

Leadership, Colonization, and Tradition: Identity and Economic Change in Ruatoki and Ruatahuna

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Elements of traditional Maori identity were identified from 16 hour-long interviews conducted in Ruatoki and Ruatahuna, rural Tuhoe villages in the Urewera mountains. Sacredness, interconnectedness, sense of language, and sense of place were all prevalent, and they were linked by the philosophy of "mate-mate-a-one." The unchanging aspects of identity are contrasted with massive generational changes in economic circumstances, from farm to factory to unemployment. Traditional identity encourages Maori language fluency, political self-determination, and the maintenance of cultural practices. It has not yet supported economic revival, and may be linked to a "discourse of contamination" where Maori trained outside of the community are questioned as to their motives when they return. Things talked about as "traditional" can be a double-edged sword, both maintaining aspects of cultural integrity and undermining economic initiatives. These issues are discussed in the context of a recommendation for social change.

From the heart of the mountains of the Ureweras, the Whakatane River cuts its way through stone and valley to the sea. The river moves as it always has, from kisses of the mist maiden to forest farther down to sunlit fields where mortals tend crops and raise children. This is the home of Tuhoe Potiki, children of the mist, who come from a marriage of Maori canoes to the deep forest of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Best, 1925). This is a story of the changing and the unchanging, in their own words.

In some ways, Tuhoe have been the most unchanging among Maori iwis (or tribes) in Aotearoa (Best, 1924, 1925). Maori language is at its greatest fluency on the banks of the Whakatane River. Cultural traditions, philosophy, and ideals all find expression in the daily lives and conversation of the people of Ruatoki and Ruatahuna, the two villages where we conducted interviews. Sacredness, interconnectedness, sense of language and place are all striking elements of traditional Maori identity that we found. These are all connected by the philosophy of *mate-mate-a-one*, literally translated as "death born of the earth," death that makes life precious and interconnected. This belief system, although uniquely Tuhoe, finds resonance with those of indigenous people in many other parts of the world (Campbell with Moyers, 1988).

Against this backdrop of unchanging philosophy and identity are massive generational changes in economic circumstances. Three generations ago, Tuhoe were living off the land as farmers. Two generations ago, they began migrating to the cities and working as laborers in the postwar boom of heavy industry in New

Zealand. In the 1970s demand for labor in heavy industry began to fall, and at the same time the small farms that sustained life in the old days were no longer “economically viable” (Pool, 1991). In a span of three generations, Ruatoki and Ruatahuna turned from agricultural communities where people worked long collective hours to produce just enough food to live to communities where most people are not working.

Traditional Maori identity survives in the valleys of the Whakatane River, but the economic practices that sustained them before European arrival, and indeed before recent trends toward globalization have all but disappeared. One of the great challenges facing the Tuhoe community is how to reconcile the changing economic tides with the unchanging essence of what it means to be Maori (Binney, Chaplin, & Wallace, 1979). Both social welfare benefits at the bottom and leadership at the top must be brought into line with cultural identity. This transition will not be easy, and tradition may be used to prevent change. In each case, it will be necessary to examine what is the outward form that can be adapted to the times and what is the essence of Maori identity that cannot and should not be compromised.

Sixteen in-depth interviews, ranging in length from 45 minutes to two hours were conducted by the authors, one a native of Ruatahuna and the other an outsider to Ruatoki guided by local informants. We used a flexible interview schedule, where most people answered a fixed set of questions centered around questions about identity and economics, but interviewers followed a free set of deeper probes. The interviews were conducted in the second half of 1996. Many of the fixed questions were indirect and designed to give participants room to define themselves freely (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). About half of the interviews were in English and about half in Maori. The contents of the interviews were analyzed and divided into three sections.

In the first section we outline important elements of traditional Maori and Tuhoe identity that emerged in our interviews. Next, we follow their descriptions of the changes that occurred in Ruatoki and Ruatahuna over the last three generations. From the picture that emerges, we provide a challenge for the future: how to express traditional beliefs not just culturally, but economically. This challenge of how to reconcile what must be unchanging in order to be Tuhoe with the ever-changing circumstances of economic life is one faced by Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples everywhere. Although this research is presented as an outcome, in fact it is but a step in the ongoing process by which Tuhoe inside and outside the traditional tribal area decide the future of their iwi (tribe, Lewin, 1948).

Traditional Maori Identity

Interconnectedness

What leaps out of the interviews is the Maori sense of interconnectedness. Here is one of the kuia, or respected elder women, describing it (an asterisk indicates that the excerpt was translated into English from Maori):

If I went to your house, if I went to Pare’s and Tamahou’s, it was like I was theirs. The whole of Ruatahuna was a playground for all the kids. You were never cast out. Not like today where they say, “Go back home.” Even when they had no kai (food). In those times

we all looked after each other. We knew So-and-so had a baby, or was sick, so all our elders went with their kai to help. The house would be full with all the children.*

The theme of food preparation and food sharing appears over and over again in descriptions of how things were. Three generations ago, Tuhoe were interconnected not only because it was part of their cultural beliefs, but because it was necessary for survival. Food was not easy to come by in those days, and when it did come it was sacred. It required the cooperation of the whole community to harvest. Here is another kuia:

They were staunch in their traditions. It's more for yourself only today. Now, when Te Makarini and I would come home we would go over to the meeting house. I would cry as my thought would return to my elders and that time. They were sacred, but they were also joyful. The elders were good at working together with the young ones. We would laugh and make fun of each other. I remember that. When we were working with food that was the atmosphere ... *Mate-mate-a-one*. If someone ran out of food they were called to eat with another. That does not happen any more. I watched their world change and it is very different today.*

In psychology the term used to describe a sense of community interconnectedness is *collectivism* (as opposed to individualism, Triandis, 1990). But that grand term does not capture the exact nature of Tuhoe or Maori interconnectedness, which is born of a deep philosophy called *mate-mate-a-one*. We unfold this concept slowly through the interviews. Here is one of the kaumatua, or respected male elder.

That word (love) is like *mate-mate-a-one*. One on one. But it is an expansion of love. Today that word is used too easily. It was not like that with our elders. If one thought about someone, one walked to see them. Today you have cars, you hear So-and-so is sick, but you don't have time to go and see them, too much work, or you are not free. Today the word love has little meaning.*

Not one of the interviewees claimed that the sense of interconnectedness was stronger today than in the generations past they could remember. But even among the young, there is an understanding of the concept. This young man talks about both the vertical (ancestral) and the horizontal (neighbors) in expressing his interconnectedness:

Well, home for a start—it means to me the roots of my ancestors, the beginning of a new sovereignty and heritage for the young generation. But here in Ruatahuna home is really to mix with the community around here ... to know your neighbors, to know your relations, that's home to me, As long as we've got a roof over our head, and a finger or footstep inside the land here.

When interconnectedness is this basic, it allows the expression of feelings that are almost incomprehensible or nonsensical to a person coming from an individualistic culture:

Yes it was good because I went around to many different mothers, and my older brother would become envious because I made many parents. It was also good to return to my real parents. That is why I have not lost the understanding of family of those elders.*

The roots of this feeling of interconnectedness go right back to the earth, as this young man says:

Your genealogy starts from the roots ... of Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), and it also returns back to the roots of Papatuanuku.

The relationship of the people to the land is further expressed by this kaumatua.

I was born in Ruatahuna; it is the place where my pito (umbilical cord) was cut; this is important to me. It is the place part of your body returns to the earth. It goes to the land; we come from the land and we return to the land. It is the land that grows us. So you are bound to the land where your afterbirth is placed. No matter how far away from your home you are, you will return to the land, it is the place in your mind, the spiritual place in your mind, because part of your body is there.*

Though less eloquent, the sense of place in identity also runs through the speech of the younger people:

That's the only thing we've got is our land.

It never left me. Actually, you know, when I was a kid I always had it in my mind that I was coming back anyway. I'm just glad I came back alive (laughter), not in a pine box.

It comes back to *mate-mate-a-one*, literally translated as "death born of the earth"; but one of its meanings is deep interconnectedness.

Spirituality

Maori interconnectedness does not stand alone. Not only does it connect people to one another and to the land, but it is sacred. Here is another kaumatua, linking interconnectedness and spirituality:

Spirituality in their time was different. I don't know what the generations before them were like but in the time of our elders and their children I do know. They understood things Maori. But one important thing to them was to look to help each and every family. To help them so they would stay together. That was the big spiritual thing I saw at the time.*

This sacred connection between people in the community could almost seem like magic, as this kuia says:

Those times when I was small, the way I look at them they had ESP. They could foretell the future. Like when someone died at Mataatua, my grandfather knew.*

Getting along with other people is not so hard if you believe that everything is interconnected, the living and the dead, the human and the nonhuman. This world view that spirit is basic to everything is expressed by one of the kuias. It is in stark contrast to modernist position of science where even the basic form of a psychology paper is mechanical, broken up into sections to allow mechanical reproduction.

One of the things I was told by an elder that I believe is that everything has a spirit. That's one of the things they told us. I asked, "Why do we pray so early in the morning?" It was very early. One of the old men said, "Because that's the time the spirits are still asleep." The old men wake up and pray before the spirits awake and rise up. So they don't get away. That's what they said.*

That sacredness has no boundaries (Eliade, 1957) is amplified by this kaumatua:

They were religious, they were very deep in the religion. Even though they got drunk in those times, they were still religious. No matter what the problem, whatever they were

doing they prayed, when they went to get food they prayed. When the food was ripe, they prayed and gave thanks for those blessings.*

It is in everything, but it is especially in nature, as he goes on:

When I am sick or have problems on me, or when I have a lot to think about, I go into the bush and walk around. I look up at the sky. You listen to the things in the sky.*

Nature is the source of spirituality, as this *kuia* says as well:

Talking and praying is what they did ... The old men would sing, we would too.... He would talk about the stars, and we would lie down and look at the stars, but I have forgotten a lot of that. One thing he did tell me, and I don't know if it is true, there is a bond between the totara (tree) and the sky. But most of what he told me I have forgotten. I did not know at that time it was a treasure. But now ...*

Spirituality is expressed in the creations of human beings as well, it is in language:

The most important thing of the language is its spirit. To me, if you speak Maori it has a spirit, it has mana. To Pakeha it is only a language, it has no spirit like the Maori.*

I like it when they speak Maori. I can see the spirit within him growing in all that he does. When he comes back from his school Hauiarau he brings his books. I say read your book.*

Even among the young people, language is seen as inalienable part of cultural identity:

I treasure it ... *te reo* (the language) is a great respect to the Maori himself. The person that wants to learn *te reo*. And then it was my dream. To teach *te reo*, its practice and its custom.

So to summarize, *mate-mate-a-one*, death born of the earth, may be understood as a spiritual interconnectedness; its roots are in nature and its expression is in *te reo*, the language and its customs. According to Professor Ngahua Te Awakotuku, *mate-mate-a-one* is "a primal response to and craving for a particular place: a relationship with one's forebears. A sense of timeless belonging, of blood within the earth, across the waves, and in the skies." This is what Maoris cannot afford to lose, as one of the scholars and leaders in the community states:

I think the experience so far of Maori people, we're getting a clearer idea of what we cannot afford to compromise, and I think the list includes the language, the customs and traditions, and spirituality. I think those are the things that Maori have experienced is, as the key components to their being, to their identity. Without those things, they then dissipate, they become nothing.

Culture Clash and the Fear of Contamination

The contrast between traditional Maori identity and the outside world of New Zealand is described eloquently by this man as well:

I think what Indigenous cultures share in common is the belief that what we do in the physical world must have some kind of accountability or relevance or relationship to the philosophy that originates or includes that spiritual world.

I think a fascinating thing that all Indigenous cultures revel in about Pakeha (European) cultures, because it does that, 'cause Pakeha cultures they *know* this is it, we're not accountable to anything else, what government decides that's it. Not even God will put us under (laugh) because we pay him (both laugh), we own God. So it's that kind of

arrogance, it's that kind of ... sort of demonstration of power that fascinates Indigenous cultures because for centuries we have lived in this ideology of a higher being, a higher force, higher power, and then we meet up with a culture that says, "No way, I am it," and isn't it a fact that we have been mesmerized by this culture?

The difficulty of living with *mate-mate-a-one* in the outside world, the world of the Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent), provides a basis for understanding some of our other interviewees' attitudes toward the outside:

I'm not a racist, but there's not many places left here can hold our identity.

Many of our interviewees made a strong distinction between the inside and the outside. Both old and young expressed willingness to suffer economic losses in order to maintain safety for the inside and to keep privacy from the outside:

What I really don't want is people to come with the tar seal. Because I know, for instance, those Raupatu lands will be up for grabs once the seal joins Murupara to the bay. Will be in the line for industrial ... Yeah, it will bring money, it will bring jobs, but it will never be the same ... We will never have the privacy we were having now.

Yeah, I like the way the road is now, it really slows people down.

Not like it is on the outside. It has started. If you open it up to the world, more will come in, but to be careful before you open it up to the world you must first find medicines for these problems. You take, for example, if the road is tar sealed. There are many things on the road. You have seen what I am talking about.*

This fear of contamination is historically grounded in the experience of Maori people's clash with European settlers (Belich, 1986; Walker, 1990; Orange, 1987). But its implications extend into the community as well, in how people treat one another and how they treat their own people who are trained on the outside and have some sort of expertise. This is the central theme in the next two sections as we explore the historical changes that have taken place during the last 50 or 60 years and play out their consequences for the current expression of Tuhoe and Maori identity.

The Economics of Change

The Decline of Collective Economics

Three generations ago the challenges faced by the Tuhoe community were both simpler and harsher than those facing the community today. It was difficult to produce enough food in those days, as this young man recalls:

Well, it was very strict; won't forget it anyway.... When we were about 13 we never did like to go back to our kuia and koroua because they used to feed us food we were unable to eat or couldn't cope with.... my kuia used to take me into the forest and pick a few leaves off the tree and boil it. Not only that, she used to dig through the old logs and get these huhu grubs.

It was simple to share where life and death were concerned and when the economic life of the community centered around food-gathering:

We worked as a community, *what I own is yours*, shared. You know, we learnt to share whatever we had and ... nobody went without. Because, if we saw a family down the road who had nothing, well, they had to share what we had ... And so today, what has happened now, they have put us into zones, into little blocks of land, and we became individuals.

There was a spirit of self-reliance in the community, as this kaumatua recalls:

We were very much dependent on the land and not so much on the government for handouts at the time. I remember we had coupons for this area for your butter and sugar, but at home we always had garden ... we always had chicken and eggs, and we always had pigs. We were self-contained ... But then as the years go by, the 25 cows wasn't economical. We could not get a whole other income out of the 25. Now if you are milking 300 cows it is economical.

So spiritual interconnectedness was not just confined to the rituals of the marae, it was an intimate way of doing business:

See, the seasonal operations were all done together. They'd all come to one farm to do the haymaking and then all move on to the next one. And they'd all help each other, right through the seasonal activities.

Over and over our interviewees talked about the decline in collective economic practices, although few of them connected this to the decline in traditional Maori identity.

I think our parents, our grandparents ... and people before them ... did a lot of working together. They didn't have much, but they did work together. They all sat down and agreed on doing one thing, and they'd all do it. There were no outside influences to ... and rubbish to ... take that out of their mind. They just wanted to do that. And they went out to find knowledge from other people that were there to help them. And we could do the same. We could sit down and agree to do ... something ... and work together ... to better the whole community.

The current economic structures in Ruatoki and Ruatahuna are the products of choices made by the last two generations (Pool, 1990). First, as several interviewees commented, the Apirana Ngata scheme in the 1940s divided land into 40-acre blocks, which were economic at that time:

See, the Apirana Ngata scheme was all right at the time ... but with the change in times, no one came up with a new idea for the use and development of land.

I know he (Ngata) knew what was happening, but he couldn't stop it. But he used the system of the day to help us develop to become independent

The Ngata scheme amounted to using Pakeha technology and economic structures to increase the productivity of traditional Maori lands and activities like farming (Butterworth, 1968). It had the consequence of shifting ownership of the land into the hands of individuals and not the collective. It is a move from a Maori economic structure (hapu land ownership) to a Pakeha one (land ownership by individuals).

Second, the movement from the countryside to the cities after World War II came as New Zealand experienced a surge of prosperity by sending exports to a war-torn Europe. There was much work to be had in industries like meat-packing, shearing, and timber. Farming in the home area declined.

But then, as time passed by, the number of cows became uneconomic ... not enough to make a living for the family, and the men started to move out to work. A lot of them went shearing in those days, that sort of work.

The huge demand for unskilled labor in New Zealand lasted about 20 years. Then the mills and the freezing works and the wool sheds began closing down.

Well, I think there's less Maoris working now than in the working force before. It's not that they don't want to work, it's just there's no work there. I think it's the kind of work they want to do.

The postwar generation of Maori earned their incomes on the outside. Unlike the Ngata generation, they were Maori participating in Pakeha industry, Maori working for Pakeha capital. Some achieved positions of status on the outside. Most stayed in the cities (fewer than a quarter of Tuhoe today live on traditional land). There was no way to return to the farming practices of the 1940s and earlier, as one of the few successful farmers in Ruatoki notes:

Probably they realize it's quite technical, farming's quite a technical thing now, and maybe that's (pause) and the capital investment that you have to put in first, you know it just doesn't come to you; the land may be there but you still got to have the knowhow.

The farmer of today needs technical expertise and knowledge of the market. It's much more than milking cows and raising pigs, as this grower comments:

We're not farmers, so what I say to you is that ... you don't have to be farmers, you don't have to have that knowledge. The knowledge is available, if you know how to go and get the knowledge. So that's probably the ... the main basis of how to start, but it's been proven that you can grow fruit here and export it.

So the tides of economic change have always buffeted Tuhoe. But the community has been reluctant to embrace the technical knowledge from the outside or even to seek it from experts on the inside.

I've been asked by quite a few people, but sadly not from the valley itself. I've had outside people who have seen my operations, and know how I'm getting on through what they hear from our local dairy, dairy company, and they sort of mention me, being in a predominantly Maori community, you know, come and see me.

As it now stands, the largest block of farmland in Ruatoki is held in trust, and the actual work is being done by a Pakeha farmer. There are few gardens or orchards. Much of the land is in wild pasture for horses.

That disappoints me, that I look outside our window, I see hundreds of acres used by people who don't belong here, and the actual owners of the land are not ... making, to me, what I call use of the land.

Economic Self-Determination

Maoridom has experienced a cultural revival in recent years, and Tuhoe have played an important role in this by exporting their expertise in the language. But as this woman claims, cultural awareness and economic self-determination must go hand in hand:

It's up there on that cultural level, reclaiming who you are, or even if you haven't lost it, you're just making a stand for Maoritanga and those issues. But there's not the other, I don't know, yeah ... not that sort of independence that goes with it, that needs to go with it, that you can independently look after yourself, and you've got a path, even the word career is almost a dirty word (laugh).

At present there is little connection between the two. If you already own a piece of land and have a roof over your head, social welfare benefits are more than enough for daily survival needs. This creates a vision of Ruatoki and Ruatahuna as refuges from the hustle and bustle and toil of the outside. As two of the young men say,

Ruatahuna is a place where you take your watch off your wrist and hand it in. That's home. Home. It's like how it is now. Peaceful, quiet, do whatever you want to do. Live on the native side, it's like that. Yeah, you live free out here. Peaceful.... Town is too fast. You come back here, it's quite slow and peaceful, you can think properly. In town there's too many things moving, that's why I left, plus I was getting in trouble.

This easy sort of living for many is more tempting than the hardship of farm work:

Some of the Trustees' children, they actually boarded them there and were training them up, and it just didn't work, they just, mainly because, oh, it's hard to say, but the attitude of the kids: it was hard work, their friends were doing other things, they were tempted away from it.

Many of our interviewees (especially the older people) thought that laziness was a problem in the community:

Laziness. That's what the children here do, they don't want to work. Where do they get their money from? The government.*

Look at them spending on the unemployment benefit, because I'm a believer that they should never encourage the unemployment benefit. Even when I was working there I used to say, "Get them out there to do some work." You know, create, they can create work on the maraes.

They will teach that to their children. They just don't want to work. I don't know why they think like that.*

It is easy to put the blame on the individual. It is much harder to see the problems as part of a long fabric of historical change. To understand this fabric is to begin to know how to unravel it. This is the challenge of our final section, one that we have yet to resolve satisfactorily. We have a suggestion, but we don't know if it will work. As one of our leaders in training back home says,

Having a sense of history is the only way that one pattern of life and the sounds of life can be, of the universe, can be revealed to you, only then can you then understand the cycles and patterns of life.

Challenges of the Future

Apirana Ngata's generation used Pakeha economics to feed their growing families. That was the challenge then, to enable Maori survival. The generation following earned money and status in the Pakeha world; they built modern houses in the rohe (traditional area). That was the challenge then, to achieve status on the outside and to improve financially. But a different challenge faces this generation: to revitalize the homeland. The solution, as one leader points out, will involve spiritual as well as financial strength.

I think some people come up with the cure that, well, some people come up with the idea that the only cure for Maori is for them to earn billions of dollars (pause). See, that's a trap for the mentality, that is the mentality that says, "Let's surrender and play the game" ... that's the basis of that kind of mentality that the only way for Maoris to survive is to take a pragmatic view and—we can't beat them so let's join them. That's not an answer—that's a surrender.

It is about marrying Maori identity to Maori economics. Traditional Maori economics was centered around the hapu and the marae. It is a collective, not an individualistic structure, as this woman leader claims.

In Maoridom, I think *this is where a lot of problems have been created* because the structure has been destroyed, and the structure is from whanau to hapu. Hapu. If our hapu was functioning as it should be, we wouldn't have any young people out there getting into trouble, because what happens is when they get into trouble there, the subtribe, the whanau, is there to resolve it.... I think the hapu at the moment doesn't realize their responsibility of that role.... The role of the hapu should be to embrace all aspects, that would benefit the whanau. Employment, social issues, education, and health.

So we see that to be strong, traditional identity must have arms and legs that are adapted to the times. Employment, social issues, education, health. These all require improvement. At the bottom, social welfare benefits have undermined the economic necessity of the hapu. Welfare benefits are paid to individuals from the central government of New Zealand, a Pakeha institution; there is no tribal authority over the lack of need to work, no collective control over the main source of money in the valleys. As it stands, much social welfare money is spent on alcohol (Duff, 1993).

Is alcohol a problem in the community?

Nah, alcohol is not a problem, but it can be.

So you're saying that Ruatahuna is relatively free of drinking? Or is there a lot of drinking that happens in the whanaus (families)?

They have a lot of celebrations.

How often do these celebrations happen?

Twice a week. Could be five days of the week.

It will take a lot of self-discipline on the part of the hapu to move away from this type of dependency. It took many generations and many economic and social factors to bring the valleys to their current state. It will require this current generation and those that follow many sustained initiatives to give the cultural revival of Maori an economic face as well.

Nevertheless, we think at least one important part of the puzzle needs to be explored. One avenue for economic self-determination is hapu- or whanau-based control over social welfare payments. A three-to-five-year block grant paid to hapu or whanau from the entitlement of individual members who have given their consent, plus start-up money, would provide the collective with a source of revenue. More importantly, it would provide a process and a structure that would enable and require hapu or whanau members to cooperate with one another in productive work.

It is in keeping with right-wing government policy to make people work for their dole. But to work for the hapu, for whanau, to do the work on the marae that must be done, to build new facilities, to plant fresh orchards, teach, would be an

honor. Of course, it will be difficult to negotiate with the government to establish the conditions of the block grant.

Another hurdle will be to gain agreement at a group level over what needs to be done and how to do it. Many individuals will not want to give up control of their social welfare payments. To gain their trust there must be accountability to every member of the hapu who contributes. So first there must be serious discussion.

Tuhoe no longer discuss issues. In the past if there was an issue to be discussed, each and every subtribe would talk about it ... When this was done they would get together and see what each hapu had to say. Then you would see all the hapu united on the issue.*

Only members of one hapu or whanau need agree at first, because iwi-level agreement will be very unlikely at the beginning.

The biggest problem is getting everybody to agree on one thing. Like, you know, each hapu has got it's own ideas of how they should do things. I mean, the next hapu down the road won't agree with this one here on simple things, or on a whole lot of things.

Then action must follow discussion. In this all the community must be engaged, especially the women.

The men here are good. They talk, talk, talk, no go. The women—and you find that outside Ruatahuna—they talk, the work is following after, and I like that.*

People on the outside can contribute.

You got a lot of people out there who're in different government agencies and universities, you know who's a specialist in their field, that's what I'm talking about, and they should be given the mana to be able to come back here and say, "Look use me."

It is a great irony that people from the homeland admire their children, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, and nieces who have succeeded on the outside, but sadly they mistrust them too. These "outsiders" need not be placed into positions of overall leadership, or ceremonial functions on the marae, but they do need help in their areas of expertise. Law and social policy, for example would be needed to negotiate with the government. Accounting would be necessary to deal with the finances. Expertise in health, education, and/or economic development might be relevant to support particular whanau or hapu initiatives. These must be presented in a humble way.

Well, for me it's, "Don't arrive here with your skills and experience and announce to everyone this is what I want to do." 'Cause they'll turn their back on you. You're looked on as a new kid on the block, as arrogant as what do you know, you know coming back to tell us, that sort of thing.... For someone who is saying, is maybe coming in wanting to do it, you've got to serve an apprenticeship almost. You've got to be seen by the people, be accepted by them, show that you're willing to work, and you're not just coming in to go straight out the front and lead them. That's not, that's not on.

You can't just say, "Hey, I got my BA, I got my MBA, here I am, I want to be up there." No, it doesn't work like that. You got to get that parts all dirty with the pot thing and that grease and that before you qualify.... So those are the tests of people. So you coming back with all these BAs, you'll have to start peeling potatoes before you step up.

But outside skills are clearly necessary for any modern leader of Tuhoe. So these skills should be treated with respect, as long as the heart and the spirit are there.

It must be a person that they can trust and ... more so, has the skills, ... the marketing skills ... I would say a coordinator, that would be able to put it all together.

In 1996 when the interviews were conducted, there was dissatisfaction with the institutional leadership back home. There was no structure, no order; the Trust Board is a state-mandated institution with no great mandate from the people. They were the evil that is known compared with the evil that is unknown on the outside.

The people leading the Trust Board have a problem; they are the ones that have a problem in Ruatahuna. They don't know how to lead things for the people here in Ruatahuna. They don't lead. They don't complete the tasks set out on the table by the leaders. They don't finish these tasks.*

Perhaps recent initiatives have begun to change this impression. With any initiative such as that proposed, there must be a strong link between the people on the inside, who must supply the blood, sweat, and tears to make it work, and the people on the outside, who must contribute their knowledge, money, expertise, and support. This is the kind of *mate-mate-a-one* that is needed today. Whether the initiative is taking control of social welfare, rebuilding marae, or building houses for the people to move back home, a leader must be able to manage the politics of the inside and outside. The leader must be

Someone to bring purpose to Ruatahuna. Someone that can set out a task and carry it through. To me it must be a person that understands the tasks, knows how to carry them out, pursues many areas and completes those tasks.*

It will take time for such leadership to rise and become accepted in the community.

Money is so convenient because it buys respect, status; it buys what is equal to Maori mana. You buy it and eligibility is just your ability to generate income. It has nothing to do with morals, nothing to do with character, credibility, nothing to do with sort of a communal spirit.... if you wanted to be perhaps a leader in Tuhoe, I mean you can't take a three-year course and then graduate and throw your hat in the air and you're a leader. I mean, you're at least looking at a 20-year apprenticeship, and then that is no guarantee. But the capitalist economic system is so convenient; it's accessible, and the prerequisites are really easy to get; they are fairly easy to get, and there's the difficulty of moral binds are nonexistent.

But if Indigenous people have one strength, it is a long memory. Mana takes years to build up, and it is based on spirituality as well as economic power. To have money is not enough in Maori economics, you must be respected for your spirit, your commitment to the collective. Mana is not something that belongs to an individual—it is a reflection of and on a hapu as well. When the collective is weak it can pull strong leaders down rather than be pulled up by them. When leaders are not strong in their identity they may attempt to profit unfairly from the collective. The process of resolving these issues of leadership and trust may be just as important as achieving any specific outcome.

Tuhoe have no easy task before them. But then, as with other Indigenous peoples, they have had no easy road behind them either. Scholars working for Tuhoe do not have the luxury of seeing an article like this as an end unto itself. To engage the commentary of the international scholarly community is a small begin-

ning compared with the more difficult task of engaging the action of Tuhoe people on the inside and the outside. But it is our belief that interconnectedness at every level, from scholar to scholar, to people on the inside and outside, to the members of marae will have positive consequences. After all, *mate-mate-a-one* has wonderful consequences in action, in whatever language the sentiment is expressed. But time alone will tell whether these words have any consequences on action.

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