocks of poverty due to lack of adequate support and funding by the Crown’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, p. xix).

In his analysis of Māori community resistance, Hill (2009) notes that the official committees established under the 1945 Act were:

not designed as expressions of autonomy, but the state had to make autonomist concessions to ensure that they worked. Māori not only operated the committees as adjustment mechanisms to the post-war world (their official purpose) but also as collective organisations embodying the longstanding Māori aspiration to exercise rangatiratanga (Hill, 2009, p. 11).

While they carried out the functions of the Crown as required, they did so in pursuit of Māori autonomist aspirations. These quests for rangatiratanga were always constrained under the umbrella of the state assimilationist policies, however Māori and the Crown both sought to maximise their positions through the push/pull negotiation.

### Māori Wardens - Wātene Māori

Māori Wardens trace their origins back to the Kīngitanga Movement of the 1860s. In the rūnanga of the Kīngitanga of the mid-nineteenth century, Wātene Māori were given responsibility for policing law and order and controlling liquor consumption in their communities. Wātene first received statutory powers under the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 and were under the control of the Tribal Executive Committees in whose districts they operated. While there is no direct evidence of how Māori Wardens impacted State Care, they were a Māori response to the challenges in Māori communities that came under the umbrella of welfare.

‘Māori people have always liked to take responsibility for controlling their own communities and it was for this purpose that Wardens were first appointed.’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, p. 70)

The mandated powers of Māori Wardens were focussed almost exclusively upon the problems of alcohol abuse and delinquency. This reflected government priorities but also community concerns in the 1950s and 1960s. As noted in earlier chapters, the Department of Māori Affairs of the time believed levels of delinquency and alcohol abuse in Māori communities to be of very serious proportions and symptomatic of a deeper social disorder (Harris, 2007, p. 41).

By 1960, 455 wardens were operating around the country, according to a Department of Māori Affairs annual report, working to control the consumption of liquor in hotels during ordinary hours, as well as preventing rowdiness and disturbances in public places (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). Ranginui Walker stated the rural wardens ‘... operated in the context of their hapū or iwi, they were known to the people. They were invariably known by the young as ‘Uncle’ or ‘Aunty’ and their word was law’ (Walker, 1990, p. 204). Formalised under the Māori Welfare Act, there is evidence that the wardens played a significant role in some Māori communities supporting peace keeping, as well as acting, at times, as a buffer between police and Māori communities. In addition, it appears that they were often being called in to help with matters that are far beyond the limited range of functions assigned to them in the Māori Welfare Act. Reports show that they were dealing with all sorts of social problems (NZMC, 1968).

Māori Wardens, however, have not been without controversy. In 1965, following considerable discussion the NZMC voted in favour of recommending that all wardens wear uniforms while on duty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). The uniforms assured instant recognition, however, this fuelled concern from police and other authorities, that wardens were over-stretching their powers and becoming an auxiliary police force. Research indicates that wardens were seen by some as an additional force to police Māori, effectively discriminating against Māori. The activities of the Wardens were highly variable across communities and some wardens were seen as unfit to be in the role (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

Māori Wardens have always been, and remain, unpaid volunteers who have carried out their valuable community work on minimal resources (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). Māori Wardens carry out a wide range of community and welfare functions, including school truancy patrols, supporting young offenders at court appearances, providing advocacy for Māori whānau dealing with government agencies such as Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), patrolling the streets at night, and providing security assistance at large public events.

On 27 September 2013, representatives of the NZMC and several District Māori Councils (DMCs) filed the Wai 2417 claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. They challenged the Crown’s right to conduct a review of the Māori Community Development Act 1962, and its administration of the Māori Wardens Project (MWP) launched in 2007. At its core, the Wai 2417 claim is ‘the long struggle for mana motuhake, Māori self-determination and autonomy’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, p.2). The inquiry found that while the Māori Wardens Project was an attempt to provide resources and training for wardens, the project was run without any Māori community oversight. This was inconsistent with the Treaty and prejudiced the claimants (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

These organisations were established under the ‘Enlightenment discourses’ used in colonial and contemporary New Zealand (Liu and Robinson, 2016). Liu and Robinson describe how the nineteenth century symbology of the Aotearoa New Zealand political ruling class was low on aversive or hostile racism against Māori, but a form of racism resting on the promise of benevolent tutelage by a superior civilisation that considered it a duty to enlighten less advanced peoples (Storey, 2009). The state supported these organisations in the pursuit of assimilation, however, as Māori collectivised in these organisational structures, they pursued their own self-determining agenda.

“(There’s) this dishonest resistance (in State Care agencies) really because ... I'm not sure what it's about … the so-called partnerships that they've had with Iwi organisations and that, I'd contend that they weren't ever really true to partnerships. That was certainly funding that went from transactional relationships and based on a contract and you do what's expected really.”

– Don Sorrenson, Māori social worker

“I was a (public servant) in 1958, so I saw the impact of that on the migration of Māori urban migration. (I saw) the effort made to assimilate Māori by pepper-potting their housing throughout the community, not allowing them to develop a socially cohesive community of their own … generally the idea was they were to become Pākehā and be assimilated, and were driven into the system.”

– Tā Kim Workman, Māori senior public servant

### The Māori Renaissance

The section explores how a period referred to as the Māori Renaissance, beginning with Dame Whina Cooper’s Land March in September 1975 brought about a critical juncture in history leading to significant change. Liu and Pratto, (2018) provide the Māori Renaissance as an example of ‘indigenous people changing the direction of their power spiral’ (p. 277). The collective agency of Māori protesting predominantly about land confiscation, and other acts of colonisation result in a period of significant disturbance leading to rupture. Out of this renaissance, resistance groups such as Te Matakite o Aotearoa, Māori Organisation on Human Rights, Waitangi Action Committee and Ngā Tamatoa emerged to challenge the status quo.

### Te Roopū o te Matakite o Aotearoa

Te Matakite o Aotearoa (‘Those with Foresight’), campaigned against the loss of Māori land and organised the 1975 Māori land march, bringing Māori political issues to national attention. Te Roopū o te Matakite o Aotearoa was launched in early 1975, at a hui convened by Te Rārawa leader Whina Cooper at Māngere Marae to protest the relentless alienation of Māori land. Fifty marchers left Te Hāpua on 14 September 1975 for the 1000-kilometre walk to Wellington. By the time they reached Parliament there were 5000 marchers and 60,000 petition signatures. Other high-profile protests over the loss of Māori land followed, including the occupation of Bastion Point in 1977 and the Raglan golf course in 1978.

### Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR)

In the 1970s, a Wellington Māori activist group also published a newsletter under the name of Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR). The aims of MOOHR were the defence of human rights against oppression, attacking legislation inimical to Māori rights and opposition to discrimination in housing, employment, sport and politics (Walker, 1984).

In the August 1971 newsletter, MOOHR made an unequivocal assertion of the Māori dynamic of self- determination and claimed a continuation of Māori- Pākehā tension because of it: ‘These movements of Māori rights to run Māori affairs will continue so long as Māori people feel oppressed by Pākehā- dominated governments’ (as cited in Walker, p. 276). Walker identifies this statement as a ‘portent of the rising tide of Māori consciousness in the next decade and an escalation of activism’ (Walker, 1984, p. 276).

MOOHR developed a network around their newsletter. Issues carried information and analysis on land confiscations, inequality in education, prison statistics and housing, as well as international issues such as the Vietnam War. Their March 1972 Special Bulletin described their frustration producing submissions for Parliamentary Select Committees convinced MOOHR members of the futility of following the respectable rules of the system. ‘We say stick your special committees and submissions!’ Protest, direct action and disruption were the order of the day (ISO Aotearoa, 2018, n.p.). Walker called MOOHR the ‘underground expression of rising political consciousness among urban Māori’ (ISO Aotearoa, 2018, n.p.). Te Hokioi and MOOHR demonstrated the new wave of youthful, aggressive and dynamic Māori leaders (Walker, 1984).

### Waitangi Action Committee

Formed in 1979, the Waitangi Action Committee (WAC), a coalition of Māori activists, and Pākehā organisations against racism, sexism, capitalism and government oppression, aimed to educate people about the fraudulent nature of the Treaty. They circulated newsletters, networked with other activist groups, and organised many protests and demonstrations, including the 1981 protests that disrupted celebrations at Waitangi resulting in several members being arrested for rioting.

According to Walker (1984), by the early 1980s the WAC was referred to as being at ‘the radical cutting edge of Māori politics both in its methods and demands’ (p. 220). WAC’s rhetoric was ‘couched in terms of revolutionary struggle’, condemning colonisation and the exploitation and oppression of indigenous peoples. It sought to ‘expose the nature of the capitalist state’, to free Māori from the ‘yoke of Capitalism’ and to defend the ‘[r]ight of all indigenous peoples to self-determination’ as part of the ongoing ‘struggle against imperialism’ (Hill, 2009, p. 176).

Increasingly, WAC activists ‘carried their activism to the edge of the law’ (Poata-Smith, 1996). While they earned the ire of conservative Māori leadership and the Muldoon Government, protestors gained support from both Māori leaders and increasing numbers of Pākehā who identified with Māori activist causes (Hill, 2009).

### Ngā Tamatoa

Ngā Tamatoa (the young warriors) emerged out of the 1970 Young Māori Leaders Conference at Auckland University. Initially, the radical faction grabbed the headlines with its rhetoric of ‘brown power’ and ‘Māori liberation’ (Walker, 1994, p. 276). The members of Ngā Tamatoa were young, urban-educated, and used techniques such as petitions, demonstrations and pickets to bring about transforming social action. Ngā Tamatoa initiated a legal-aid programme, opened an employment office in Auckland, and launched a nation-wide petition for the recognition of the Māori language in the education system.

Ngā Tamatoa member, Vern Winitana, concerned about growing numbers of Māori youth appearing in courts in Wellington, identified the need for representation within the court system. Winitana, a probation officer at the time, witnessed racism in the court processing of Māori youth. He saw how lack of information and support inevitably led to the wrongful convictions of many Māori youth. From 1972, Ngā Tamatoa helped many Māori youth navigate the court system. This was met with resistance from the media, who criticised the group for trying to incite violence and overthrow the court system.

Ngā Tamatoa later joined forces with other groups including ACORD and Arohanui Inc, to investigate the treatment of Māori youth in the justice system and State Care residences. A national duty solicitor scheme of sorts finally got off the ground in July 1974, however it fell far short of what Ngā Tamatoa believed was necessary. ACORD argued that what was proposed would not remove discrimination from the courts and that it overlooked the particular needs of Māori, other Polynesian children, and their parents. Ngā Tamatoa said that the scheme ‘[did] nothing to attack the basic problem of the institutionalised racism which continues to exist in the whole of the judicial system, and which ensures that we remain the jail fodder in this society’ (Ngā Tamatoa cited Sutherland, 2019, p. 4). Walker (1984) credits Ngā Tamatoa with the recognition of tamariki/rangatahi rights to legal representation, of land rights, of the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the establishment of Kōhanga Reo.

The protest actions of Ngā Tamatoa, and Ngāti Whātua at Bastion Point and all those who took part in the land marches the 1970s and early 1980s left strong images in the consciousness of the nation (Smith, 1994, p. 113). This led to increased resistance and awareness for change within the Department of Social Welfare, instigating a number of inquiries and investigations into State Care leading to Puao-te- Ata-Tū. It was a time of rupture and radical change for the public sector.

Te Urupare Rangapu/Partnership Response, the government policy response to the proposed restructuring of Māori Affairs, was released in 1988. Te Urupare Rangapu announced a development decade, beginning with the Hui Taumata and culminating in Iwi Authorities being fully operational by 1994. Further, at the end of the decade, under the changes in the 1989 Act, organisations could

apply to be approved as caregivers and CYPS would place children in the care of those organisations. However, Cooper and Hill (2019, p. 16) note ‘the state retained responsibility for those children, because, in most cases, the placement of children did not change the custody or guardianship arrangements in place’. The approval scheme gave rise to a plethora of programmes and organisations, some set up as small, incorporated societies and completely reliant on the funding provided by CYPS. This led to significant changes in the State Care system of delivery at the end of the 1990s.

The subsequent neoliberal changes of the 1990s demonstrated how Aotearoa New Zealand reflected overseas trends restructuring the state along market lines and devolving services to iwi and community. Restructuring in Aotearoa New Zealand included privatisation and state divestment, corporatisation of government departments into relatively autonomous commercial enterprises, deregulation of market products, contracting out for services, and the introduction of private sector management and accounting procedures (Kelsey, 1993). Devolution to iwi, however, incorporated limited resources and limited power (Smith, 1994, p. 113).

Walker (1992, cited in Smith, 1994) claimed the tribal revival was flawed because over 70% of Māori lived away from their tribal areas in towns and cities. Devolution would deliver nothing to them unless they formed groups linked to their tribal rūnanga (Walker, 1992, Metro, p. 127, cited Smith, 1994). In the appendices of Puao-te-Ata-Tū, the importance of tribalism to Māori development is emphasised.

“There was resistance from our people ... because of their concern of being controlled by a government agent. And not by our people having the full say.”

- Te Inupo Farrar, Māori Mātua Whāngai and DSW social worker

“Implicit in Puao-te-Ata-Tū is the notion of government in partnership with Māori – whether its Iwi/, whether it’s in other contexts Māori Trusts, service providers and so on. If you look across the current landscape, we really haven’t got that far down that track, and every step still tends to cause some difficulty and trouble.”

- Sir Michael Cullen, Minister of Social Welfare, 1987

‘It must also be remembered that every major Maori thrust in our history since 1840 has had a tribal basis for its success. In the cases where the thrust has collapsed it has been because the central element of tribal autonomy and tribal recognition has been ignored or subverted’ (Puao-te-Ata-Tū 1988, p. 59).

Further in the document, the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare noted.

‘It must be remembered, though, that this social system was not set in cement! From our furtherest histories our tribes have mixed and divided and migrated and formed fresh relationships. The division and blending of our tribes are what Maori tradition is all about’ (Puao-te-Ata-Tū 1988, p. 60).

The following examples demonstrate how Māori responded to the changes of the period. Firstly, the response to the state determining who could be considered an iwi and secondly, the subversion of iwi by the state through controlling power and funding.

### Te Whānau o Waipareira

In 1984 Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust was established in West Auckland. The kaupapa of Waipareira at the time was ‘to not only deliver its first basic services, but to support whānau with problems caused by rapid urbanisation, with decades of high unemployment, poor education and low income seriously threatening to undermine the potential of Urban Māori’ (Allport et al., 2017, p. 7). Te Whānau o Waipareira traces its origins to the first generation of Māori migrants to West Auckland during and after the Second World War. Through the Trust, Māori community leaders provided welfare work for other Māori who had lost their traditional support networks as a result of urbanisation (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. xxii).

The development of Hoani Waititi Marae during the 1970s and 1980s was pivotal in creating Te Whānau o Waipareira as a community. It was on the Hoani Waititi Marae that the principles and practice of the Community Management Group were set down, to be followed later by the formation of the Trust itself which was constituted under the Charitable Trusts Act in 1984 (Wai 414, p. xxii). The whānau philosophy brought together individual fragmented groups operating in the social welfare and educational domain ‘under one umbrella as whānau’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998 p. 78).

The Trust ran a variety of social support services including Alternative Education Unit’s rehabilitation of ‘at risk’ youth, Māori language immersion courses, social support, general employment, and training programmes, all of which were aimed at raising self- esteem as a first priority (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. 79).

In 1989, the Trust went to the Waitangi Tribunal in an effort to receive equal treatment as a service provider under the Children Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989 (CYPF Act). The claim stated that because the Crown failed to preserve traditional social structures when urbanisation occurred, those Māori who did not identify with an iwi were effectively denied their rights under the Treaty (Levine, 2001). The Trust argued that it should be recognised as a Crown Treaty partner because the ‘policy of approving only kin-based groups as iwi social services divides Māori in a manner which is contrary to the reality of modern Māori life and contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi’ (Waitangi Tribunal 1998, p. 163).

The claim by Te Whānau o Waipareira ‘broke new ground in contending that a non-tribal group of Māori has rights under the Treaty of Waitangi’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. xxii). In an internal report the Department of Social Welfare noted that, ‘This application of Treaty principles to the Crown’s relationship with non-kin-based groups is ground-breaking and extends the understanding of rangatiratanga that the Crown has generally responded to’ (DSW, 1999, p. 8).

While the formal literature on the history and growth of Waipareira is not extensive, the information exploring the types of issues and challenges which have shaped the Trust’s strategic intent is considerable (Allport, 2017. p. 10). Since establishment, the Waipareira Trust has provided health, education and welfare services to the South Auckland community. In 1997, Te Whānau o Waipareira became a founding member of the National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA), and established its own research company Wai-research in 2013.

Te Whānau o Waipareira is an example of an organisation that formed from community-initiated action to support whānau in their community. Reliant on the state for funding, Te Whānau o Waipareira sought to be recognised as an iwi to gain equity in funding and rangatiratanga in an urban Māori environment.

### Ngāti Porou - Ara Kainga

In 1987, Ngāti Porou first proposed its Ara Kainga model and approach, against the backdrop of Puao- te-Ata-Tū and the government’s policy of devolution to iwi, Te Urupare Rangapu. Prior to November 1989, legislation had substantially reduced the rights of whānau, with minimal recognition of whāngai. This created significant barriers preventing whānau from supporting their own and restricted their ability to intervene when complications arose within whānau. Ngāti Porou quickly responded to create The Ngāti Porou Whānau Development Taskforce when state representatives announced that ‘Most of the children in State Care in the Gisborne district are Ngāti Porou’ (Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, p. 5). Engaging in extensive consultation and research the Taskforce’s objectives were to:

* Canvass Ngāti Porou opinion on the removal of Ngāti Porou children from State Care and return them to their whānau,
* Identify the needs and requirements of whānau to enable them to provide for the tamaiti mokopuna returned to them,
* Investigate the capacity, capability and willingness of government departments and social services to transfer the necessary resources, authority and responsibility to whānau, to meet the needs of repatriated tamaiti mokopuna,
* Promote marae based whānau wānanga, to identify, re-familiarise and reinforce traditional Ngāti Porou whānau care and protection values, practices and models: and
* Examine the position of whāngai to provide authentic evidence on the manner in which Ngāti Porou whānau have conducted childcare separate to western legal processes. (Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, p. 6)

Results emphasised ‘overwhelming support’ for the return of Ngāti Porou pēpi, tamariki and rangatahi in the State Care system to the care of their Ngāti Porou whānau. The research emphasised that extended whānau needed to be legally recognised.

More needed to be done on the part of the State Care system to recognise the rights of whānau in the decision-making process relating to the care, protection and wellbeing of their tamaiti mokopuna. Other findings emphasised hapū and whānau concerns and issues with the State Care system including that the Department of Social Welfare had been ‘unable and/or inadequate to come to terms with Puao-te Ata-Tū’ (Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, p. 7).

It was noted that change could only occur if more were done to address the economic outcomes (employment/household income) of Ngāti Porou whānau that would enable them to effectively provide better conditions for the return of their tamaiti mokopuna. Although eager to provide for tamaiti mokopuna, whānau often needed additional resources to enable this to happen, as they were restricted with low household incomes and/or limited access to services.

Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou started ‘a process to stem the flow of Ngāti Porou children into State Care and repatriate them with their whānau and hapū’ (Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019, p. 9). This started with the 1992 Ngāti Porou Hapū Social Services Stocktake Report, alongside training programmes for hapū capability development, direct investment in life skills and parenting programmes delivered by the Rūnanga Social Services Team and the Ngāti Porou Hapū Social Services Network. Progress and achievements are noted in Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019.

These organisations demonstrate the varied and continuous response of Māori organisations, meso- level, to the macro-level settler state intervention in Māori lives. Walker (1990) states the process of colonisation, as a struggle without end for Māori and these organisations, over time, represent

 the continuous struggle of Māori to collectively respond to the settler state. The collectives were seeking power to determine their own lives through rangatiratanga, within a system designed to retain power within the dominant culture – the state.

Liu and Pratto, (2018) describe how human collectives are complex systems with multiple actors who respond to their current context with their current capacities and goals to influence their future contexts and experiences (p. 264). Humans act within specifiable ecological and historical conditions (Archer, 1995), which includes other people, collectives, and the social and natural environment. People’s actions influence aspects of contexts and what happens next in history (Archer, 1995). These organisations all demonstrate the ongoing struggle with the state for rangatiratanga within the historical context in which they were situated.

Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust demonstrates how an organisation, through the use of the Waitangi Tribunal, was able to create a critical juncture, changing the course of history by establishing the rights of ‘urban Māori’ as iwi. However, the state, retaining power and control over the entire settler state system, provided insufficient funding or influence for iwi to make significant changes. Figure 8.3 demonstrates the push pull tension between the meso- and macro level.

“The tribal authorities … there's a lot of push and pull. You had this Iwi Leaders forum, those people … they have good intentions. But they don't have the resource. So, they try and do the best they can with the minuscule resources that they've got. They're dealing with health, housing, welfare, education, fisheries, land, environment. Man. That's a huge ... each one of these, that's one government department.”

- Harry Walker, Māori public servant

Figure 8.3. Meso responses, Macro re-anchoring

## Meso - Māori initiatives within the state

Growing assertions of mana motuhake in the 1980s and the desire to develop bicultural approaches within state institutions resulted in attempts to incorporate core Māori values, such as whakapapa and whanaungatanga, into the state’s welfare policies. However, the extent to which this has been realised in welfare practices has been questioned (Awatere-Huata, 1982; Moyle, 2013; Moyle & Tauri, 2016; Hollis-English, 2012; Sorrenson, 1998). ‘Biculturalism’ became a dominant discourse of governance in Aotearoa New Zealand (Liu & Robinson, 2016). While there has been symbolic inclusion of Māori as bicultural partners in the national identity of Aotearoa New Zealand (Liu & Pratto, 2018; Sibley & Liu, 2007) this was not matched by resource-based equality (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008).

After the ruptures of the 1980s and under the banner of the Puao-te-Ata-Tū, the state developed Māori initiatives in order to respond to the over- representation in State Care by devolving services to the communities. Devolution coincided with Māori ambitions for greater autonomy and the re-establishment of social structures such as iwi. However, these programmes, while aimed at supporting the meso- and micro- level communities and individuals, were developed within the macro- level assimilationist environment, often competing with rangatiratanga aspirations of Māori groups such as iwi. Thus, while these programmes and policies attempted to improve Māori affairs, they may have unwittingly served to recolonise and boost assimilation (Dowdon, 2019). The critical juncture created a rupture, soon after the state began re- anchoring.

### Tu Tangata

In 1977, Kara Puketapu was appointed as the Secretary for Māori Affairs, a position he retained until 1983. In a shift away from the government integrationist policies of the late 1970s, Puketapu transformed the department by recruiting more Māori staff, and convening a series of consultative hui in districts around the country. Puketapu saw possibilities for advancement through adopting the ‘entrepreneurial mode to achieve social and cultural emancipation’ (Smith, 1994, p. 116). The department presented policies to Parliament generated from these preliminary discussions with Māori at ‘Hui Whakatauira’, attended by 100 leaders from districts across the country.

Puketapu introduced a series of programmes emphasising Māori community development, grouped together under the ‘Tu Tangata’ programme. Tu Tangata established local ‘kōkiri’ groups to determine local needs, decide upon tasks for community action, and administer community participation in the provision of services to Māori (Hill, 2009, p. 193). The philosophy of Tu Tangata was to promote Māori ‘cultural and economic advancement’ through ‘encouraging self-reliance and self-determination’ (Hill, 2009, p. 191).

In 1981, the Department of Māori Affairs explained:

Tu Tangata is encouraging Māori communities to become more self-sufficient and self-reliant through fuller utilisation of their own resources. Crime prevention, marae development, whānau projects, Māori language promotion, and a kaumātua wānanga are some of the many tu tangata activities being spearheaded by the community ... It is the department’s view that self-determination measures now being exercised by Māori leadership through its wide network of organisations and activities does mean that tremendous progress is being made on many fronts (Hill, 2009, p. 194).

The change of name from Māori Welfare Act in 1979 to Māori Community Development Act symbolised the shift in emphasis away from what was seen as welfare-statism towards community empowerment and self-reliance (Hill, 2005). Tu Tangata was significant in marking the beginning of a change in the direction of government policy towards the devolution of funds, service provision, and decision- making to local community organisations. The move was widely welcomed by Māori communities as representing ‘practical embodiments of the recognition and exercise of rangatiratanga’ (Hill, 2009, p. 199).

Tu Tangata marked the beginning of a government policy of recognising and negotiating with tribal authorities (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). One of the major policy platforms of Tu Tangata, the Mātua Whāngai programme, aimed to take young Māori out of social welfare institutional care and return them to be cared for within their own tribal groups (Walker, 1990).

### Mātua Whāngai

The roots of Mātua Whāngai lie in a Māori community response to Māori over-representation in the system. At the Hui Whakatauira held in Taumaranui in 1981, Māori identified that too many of their young were being institutionalised and whānau wanted to provide care for these children in their communities.

In 1983, the government (The Departments of Māori Affairs, Social Welfare, and Justice), in partnership with iwi, launched the Mātua Whāngai programme as a system of social care. The programme was initially a joint project between the Department of Social Welfare and the Department of Māori Affairs, in partnership with Māori communities with the Department of Justice joining the partnership later (Adair & Dixon, 1998).

Mātua Whāngai was part of the National government’s ‘Tu Tangata’ Māori affairs policy and sought to ‘recognise Māori as an integral and legitimate component of society, as well as demonstrate a willingness to tap into Māori communities for resources, and a commitment to Māori structures and culture as solutions rather than problems’ (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, p. 115). It was also hoped that Tu Tangata would indigenise the bureaucracy from within by redefining relationships with the client and transferring government programmes to Māori authorities (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

The two goals of the programme were:

* ‘To prevent the flow of young Māori people into government institutions.
* To remove Māori youth in these institutions and place them into the care of whānau hapū (tribal) groups’ (Mātua Whāngai, n.d, p. 6).

The essential feature of Mātua Whāngai is whānau tribal development. By this we mean the development of the tribal whāriki. This is a human mat which weaves and connects individuals and families together so that those in need or in institutional care can be placed back into a strong supportive system. Traditionally this whāriki iwi provided total care. Today this human mat has worn thin and, in some cases, has disintegrated. This policy seeks to reweave and restrengthen this whāriki iwi to provide once again a supportive network and a foundation for development. (Mātua Whāngai, n.d).

“From about 1990, when the national government came in again, Don Hunn, who was the commissioner of the state services commission, sort of said to the departments, ‘Well, you can do this stuff if you want, but it's optional’. Yeah, and so all of a sudden, people lost interest.”

- Tā Kim Workman, Māori senior public servant

“Mātua Whāngai that was John’s (Rangihau) great dream, he was talking about his world of reference Ohinemutu village, Rotorua, which he married into on the lake. Those small villages … Ruatahuna … Murupara. I think those villages, those size of communities, that was John's intellectual reference. It came from those sorts of villages … it takes a village to raise a child. It doesn't cater adequately for a fractured and dispersed diaspora of the people living on much better defined in terms of class and consequently income and frequently a nest of, well nowadays methamphetamine.”

– Tā Tipene O’Regan, editorial team Puao-te-Ata-Tū

The Mātua Whāngai as a system of social care, sought to divert Māori children from institutions and, according to Durie, was primarily concerned with the containment of ‘risk’ to children, rather than positive whānau development (Durie, 2003, p. 166). Workman (2017) noted Mātua Whāngai provided whānau-and-hapū-based (rather than state welfare) alternatives care for ‘youth at risk’ and sought to de-institutionalise young Māori in Social Welfare homes.

The programme intended to use traditional Māori kinship structures and the traditional practice of whāngai (care for, adopt), where close relatives would bring up and care for Māori children (Hollis-English, 2012). The objectives were to release Māori children from institutional placements and place them into the care of their family and tribal groups, (whānau, hapū and Iwi) (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986). Critics of the initial implementation of the programme described it as a means to disestablish residential facilities, while at the same time passing the burden of care on to whānau under the guise of devolution (Walker, 2001).

There was a notable underestimation of the resources needed to carry the burden. Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi were provided with no means to compensate for the additional demands (Bradley, 1995; Durie, 2005; Walker, 1990). Koha payments were made to providers by the Department of Māori Affairs.

A koha in relation to any placement is just that - a koha. The Taura Here Roopū will determine what koha should be made to whānau who have a whāngai in their care. They then let the Tribal Roopū know what the whānau need. The Tribal Roopū, having a national overview of the overall needs of their members will apportion to the Taura Here Roopū whatever they are able…. The koha funding process reinforces a strong belief that the iwi Māori are capable of managing their own affairs (Mātua Whāngai, Policy Document, n.d.).

Walker (2001) highlighted the difference in the funding of Māori children in the custody or guardianship of the Director General of Social Welfare compared to Māori children in Mātua Whāngai care. In 1994, it was recommended that Te Puni Kōkiri investigate establishing a register of complaints filed against government agencies by Māori providers or consumers, however the report noted that Te Puni Kōkiri was unable to directly assist any complaints (p. 20).

Durie describes how the programme had both positive and negative implications for iwi Māori and whānau. It appeared to offer a degree of self- governance, although clearly it was a government agenda with limited Māori control and at times conflicting objectives. In a positive sense, ‘it presented opportunities for assuming new levels of responsibility, but there were also some disquieting signals that it was a government manoeuvre for economic reform and cost cutting at Māori expense’ (Durie, 2005, p. 175).

The Māori Advisory unit (1985) noted that the model of welfare (Mātua Whāngai) is about the decentralisation of power and resources to whānau or community linked groups. However, they noted that Mātua Whāngai, ‘which unfortunately instead of being allowed to grow and develop is generally floundering because it has been slotted into the presently existing structure as ‘Māori fostering’ (1985, p. 19). ‘Mātua Whāngai implies far more than this, but some members of the Department cannot see beyond this restrictive view’ (1985 p. 14). They recommended the concept of Mātua Whāngai uses the initiatives of Te Koputu Taonga, Wai Ora and Kohanga Reo as essential components in looking at alternative methods or systems of welfare (1985, p. 19), ‘essentially we are talking about a concept of whānau and community development which ensures that the responsibility for providing care to its members, returns to the whānau, the hapū, the iwi’ (1985, p. 19).

Mātua Whāngai was an important change for the DSW in its approach to dealing with Māori children who were in State Care, but expectations of the scheme from Māori communities were very high, and it was quickly apparent that the programme was not resourced well enough to meet their expectations (Dalley, 1998, p. 329-30). While the Mātua Whāngai programme may have had the potential to be transformative, it was not funded adequately and often diminished by Pākehā staff. Workman (2017) noted how Mātua Whāngai had been slowly ‘demolished’ by DSW offices around the country probably in an effort to maintain control. When their attempts to control were unsuccessful, they were ‘threatened by the success of Mātua Whāngai’ (HRC, 1992, p. 169).

“At the time I was the only Māori social worker. I was so excited about Puao-te-Ata-Tū and Mātua Whāngai, I just thought, ‘Oh, here we go’. But even searching for my own family, who were all in State Care, and being told, even though I was a staff member that I couldn't have any information on them. I was trying to find them, because I had got approval to be a foster parent for whānau.”

– Te Inupo Farrar, Māori Mātua Whāngai and DSW social worker

“Mātua Whāngai … Māori people pushing for the de-institutionalising children fitted the political philosophy of the time. The economic philosophy of the time. Which was for the state to dispense with its responsibilities. There was an interest in closing the institutions. A lot of them closed. Now, the theory was that the money which was to be saved by closing the institutions would be used to support the organisations. Didn't happen. There was some funding that was allocated, but it dried up.”

- Harry Walker, Māori public servant

Nevertheless, the Mātua Whāngai programme made a major contribution to Māori social work development (Hollis-English, 2012) and would later be revisited by the Puao-te-Ata-Tū report in 1986 and by the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989. Initiatives such as Mātua Whāngai and Te Kohanga Reo were seen as ‘a way to invert the bureaucratic pyramid by encouraging community- driven, culturally sensitive programmes and services’ (Hollis-English, 2012, p. 29).

Both Tu Tangata and Mātua Whāngai were attempts within the state to make changes as a result of the critical junctures within the system. Liu and Pratto (2018) explain: ‘States and other large-scale political units are complex systems. As such, they change in time, have actors at multiple levels of analysis, and the more actors there are with disparate goals, the more complex the system becomes’ (p. 276). This research demonstrates the complexity of the settler state welfare system, the pervading paternalistic enlightenment discourse of benevolence, and the attempts to change the direction of the policy post the 1980 ruptures. While good intentions at the time drove Māori within the state system to attempt to change the direction of the state, the mechanisms within the state designed to retain power created significant barriers. Funding constraints, the inability to influence other social indicators, and the continued intervention by the state in Māori initiatives has stymied aspirations. While both Tu Tangata and Mātua Whāngai led to significant changes within the state welfare system, they fell short of the aspirations that underpinned their development.

As explained in chapter 6, the state set about re- anchoring soon after the rupture created by Puao- te-Ata-Tū. Through the 1980s and 1990s, first under Labour, then under the National Party, Aotearoa New Zealand implemented neoliberal reforms on an unprecedented scale. Controls on wages, prices, rents, interest rates, were removed, and finance markets were deregulated. These changes were based on the Eurocentric beliefs that welfare helped create unemployment by encouraging dependency. Although the deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation associated with neo-liberal economics was often in tension with the fourth Labour government's (1984-1990) social agenda, this was not the case under the National governments in the 1990s, whose economic and social reforms were more consistently ‘neo-liberal’ (Humpage & Craig, 2008).

“The dream, the moemoea for our people wasn't really listened to. The whānau also didn't get on board, even our own whānau, Māori whānau. It was supposed to have been known as a community organisation, but the control was still with the powers that be. So we couldn't work in the way that we wanted to, we always had to go cup in hand.”

– Te Inupo, Māori Mātua Whāngai and DSW social worker

Using narrow metrics like inflation and government debt, the assumption could be made that the reforms worked. However, using fundamental economic measures like employment, income levels, and economic growth, all of which free-market policies were supposed to boost, the reforms were a miserable failure (Marcetic, 2017). The economy shrank by 1 percent between 1985 and 1992, while other countries in the OECD saw 20 percent growth, poverty skyrocketed, with one in six falling below the poverty line by 1992 (Easton, 1995). Income inequality widened sharply, with the bulk of income gains going to the wealthiest citizens (Marcetic, 2017) which in effect negated the positive shift in social and welfare policy.

“The iwi social services had to be approved under the Children, Young Person’s Act of 1989. It wasn't a matter of our people saying, ‘We're going do this, we had to get the stamp of approval from tauiwi and the CEO of the department of social welfare'. It wasn't an easy time.”

- Te Inupo Farrar, Māori Mātua Whāngai and DSW social worker

The following figure demonstrates how the macro- level policy initiatives within state flowed down into the micro-level, alongside macro-level re-anchoring initiatives.

Figure 8.4. Macro response and re-anchoring

## Discussion and summary

This chapter provided an overview of examples of Māori-focussed responses and initiatives that have been implemented by whānau, hapū, iwi and government organisations within the settler State Care sector during the research period.

Māori have consistently expressed their belief that over most of the last century, participation in the state child welfare system had the potential to cause more harm than good for Māori children and whānau (Kaiwai et al., 2020). The evidence reviewed in this chapter indicates that Māori responded and resisted the intervention of the state at all levels. Firstly, at the micro-level, through individual/ whānau complaints of abuse and mistreatment, and through collective advocacy. Secondly at the meso- level through Māori organisations and collectives that became increasingly radicalised to bring about change in the system. Finally, at the macro-level through Māori programmes within the state system designed to devolve responsibility to Māori via Iwi and urban authorities.

Critical Junctures Theory was used to frame the discussion of response and resistance. The theory contends that societies are relatively stable and sometimes change, but in ways that are anchored in previous practices and organisation, and sometimes organisations and structures are ruptured (Liu & Pratto, 2018). Throughout the research period 1950-1999, critical junctures occurred when Māori responded to the settler welfare state. These responses increased in resistance and intensity over the 50-year period with evidence of a rupture in the late 1980s in response to evidence of institutional racism and over-representation of Māori in the State Care system. However, despite the resistance, and evidence of critical junctures, the evidence suggests the state quickly re-anchored to resume power and control of the state system. Liu and Pratto, (2018) describe this anchoring as continuity amid change, endorsing new elements but incorporating them within the existing coloniser forms of power and justice.

*‘The forms of power and the types of justice prevalent in Anglo-settler societies today appear to have been anchored through time as part of a centuries-long process of colonisation. They ruptured other systems of societal organisation and have avoided rupture themselves. They continue to be the anchors of NZ society today’ (Liu & Pratto, 2018, p. 276).*

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1. Said when a lone person is willing to face overwhelming odds.

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2. The other members of ACORD were: Ulla Sköld, Mitzi & Ray Nairn, Ross Galbreath, Robert Ludbrook, Margaret Arthur, Wallace Sutherland, Sally Symes, Anne Smith, Peter Denee, Wayne Sendles, Judy & David Holt, Philip Tremewan, Lesley Smith, Chris Lane, Helen Nelson, Zeta Anich and Jane Kelsey (Sutherland, 2020, p.13). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)