

EWAS CASE STUDIES

**NEW ZEALAND MĀORI CASE STUDY:
WELLINGTON TENTHS TRUST AND
PALMERSTON NORTH MĀORI RESERVED LANDS TRUST**

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ENHANCING WELLBEING IN AN AGEING SOCIETY (EWAS)
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Contents

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | <hr/> | 4 |
| <i>Contents</i> | <hr/> | 5 |
| <i>Executive Summary</i> | <hr/> | 8 |
| Oranga Kaumātua | <hr/> | 8 |
| Contributions To Oranga Kaumatua | <hr/> | 9 |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | <hr/> | 13 |
| 1.1 Understanding Wellbeing | <hr/> | 13 |
| 1.2 Māori Conceptions of Wellbeing | <hr/> | 14 |
| 1.3 Method | <hr/> | 15 |
| 2. ORGANISATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL REVIEW | <hr/> | 17 |
| 2.1 Introduction | <hr/> | 17 |
| 2.2 Historical Background | <hr/> | 17 |
| 2.3 Waitangi Tribunal Findings | <hr/> | 18 |
| 2.4 The Trusts | <hr/> | 19 |
| 2.5 Wellington Tenth Trust | <hr/> | 20 |
| 2.5.1. Organisational philosophy/strategy and objectives: | <hr/> | 21 |
| 2.5.2. Organisational structure | <hr/> | 22 |
| 2.5.3. Organisational culture | <hr/> | 22 |
| 2.5.4. Projects and investments | <hr/> | 23 |
| Health and Social Services | <hr/> | 23 |
| Nga Tekau Health Services and Employment Coordination Service | <hr/> | 23 |
| Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Team | <hr/> | 23 |
| Kaumatua Support | <hr/> | 24 |
| Taranaki 217 | <hr/> | 24 |
| Village at the Park | <hr/> | 24 |
| 5, 9, 11 and 13 Pipitea Street | <hr/> | 25 |
| 2.5.5. Summary | <hr/> | 26 |
| 2.6 Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust | <hr/> | 26 |
| 2.6.1. History of the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Lands | <hr/> | 27 |
| 2.6.2. Palmerston North Māori Reserves 1975 – 2003 | <hr/> | 27 |
| 2.6.3. Organisational philosophy/strategy and objectives | <hr/> | 28 |
| 2.6.4. Organisational structure | <hr/> | 28 |
| 2.6.5. Organisational culture | <hr/> | 29 |
| 2.6.6. Projects and investments | <hr/> | 29 |
| Metlife Care Retirement Village | <hr/> | 29 |
| Baxters and Palmy 31 | <hr/> | 29 |
| Residential and Commercial Properties | <hr/> | 29 |
| Rangitikei Street Development | <hr/> | 30 |
| Social Services | <hr/> | 30 |
| 2.6.7. Summary | <hr/> | 30 |
| 2.7 Conclusion: Trusts' Contributions to Wellbeing | <hr/> | 30 |
| Mana | <hr/> | 31 |
| Wairua | <hr/> | 31 |
| Tinana | <hr/> | 32 |
| Mauri | <hr/> | 32 |

| | | |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| | Whatumanawa _____ | 32 |
| | Hinengaro _____ | 32 |
| | Ha a koro ma a kui ma/taonga tuku iho _____ | 32 |
| | Whanaungatanga _____ | 32 |
| 2. | <i>QUALITATIVE STUDY</i> _____ | 33 |
| 2.8 | Method _____ | 33 |
| 2.8.1. | Participants _____ | 33 |
| 2.8.2. | Interviews _____ | 33 |
| 2.8.3. | Analysis _____ | 33 |
| 2.9 | Results _____ | 33 |
| 2.9.1. | Understandings of hauora Kaumatua/Kaumatua wellbeing _____ | 34 |
| | Whanaungatanga _____ | 34 |
| | Reciprocity, recognition and belonging _____ | 34 |
| | Secure base and future pathways for next generation/s _____ | 35 |
| | Social activities _____ | 37 |
| 2.9.2. | Personal Wellbeing _____ | 37 |
| | Holistic Wellbeing: sustenance for taha wairua, taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha whanau _____ | 37 |
| | Housing, nutrition, medical care _____ | 38 |
| | Independence _____ | 38 |
| 2.9.3. | Trusts' roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing in the past _____ | 39 |
| | General Support: te awhina me te aroha _____ | 39 |
| | Leading and Funding Treaty Claims _____ | 40 |
| | Commercial Success _____ | 41 |
| 2.9.4. | Trusts roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing _____ | 42 |
| | Mana whenua: whanau, hapu, iwi connection, activity and identity _____ | 42 |
| | Spiritual guidance, strength and support _____ | 44 |
| | Whanaungatanga _____ | 44 |
| | Whakakotahitanga a Iwi: Maintaining unity and identity _____ | 45 |
| | Upholding traditions, tikanga, reo and manawhenua status _____ | 46 |
| | Manaakitanga: Inclusive Caring and Sharing _____ | 46 |
| | Manaaki Manuhiri/Tiaki Taurahere _____ | 47 |
| | Mahi tika, mahi aroha philosophy _____ | 48 |
| | Social and cultural involvement and support _____ | 49 |
| | Educational; learning why we are as we are _____ | 50 |
| | Housing and retirement villages _____ | 50 |
| | Transport _____ | 51 |
| | Communication _____ | 52 |
| | Pride in achievements/proud to be part of Trusts _____ | 53 |
| | Health and Social Services _____ | 54 |
| 2.9.5. | Future roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing _____ | 54 |
| | Catering for a changing environment _____ | 54 |
| | Health and Social Assistance _____ | 55 |
| | Social Services _____ | 55 |
| | Basic medical care: eyes, ears, teeth and mobility issues _____ | 55 |
| | Whanau room at Hutt Hospital _____ | 56 |
| | Affordable housing for kaumatua (in their communities) _____ | 56 |
| | House calls, help at home and home modifications _____ | 57 |
| | Information and advocacy services _____ | 58 |
| | Help with Transport, Van and Drivers _____ | 59 |
| | Kaumatua specific programmes _____ | 59 |
| | The Claim: reclaiming identity and gaining compensation for losses sustained _____ | 60 |
| | Marae utilisation _____ | 61 |
| | Kaitiakitanga/Increased access to and control of resources within the rohe _____ | 61 |
| | Education for whanau _____ | 62 |

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 2.9.6. | Barriers preventing enhancement | 62 |
| | Lack of resources (money and people) | 62 |
| | Money | 62 |
| | People | 63 |
| | Nature of the Trusts | 64 |
| | Asset rich but cash poor | 64 |
| | Competitive Health and Social Service Funding Regimes | 64 |
| | Constitutional/Legislative restrictions | 65 |
| 2.9.7. | Addressing barriers | 66 |
| | Work in partnership with Government | 66 |
| | Apply for funding and grants | 67 |
| | Increase resource base through Treaty settlement | 67 |
| | Constitutional Reform | 68 |
| | Maintain active and risk averse development strategies | 68 |
| | Coordinated/Strategic planning | 69 |
| | Wairua group to unite people | 69 |
| 3. | <i>SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION</i> | 71 |
| 4. | <i>CONCLUSION</i> | 75 |
| | <i>Glossary</i> | 76 |
| | <i>References</i> | 79 |

Executive Summary

This report presents findings of a case study of the Wellington Tenths Trust and the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust and their work to enhance and promote the wellbeing of kaumātua. This case study forms a component of the Enhancing Wellbeing in an Aging Society (EWAS) research project. EWAS is funded by FoRST and led by the University of Waikato Centre for Population Studies and the Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit.

The objectives of this case study were:

- (i) To provide a general background and history of the Wellington Tenths Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust (the Trusts) and their constituents
- (ii) To investigate the general and specific needs of kaumātua associated with the Wellington Tenths Trust and the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust.
- (iii) To determine whether and how the Trusts enhance and promote the wellbeing of kaumātua in the past and present, and potentially in future.

The Wellington Tenths and Palmerston North Māori Reserve Land Trusts are Māori Land Authorities (MLA) constituted as Ahu Whenua Trusts under Te Ture Whenua Act. The primary business of the Trusts is to manage the asset base for the benefit of owners. However the Trust Deeds also allow for a variety of health promotion, social and cultural activities. The land owners in the Trust are predominantly older people.

The Trusts have historically operated, under inequitable Māori Reserved Lands legislation, and under the shadow of Treaty of Waitangi claims processes. Both of these have constrained the ability of the Trusts to reach their full potential in a number of arenas, including supporting and enhancing oranga kaumātua (wellbeing of older people). Despite these constraints, the Trusts have made significant contributions in the past and present to enhancing oranga kaumātua; as defined by tauheke and kuia themselves.

Key findings from this research are outlined below.

Oranga Kaumātua

Elements identified as central to oranga kaumātua were consistent with elements of the 'Te Wheke' model (Pere, 1991), these being:

- Mana
- Wairua
- Hinengaro
- Whatumanawa
- Mauri
- Ha a kui ma a koro ma/Taonga tuku iho
- Whanaungatanga
- Tinana

Contributions To Oranga Kaumatua

Both Trusts were found to contribute in numerous ways to oranga kaumatua. Contributions made by the Trusts encompassed all of the dimensions of the ‘Te Wheke’ model. Examples of Trust contributions are provided in Table 1 below. It is suggested that Trust contributions may be strengthened across many of these areas in future. It is also acknowledged that the vast majority of the contributions already provided by the Trusts are performed voluntarily by the Trusts, and without external funding support from Government, health authorities, or other organisations.

Table 1: Hauora Kaumātua/Kaumātua Wellbeing

| DIMENSIONS | FACETS | SAMPLE DESCRIPTORS | SAMPLE INDICATORS |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mana | Mana Atua | Kaitiakitanga | Decision-making in regard to management of resources including Trusts |
| | Mana Tupuna | Whānau, hapu, iwi, Trust decision-making | |
| | Mana Whenua | Participating as mana whenua in diverse functions and relationships | Attendance at formal and informal occasions as whānau, hapū, iwi and mana whenua representatives |
| | Mana Tāngata | Kanohi kitea/representing whānau, hapu, iwi, Trusts Valued roles and responsibilities as kaumātua/kuia in relation to whānau, hapū, iwi, taurahere and tauiwi. | Securing physical and spiritual base and pathway forward for future generations. |
| Wairua | Tikanga | Land as a spiritual base for the future wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi | Performing and participating in whakatuwhera and other ceremonies. |
| | Tapu/Noa | | |
| | Whakapapa | Maintaining tikanga in modern environment | Providing ‘living link’ between past, present and future generations |
| | Utu/Muru | | Attendance at Waitangi Tribunal |
| | Whakatikatika | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | hearings, report back and settlement hui and Trust AGMs |
| Mauri | Turangawaewae Kaitiakitanga Mau whenua Kanohi ora | Land as a spiritual, emotional and physical resource base for the future wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi Linking essence for tupuna and mokopuna survival/presence as a distinct entity | Maintaining ‘health’ of physical resources (land, sea, waterways, vegetation) Working with Governmental and non-Governmental agencies to participate in care and restoration of flora and fauna Placement of pou at significant sites Preserving narratives and mauri of particular artifacts/sites/beings |
| Whatumanawa | Ahi ka roa Aroha Tangihanga Ngakau Rangimarie Kotahitanga | Land as emotional base for the future wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi Maintaining whānau bonds and aroha | Maintaining presence on and connections to turangawaewae. Tending, safeguarding taonga Strong inter-generational and peer group relationships Keeping whānau, hapū, iwi presence and identity ‘alive’, visible and ongoing |
| Ha/Taonga Tuku Iho | Utu Muru Whakatika Commitment to the kaupapa | Continuing tupuna battles for justice and land Focus on legacy for future generations | Participation in Treaty claims processes; sharing of whānau narratives and history Active participation in decision-making re-Landholding Trusts, elections, |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | developments Heritage education for younger generations |
| Hinengaro | Mohio Matauranga Rangatiratanga Kaiarahi Whakapakari | Secure Identity Valued Roles Continued Learning, intellectual stimulation, | Decision-making; pathsetting Maintaining and teaching key values; kaitiakitanga, awhina, maumahara, mana, elements of te taha wairua and whanaungatanga |
| *Tinana | Physical/material resources Land and resource base for the future wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi | Physical safety, warmth and security Nutrition and medical care | Adequate and affordable housing ¹ Adequate resources and nutrition ² Access to medical and dental care Participation at governance level with local health authorities |
| Whanaungatanga | Reciprocity, recognition and belonging | Sense of belonging, and place. Active participation in whānau, hapū, iwi affairs Valued roles within whānau, hapū, iwi, social settings. | Affirmation of whakapapa, to the continuity and spiritual connection. Social participation; peer and intergenerational involvements Participation in formal; whānau, hapū, iwi functions; |

¹ While the Trusts provide affordable housing and accommodation for whanau, hapu, iwi and communities generally, and provide retirement villages and older persons care facilities and hospitals, there were suggestions and a declared intention on the part of the Trusts to develop affordable supported Kaumatua housing in the communities where constituent Kaumatua live.

² The Trusts may assist kaumatua informally in these areas and in accessing to medical care, at present. However, there were suggestions that the Trusts formalize and systematize these functions, or alternatively, formalize a monitoring and advocacy role to ensure that kaumatua are having their needs met.

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | Sense of purpose and usefulness | Kaitiakitanga, mo nga tikanga, arbiters of appropriate process |
| | | Whānau accessible | Regularity of contact with whānau, hapū, iwi |

Participants in this study identified numerous ways in which the Trusts enhanced their wellbeing. The area where there was some suggestion that Trusts' contributions could be improved pertained to *oranga tinana* (i.e., physical health). In particular there were suggestions that the Trusts could play a larger role as a health and social service provider, or alternatively as a facilitator of *kaumātua* access to relevant health and social services.

Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society: Wellington Tenth Trust/Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust Case Study

1. INTRODUCTION

This case study forms part of the ‘Enhancing Wellbeing in an Aging Society’ research project led by the Social Policy Research Unit of the Family Centre (Lower Hutt) and the Population Studies Centre, University of Waikato, and funded by the Foundation of Research, Science and Technology. This report presents findings of a case study of the Wellington Tenth Trust (WTT) and the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust (PNMR).

The objectives of this case study were:

1. To provide a general background and history of the Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust and their constituents
2. To investigate the general and specific needs of kaumātua associated with the Wellington Tenth Trust and the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust.
3. To determine whether and how the Trusts enhance and promote the wellbeing of kaumātua in the past and present, and potentially in future.

1.1 Understanding Wellbeing

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (RCSP, 1988:v11) reported that:

“New Zealanders have said that they need a sound base of material support, including housing, health, education and worthwhile work. A good society is one which allows people to be heard, to have a say in their future, and choices in life...[they] value an atmosphere of community responsibility and an atmosphere of security. For them, social wellbeing includes that sense of belonging that affirms their dignity and identity and allows them to function in their everyday roles.”(RCSP, 1988:v11;p452)

The Social Report (Ministry of Social Development [MSD], 2004, 2005, & 2006) describes wellbeing as a result of those aspects of life that society agrees contribute to individual happiness, quality of life and welfare (MSD, 2004, p6). The Social Report breaks wellbeing down into a number of dimensions³ and acknowledges the diversity of society, positing that alongside shared components of wellbeing, variation exists in the content of, and value afforded components of wellbeing. These variations may be particularly tied to ethnic and cultural diversity, reflecting the different peoples and communities comprising Aotearoa/New Zealand society today.

³ In 2004, these dimensions were: health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard of living, civil and political rights, cultural identity, leisure and recreation, physical environment, safety and social connectedness.

1.2 Māori Conceptions of Wellbeing

Love, Malaulau and Pratt (2005) examined the nature of Māori and Western conceptions of self and wellbeing. They used Pere's 'Te Wheke' model (1984; 1986, 1991) to illustrate components of Māori understandings of wellbeing. Commonalities and variations between Māori and Western understandings of wellbeing were identified. Love, Malaulau and Pratt proposed that Māori understandings of wellbeing would emphasise wairua (spiritual), whanaungatanga (family, sub-tribal, tribal and social), mana (including spiritual connections with, responsibility, authority and use of ancestral land), and whakapapa (genealogy, extended family and community relationships, past, present and future) as components of Māori wellbeing, along with other more generally shared components (eg. physical, mental and social health and wellbeing including access to appropriate health care, adequate housing and other resources).

These proposed dimensions of wellbeing are consistent throughout the lifespan, although emphases may vary at different phases of life. Using the eight dimensions of 'Te Wheke', some indicators of wellbeing for Māori throughout the lifespan may include the following Māori constructs:

Wairua

Acknowledgement and affirmation of the ongoing place and primacy of wairua in all endeavours.

Participation in activities and events that affirm and uplift wairua.

Mana

Affirmation of mana whenua, mana tangata, mana Atua.

Activities that enhance the mana of whanau, hapu, iwi and community. For example, the provision of manaakitanga, leadership roles in the rohe, protection and growing of resources, active participation in facets of life that affirm wellbeing including health, education, cultural preservation and vitality.

Whanaungatanga

Acknowledgement of the vital role of kaumātua in whānau, hapū and iwi affairs, and involvement of kaumatuakaumātua in intergenerational endeavours.

Activities that promote and affirm whānau, hapū and iwi connections, shared history, continuity and future visions.

Mauri

Affirmation of the vital life force and essence of kaumātua, and their role in nurturing this essence in the environment and for future generations. Leadership roles and/or participation in settling the mauri for people, places and things (eg. hui, blessings, whakatuwheratanga, tangihanga).

Whatumanawa

Acknowledgement and affirmation of the emotional aspects of life and death, creation and continuity. Activities that engage and involve a range of emotions (eg. happiness, suspense, excitement, joy, sorrow, anger).

Hinengaro

Acknowledgement and affirmation of the intellectual contributions, understandings and wisdom of kaumātua, both past and present. The involvement and leadership in decision-making, directing and direction setting.

Ha a Koro ma a Kui ma/Taonga tuku iho

Acknowledgement and affirmation of the value of ngā taonga tuku iho (eg. cultural heritage and traditions, land, tikanga, kawa). Activities that protect, build and pass on for future generations the heritage provided by tupuna.

Tinana

Acknowledgement, acceptance of and allowance for the physical frailties that can come with increasing age. Having needs met and where possible playing an active role in providing for physical wellbeing, including health, housing, and endeavours that sustain the body and ongoing nourishment and survival of whānau.

The present study examines the philosophy, systems and structures of the Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust, together with older peoples experiences of the Trusts. In considering the role of the Trusts in enhancing wellbeing for older people, the components identified herein should be related to the components of wellbeing proposed above.

1.3 Method

In undertaking the present research, the investigators were cognisant of the ‘public good’ emphasis of the research and of the objectives of the Trust in agreeing to take part. The researchers approached the Chairperson and the Executive Officer of the Trusts to seek support to proceed with the research. The proposed research was approved, subject to a co-ownership agreement in regard to any and all DVD and audio products, and written documentation associated with the research.

Any journey of understanding should begin with a survey of the surrounding environment. In this regard the history and context within which the Trusts operate provides an important first step in this journey towards understanding the role that the Trusts have played and continue to play in promoting and supporting oranga kaumatua. The Trusts provided documents for researchers to review and analyse in order to prepare a report on the Trusts’ activities, philosophies and orientations; particularly as these related to kaumātua. The documentary review comprised Part One of the research.

Part Two of the research was qualitative in nature. A semi-structured interview format was identified as the most suitable approach for gathering information and opinions directly from the Trusts’ kaumatua, trustees, employees and owners. An interview schedule, consent and information forms were prepared. The interview schedule was

designed for Kaumatua, Trustees, Employees and Beneficial Owners of The Wellington Tenth Trust and/or the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust. These documents, and the interview formats were piloted on two volunteers. Fifteen (15) people associated in the ways defined above with either or both trusts were then approached and agreed to participate in the qualitative component of the research.

As outlined above, Māori models of health and wellbeing (Pere, 1986, 1991; Durie, 2001; RCSP, 1988; Love, Malaulau and Praat, 2005) propose that relationships with and the health and prosperity of elements such as land, whanau, hapu, iwi and community, are central to wellbeing. Similarly, whakapapa (genealogical) relationships, mana and rangatiratanga may be seen as essential elements of wellbeing. Hence, the documentary review and history, together with participants' comments should be read with these factors in mind.

2. ORGANISATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The Wellington Tenth (WTT) and Palmerston North Māori Reserves (PNMR) have been established since 1839 and 1866 respectively. The Wellington Tenth and Palmerston Māori Reserves Trusts administer Māori Reserved Lands on behalf of the land owners⁴ and have pursued Waitangi Tribunal claims on behalf of ngā iwi o Taranaki mai Te Upoko o te Ika since 1987. The Trusts are known as ‘Sister Trusts’ because they emanate from the same parents that being the land and sea, and mana whenua at Te Upoko o te Ika (Wellington region, including the Hutt Valley). Both Trusts are comprised of hapū/iwi from Taranaki who continue to hold mana whenua through conquest and occupation at Te Upoko o te Ika.

2.2 Historical Background

Taranaki Māori moved to Te Upoko o te Ika (Wellington and Hutt Valley regions) in a series of excursions and migrations dating from approximately 1817. When the Tory arrived in Wellington Harbour in 1839 the Taranaki hapū (primarily Te Atiawa nui tonu and their Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui whanaunga) were settled around the inner Harbour, extending into the outer Harbor and Hutt Valley regions.⁵

The infamous Tenth Reserves scheme had been developed by Wakefield, the founder of the New Zealand Company while he was ensconced in a British prison, having been convicted of the kidnapping of a young heiress (Temple, 2002). In essence the scheme comprised a plan hatched by Wakefield and his brother to make their fortunes through the establishment of British settlement in a new colony. New Zealand, with no formal agreement or Treaty with the British Crown then in place, was judged a suitable location for the scheme. The ‘Tenth Reserves’ scheme proposed the division of New Zealand regions into urban and rural sections. Settler sections were pre-sold in Britain then balloted as settlers emigrated to New Zealand. Ten sections were to be allocated to settlers, with the eleventh sections to be reserved for Māori, (belying it’s name, the ‘Tenth Scheme’ actually proposed reserving one eleventh of the land for Māori). The Wellington region (known as the Port Nicholson Block) was the first in the country to be subjected to Wakefield’s ‘Tenth Scheme’, followed shortly there-after by a similar process in Taranaki (the Fitzroy Block).

⁴ Known in legislation as ‘beneficial owners’ and, unfortunately sometimes termed ‘beneficiaries’.

⁵ A comprehensive history of the settlement of Taranaki hapu and iwi in the Wellington, and subsequent land dealings may be obtained from the Waitangi Tribunal Report on Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa (2003), Erhardt, P. (1993) Customary Tenure in Te Whanganui a Tara and Gilmore (1986) Ko Pipitea Taku Kainga.

2.3 Waitangi Tribunal Findings

When the Waitangi Tribunal report on the Wellington region was released in May 2003, it vindicated the claims put by the Trusts, and by generations of Wellington Māori for over one hundred and sixty years. The Waitangi Tribunal Report found that the 1839 agreement that purported to establish ‘Tenths Reserves’ for Māori was not valid in law. Moreover, Taranaki Māori were never provided with the promised reserves. The minimal ‘reserves’ that were eventually provided were very quickly alienated from them through the actions of Crown employees charged with managing the Māori reserved lands and protecting their interests as landowners.

The Waitangi Tribunal report further found that the lands, waterways and harbour in the Wellington region, known as the Port Nicholson Block were appropriated by the Crown, often without consultation or payment, and at other times through coercion and force of arms. Crown ‘ownership’ was thus not valid in law. The Tribunal report affirmed claims that Crown actions in the Wellington and Hutt Valley regions were in violation of human rights and international law, and were in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Crown never acquired legal title to the lands, harbour and islands in and around the capital city. In respect of the Māori Reserved Lands, and particularly the Tenths Reserves, the Tribunal condemned Crown actions from the 1840’s to the present, noting that the Māori owners had been deprived of access to and benefit from their Reserved lands, with Crown actions consistently favouring settler interests over Māori interests.

In the early period of European settlement Wellington Māori operated a highly successful and productive economy (including service, production and trading enterprises). However, settler demands for increasing proportions of land and resources led to ethnic cleansing in Wellington and resulted in the destruction of pa, cultivations and tauranga waka. Wellington Māori were driven out and were left without enough land or resources to sustain even themselves, leading to a rapid Māori de-population of the areas. The Māori population decreased by 90% in the decade from 1850 to 1860. ‘Remnants’ of the once thriving communities remained, maintaining ahi kaa and continuing the battle for justice (Waitangi Tribunal, 2003; Te Whanganui-ā-Tara me ona Takiwa.).

Until the establishment of the Wellington Tenths Trust and subsequently the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust, Māori owners had not been permitted to manage their Reserved Lands. Successive Governors, and Government appointed Trustees⁶ served the interests of settlers and government while acting contrary to the interests of the Māori owners. From the 1800’s through to the mid-1970’s (when Māori took over management through the Trusts) mismanagement was ongoing. The mismanagement of Māori Land by Crown employees led to increased loss of land, confiscation of land from Māori owners and vesting in the Māori Trustee (through the ‘uneconomic interests’ provisions), and even the payment of rents from lands to Taranaki Settler farmers, instead of to the Māori owners.

⁶ Specifically the Public Trustee, Native Trustee and Māori Trustee.

The Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust have represented the interests of nga iwi o Taranaki mai Te Upoko o te Ika and have fought for justice for Taranaki iwi/hapu since their inception. Numerous submissions, petitions, claims, research and mana whenua responsibilities have been exercised by the Trusts, without government support, funding or assistance. In fact it should be noted that successive governments have fought against the Trusts, denied and undermined their functioning and actively obstructed their pleas to be afforded the same rights as other land owners.

Since gaining rights to exercise limited self-management, and despite the ongoing prejudicial legislation under which they have been forced to operate, the Trusts have managed their resources in a positive way, growing their value from around \$100,000 in the late 1970's to over \$100,000,000 currently.

This is a significant success story, particularly in view of the fact that the Trusts have been continuously subject to legislated inequality (and significant disadvantage) compared with other New Zealand landowners and players in the local, regional and national economy. In particular the Māori owners through the Trusts were:

- denied the right to charge market rentals for their lands (instead being confined to charging 'pepper-corn' rents of 4% of the unimproved value),
- required to accept land valuations based on the 'unimproved' value of the land (that is 'as if' the land was wasteland),
- permitted rent reviews every 21 years (meaning that towards the end of this period rents were often less than 1% of the unimproved land value),
- forced to administer lands that were subject to leases in perpetuity (benefiting non-Māori lessees and preventing owners from resuming their lands),
- required to operate under the constraints of a 'custodial trustee'; a costly and time-consuming requirement often antithetical to the efficient conduct of business.

Under-resourcing of the Māori Land Court and failure to address or reform Māori land tenure issues have also prejudiced the operation of the Trusts and the benefits to owners.

Thus the Waitangi Tribunal (2003) detailed layer upon layer of unlawful and unjust actions on the part of the Crown that severely damaged the wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi at Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui.

2.4 The Trusts

The Wellington Tenth Trust and the Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust are 'sister trusts' and work closely together. Both Trusts have managed Reserved Lands on behalf of the owners since the late -1970's. The Trusts are not eligible for Crown assistance for Treaty related processes (eg. through the Crown Forest Rental Trust or legal aid). Both Trusts have funded Waitangi Tribunal claims process since 1987, and continue to fund the settlement negotiation process. At Annual General Meetings since the beginning of the land claims process, approval has been given by owners for allocation of funds to continue the claim and settlement processes. In effect owners (who are predominantly aged) have funded the claims out of their own pockets.

2.5 Wellington Tenths Trust

The Wellington Tenths Trust was established to administer the Māori Reserve lands, largely in urban Wellington, and also in the Hutt Valley. The beneficial owners of the reserves are descended from Te Ati Awa nui tonu (including Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama), Taranaki, and Ngāti Ruanui tupuna who were living in and around Wellington Harbour and Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) in the years prior to and including 1840.

The origin of the Tenths goes back to the 1839 deed of purchase concluded by William Wakefield on behalf of the New Zealand Company, which promised the chiefs of Wellington that: “A portion of the land ceded by them, equal to one-tenth part of the whole, will be reserved by...the New Zealand Company...and held in trust by them for the future benefit of the said chiefs, their families, and their heirs for ever” (Wakefield, W, 1839, cited in Wellington Tenths Trust, AGM Report, 1993, p3).

In September 1841, Halswell, a commissioner of native reserves, was instructed on the management of the native reserves by Governor Hobson. The instructions were that the reserves could be leased out subject to certain conditions, and that the rental income from them was to be used for:

- “The education and religious instruction of Māori;
- The improvement of the Māori Churches at Te Aro and Pipitea;
- The funding of a dispensary and medical advice;
- The funding of a schoolmaster and school for Māori children”.

(Wellington Tenths Trust, 2003, p3)

Evidence presented to the Waitangi Tribunal recorded that achievement of these aims was patchy at best. Rental income was largely diverted into administration costs for Crown employees, with some paid to European settlers in Taranaki.

The original reserves set out in the 1844 deed of release reserved 110 one-acre town sections and 39 country sections of 100 acres. The proposed ‘Tenths Reserves’ were largely claimed by settlers as was land in use for pa, kainga, cultivations, food-gathering, urupa and tauranga waka.

In 1847 Colonel McCleverty assigned to the Māori of particular pa some 45 urban tenths and 3162 acres in rural tenths in exchange for other original tenths land claimed by settlers. These are known as ‘McCleverty Reserves’. In addition, some 65 urban tenths and 738 acres of rural tenths assigned from the initial deed of purchase for Port Nicholson (Wellington) were also confirmed.⁷ It is from this assignment that the present land holdings of the Wellington Tenths Trust are derived. Despite the 1839 agreement and the subsequent (post-1840) assumption of this agreement by the Crown, the Native Land Court did not determine the beneficial ownership of the tenths until 1888 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2003).

⁷ Tenths reserves were often of poor quality land at considerable distances from settlements.

From 1848 to 1882 the reserves were administered by a Commissioner of Native Reserves. The Public Trustee assumed administration from 1887 to 1923, when it transferred to the 'Native' (and subsequently 'Māori') Trustee. In 1977, as the result of a Commission of Inquiry into Māori Reserved Lands (1975), Māori owners were given the option of establishing Trusts or Incorporations to manage their own lands. They were required, under the amended legislation to operate under the 'custody' of a 'Custodian Trustee'. In a consensus decision by the beneficial Māori owners, New Zealand Guardian Trust was appointed as Custodian Trustee and the first Managing Trustees were chosen and appointed by the Māori Land Court (Love,C, 2003; Te One, 2003).

In 2006 the Managing Trustees are: Liana Poutu, Grant Knuckey, Wayne Mulligan, Mark Te One, Neville Baker, Piki Carroll, Peter Love, Sir Paul Reeves, Jeanie Hughes with Professor Ngatata Love as Chairman. The Managing Trustees have embarked on a process of active management of the reserves to increase the return to beneficial owners.

2.5.1. Organisational philosophy/strategy and objectives:

At its most basic, the objective of Wellington Tenth Trust is to maintain and develop the remaining reserved lands for the benefit of the descendants of the original owners. The Managing Trustees look at investments and projects in a holistic way – incorporating financial, social and spiritual considerations in their decision-making. Another responsibility of the Trust is to uphold mana whenua status in the region. This means that the Tenth Trusts are involved in many different projects in the Wellington region. As the foundation Trust asset is land, they often work in partnership with other organizations who contribute capital to develop the land resources.

The Wellington Tenth Trust has sought to buy out leaseholder interests in properties as much as possible, in order to enable development, maximize returns and avoid being restricted to passively receiving peppercorn land rentals. The Trust has also sold reserved land and reinvested in freehold property that is not subject to the restrictive provisions of the Māori Reserved Lands Act.

Trust developments have been primarily focused on the educational sector (student accommodation, Massey University). Relationships have been developed with Massey and Victoria Universities, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand and Weltech. Relationships are in place with a wide range of local government (Wellington, Hutt City, Upper Hutt Councils, Wellington Regional Council), regional, national and private organizations (eg. Hutt Valley and Capital and Coast District Health Boards, WINZ, National Archives, National Library, Te Papa, Association of Early Childhood Teachers, NZ Psychologists Board). Agreements have been negotiated with a number of these bodies in order to facilitate opportunities for iwi members. Opportunities forthcoming from agreements and relationships include input into and influence on environmental, health and development services and directions (eg. through Health Boards and Councils decision-making processes including resource consents), as well as employment. Iwi members are prioritized in terms of accommodation and employment in all arenas Kaumatua often have roles to play in these

organizations on certain occasions. They perform their roles on behalf of the Trusts and as mana whenua representatives.

2.5.2. Organisational structure

The Wellington Tenth Trust is currently administered in the following way:

- “The Managing Trustees, acting as a body corporate, develop and administer strategic land plans for the present and future utilization of the land;
- The Managing Trustees build strategic working relationships with district and regional Councils, whare wananga, government and private sector organizations and operators to share information and joint venture in developments;
- The Custodian Trustee, Guardian Trust, remains the nominal “owner” of the reserve and oversees its administration” (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2003, p4)

The day to day property administration and development has been assigned to Carrus Group who further sub-contract Western First National as property managers. Horwath, Wellington, are the Trust’s accountants (Shepard, 2006).

Trustees are answerable to the beneficial owners. The trust is there to look after their interests. If there are any major decisions to be made it will be done by consensus through a voting system. Typically these take place at the Annual General Meetings but if an urgent matter arises a hui or special general meeting may be called. The Trust stays in regular contact with beneficial owners through a database system that has been put in place, with the preferred forms of contact being post, email and phone. The Wellington Tenth Trust is also contactable through its website.

2.5.3. Organisational culture

All of the Trustees, employees and beneficial owners are from the same waka, primarily Tokomaru, and also Kurahaupo and Aotea. They are all descendants of the original owners and consider themselves whanau. This is important as everybody involved in the Trust is working towards the same goals and visions, to provide the best opportunities possible to their whanau, hapu and iwi. Whakapapa connections are emphasised, and unity valued.

The Trust works to uphold the status of mana whenua in Wellington, attending numerous hui representing whanau, hapu and iwi, as well as Trust interests, conducting blessings and openings, as well as maintaining Taranaki tikanga and kawa in the rohe (including at Parliamentary and Government Department events). This is important as it keeps alive their mana as tangata whenua in Wellington, and instills pride in the people. Kaumatua play a major role in these functions, connecting with the various individuals and organisations with whom the Trust has relationships. In this way, kaumatua provide a visible presence for the Trust, and develop their own relationships with and understandings of the individuals and organisations with which the Trust works. As mana whenua the Trust is involved in decision making around local government, cultural

impact reporting and resource consents. Kaumatua also have significant roles to play in relation to decisionmaking and clarifying the history of specific areas (Love, 2003; Te One, 2003).

Trustees are entitled to receive a nominal ‘meeting fee’ for attending Trust meetings. A number of Trustees choose to forgo meeting fees entirely. With the exception of one Trustee who is also a Trust employee, all other work performed by Trustees, including negotiations, ceremonies and meetings attended are voluntary.

2.5.4. Projects and investments

The Wellington Tenth Trust (WTT) has developed a number of constructive projects in conjunction with other businesses to the benefit of the iwi and owners, including those listed below:

Health and Social Services

The provision of health and social services is not the core business of the Trust. However the WTT and the PNMR have sponsored Wellington Tenth Development Trust for over a decade. The Trusts have ‘umbrella’ed a number of health and social services, including Te Atiawa Iwi Social Services, Crime Prevention Initiatives, AoD and Youth Services, and Welfare and Employment Schemes.

Nga Tekau Health Services and Employment Coordination Service

Nga Tekau is the health branch of the Trust and is based in Wellington City, holding clinics in the Hutt Valley once a week. It provides a unique counseling service to Māori in the rohe, specializing in addictions counseling. Nga Tekau operates from a Māori perspective incorporating a holistic approach to counselling. There is a Sensitive Claims ACC counselor who is available to work with clients when necessary. It is also registered as a LTSA assessment centre for people who are trying to obtain their licenses after disqualification. This service is a commitment on the part of the Trust to helping our people make healthy lifestyle changes and providing them with a comfortable Māori – orientated service that will help them achieve this (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2005). In 2005, Nga Tekau was the top performing mental health and addictions provider in the Wellington region, and was scored top equal in New Zealand in the KPMG service auditing process.

Alongside Nga Tekau Health Service runs an Employment Coordination Service with one employee and currently contracted by Work & Income to help access employment and reduce general unemployment in the region. This service displays another way in which the Wellington Tenth Trust tries to contribute to economic and social wellbeing of the community in the rohe.

Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Team

The GIS team currently has one employee and has previously hosted several First Nations Canadian interns. The team works extensively on cultural impact reports for major resource consents and District Plan changes. They also have contributed mapping and historical information for the claims process including for urgent hearings of the

Waitangi Tribunal. The team has been working with a group from Massey University to provide an extensive database on sites of significance, cultural landscapes and historical areas of significance to tangata whenua. All this is important knowledge for the beneficiaries and their whanau (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2005).

Kaumatua Support

The kaumatua of the Trust provide the paepae for powhiri at a variety of iwi occasions, for government agencies and for special events such as the presentation of the Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Wellington Claims. Along with representing the Trust at powhiri, poroporoaki, whakatuwhera whare, tangihanga and other events, the kaumatua provide support in numerous ways including mentoring, spiritual guidance, advice and assurance (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2005). The Trust has close relationships with many kaumatua, involving them in a variety of events, providing transport, hosting hui and afternoon teas, and – importantly looking after their reserve lands and initiating developments that they can be proud of and which can benefit their whanau, particularly younger members.

Taranaki 217

This is a student accommodation complex that was set up as a joint venture between the Trust and Joyce Group who provided project management for the construction and now manage the complex. The construction has 148 studio units and is providing sound financial returns to the Trust. Students accommodated at Taranaki 217 are drawn from Victoria and Massey Universities, School of Drama and Dance, Wellington High School, Academy of Sport and Language Institutes. Descendants of beneficial owners were employed during construction and were given first choice of accommodation with a few taking up the offer. The complex is managed by iwi members (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2003).

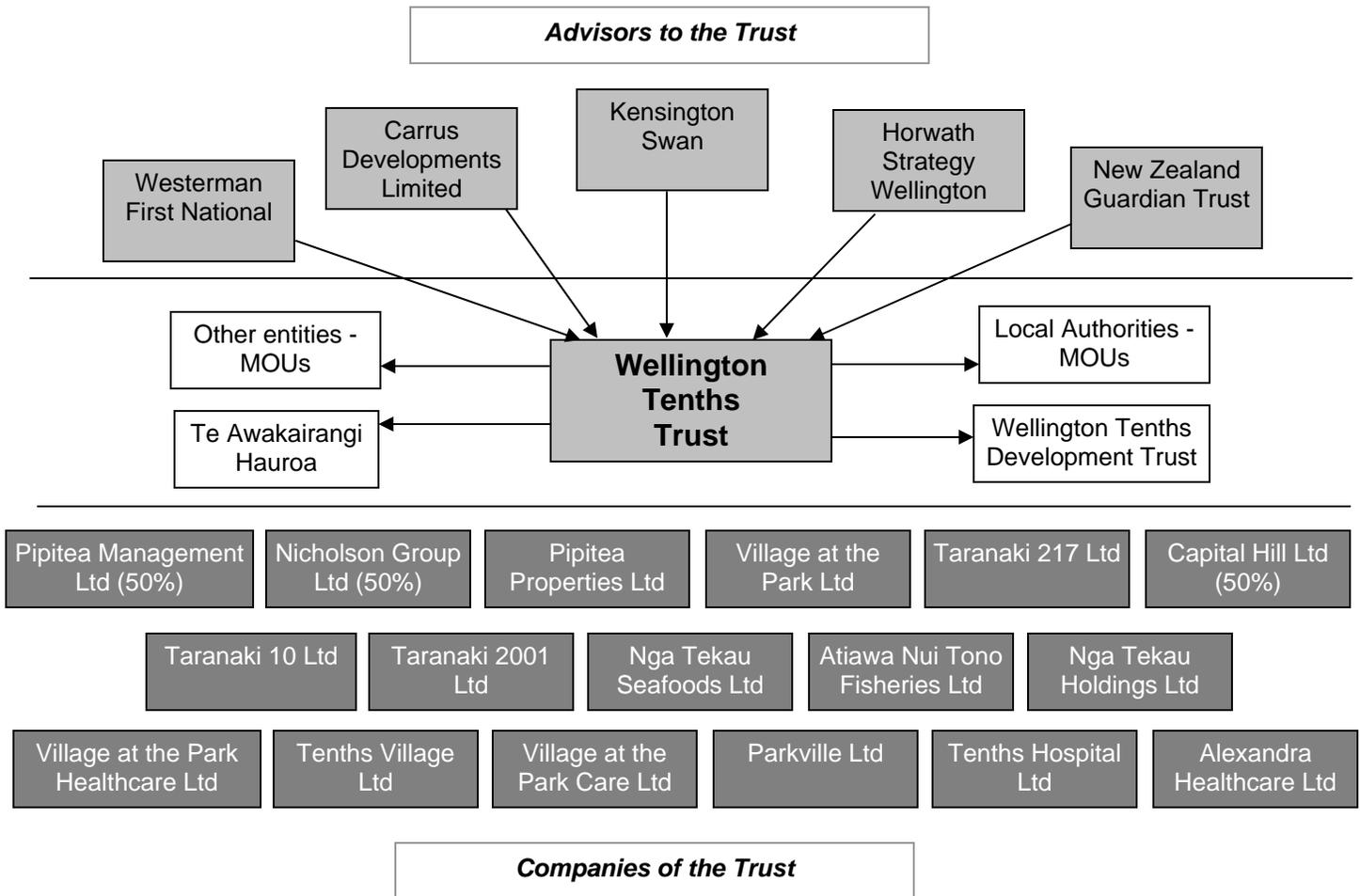
Village at the Park

Village at the park is a retirement village located on reserve land in central Wellington. This project is being developed in partnership with Hurst Group, who have an excellent reputation in care facilities. The village is being constructed in 3 stages. The first has already been completed with 36 Villas, 1 nurse and various facilities for the ‘village people’. The 44 bed hospital which is located on the Athletic Park site, has a mixture of rest home, hospital and dementia beds. Construction of 40 apartments in the centre of the site is underway. These will provide a medium level of care for residents. Village at the Park will thus be able to provide five levels of care for residents.

Iwi members have been offered job training (including in the areas of residential care, geriatric nursing, domestic duties and security work) as well as some being employed in the construction. Owners, whanau and iwi members also have first option of purchasing units. Several iwi members are resident there. In the past year (2005) the \$850,000 income generated has been reinvested in the project. Reinvestment reduces the need to borrow, thus increasing overall net base in the project. (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2005).

5, 9, 11 and 13 Pipitea Street

These properties are utilized as offices by the Wellington Tenth Trust and its subsidiaries. Carrus Group have an office at number 13 Pipitea Street along with the property management team from Westerman First National. The Port Nicholson Block Claim office is also located at number 13. Number 11 is now the base for Nga Tekau Health Services and the Employment Coordination Service. The Executive of Nicholson Group is also located there. That group provides professional service for the Port Nicholson Block claim teams, and also various other claimant groups on a consultancy basis. Number 5 Pipitea Street is owned by the subsidiary company Pipitea properties and is being occupied by Te Wananga o Awanuiarangi, with whom the Trust have been working to provide community education, under-graduate and post-graduate courses. Number 9 is the ‘heart’ of the Trust with its extended welcome to owners and visitors to Wellington. This office is usually the first point of contact for all matters. The Executive Officers and the GIS team are also located in this building (Wellington Tenth Trust, 2005).



2.5.5. *Summary*

The Wellington Tenths Trust is an Ahu Whenua Trust constituted by the Māori Land Court order of 5 November 1999 pursuant to section 215 of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, which varied the original trust deed of 1977 and the subsequent variation of the deed, May 1993 (Nga Kaiwhakamarama I Nga Ture, 1996; Te One.M, 2003).

Trustees are largely unpaid. Some Trustees accept a nominal meeting fee and coverage of travel costs for meetings and events. However a number of trustees accept no payment. The Chair of WTT, for example, has not accepted fees for over twenty years that he has held the position.

The Wellington Tenths Trust has performed well in its primary objective of managing the whenua and resources of the owners for the benefit of owners, whanau, hapu and iwi. There are robust management and business strategies in place and skilled whanau, hapu and iwi members employed. The Trust has initiated good investments for the beneficial owners as well as becoming a recognized business in the Wellington area; laying claim to the title of the ‘oldest business in Wellington’. The provision of health services is an area of great concern for all Māori. The Trust has demonstrated a willingness to help iwi members working in this area.

2.6 **Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust**

The Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust originated through acts of the Crown. In 1866-67 Governor Grey exchanged Te Atiawa land interests in Lower Hutt specifically in parts of Wainuiomata with a block of land which is now part of central Palmerston North. He purchased Lowry Block section 1 in May 1863 and section 4 a year later, without consultation with or agreement from owners. The sale proceeds – some 450 pounds – were paid into the Native Trust account. During Grey’s tenure as governor, two years after the acquisition of the Lowry Block sections, the Palmerston North reserve lands (18 sections) were bought to replace the Wellington land using funds from the Native Trust account.

The Palmerston North Māori Reserve was established to administer this land on behalf of the 22 affected owners. Today there are 694 beneficial owners, descending from those 22.(PNMR AGM report,2005)

The original reserve was around 70 acres but today is approximately 36 acres, mainly as a result of the Crown compulsorily acquiring 28 acres for city facilities, and subsequent Public Works takings. The land was administered by the Public Trustee, Native Trustee and then Māori Trustee, with much of the remaining land subdivided for housing and leased out.

The trust is an Ahu Whenua Trust constituted by the Māori Land Court under section 244 of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. Managing Trustees have a statutory duty to

represent and preserve the interests of beneficial owners. Since 1987 the Managing Trustees have been charged with progressing the Port Nicholson Block Claim. (PNMR website, 2006)

2.6.1. History of the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Lands

The history of the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust began in 1866. Under the direction of Sir George Grey, two sections (1 & 4) of the 'Lowry Block', containing 102 acres and 2 roods which were part of the Wellington Tenths reserve lands, were sold to him. The sale was conducted without consultation with or consent from the Māori owners. (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2003; Love, C. 2003).

Some time later the proceeds from the sale were used to purchase 18 sections in Palmerston North containing 71 acres, 1 rood. The total price of this purchase was 364 pounds (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2003).

In 1873, a hui was held at Waiwhetu for the original owners of the Lowry Block sections with Major Heaphy, Commissioner of Native Reserves representing the Crown. Heaphy informed the owners of the sale of the Lowry Block sections and subsequent purchase of land in Palmerston North. The affected Māori were not happy, they had no iwi affiliations to the rohe of Manawatu. In fact the Crown was offering them land that most had never seen and which was in the rohe of another iwi. However, given the choice between accepting that land or having nothing, the Māori owners agreed that the Commissioner could lease the land to tenants with the proceeds from the leases coming to them. (Te One, M. and Love, C. 2003; cited in Love-Shariff, 2004)

On 15 October 1877, Sir George Grey executed a Deed of Trust for the land for the Public Trustee to administer the land under the Native Reserves Act 1882. On 10 May 1923 the Māori Trustee executed a supplementary deed of trust and for the next 54 years the Māori Trustee administered the land (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2003)

2.6.2. Palmerston North Māori Reserves 1975 – 2003

In 1975, after more than 100 years of Māori petitions, submissions, pleas, and protests a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Māori Reserve Lands finally recommended the Māori owners should be permitted to form Trusts or Incorporations to manage their own lands. In 1977 after Māori owners voted to form a Trust to administer their lands, the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust was registered.

The new 'Managing Trustees' took over the management of a land asset that had been substantially reduced by Crown proclamations and public works takings. The land itself was situated adjacent to the Palmerston North CBD. During the period of Crown administration the various trustees had maintained a policy and practice of passive administration. This meant that the owners were, in effect, passive recipients of the minimal rentals that remained after administrative and other costs were met.

The PNMR trustees, under the chairmanship of Professor Ngatata Love embarked on a process of active management of the reserve to preserve and increase the asset base and

to provide increased returns to beneficial Māori owners. In particular the trust sometimes divested itself of non-strategic and less economic residential properties, to support the development of key commercial sites and to acquire other more strategic land providing more options for development. Historically the trust credits much of its current success to a policy of free holding property for leasing, rather than relying on ground rentals.

The PNMR trust today has a land base of 13.097 hectares and is an Ahu Whenua Trust constituted by Māori Land Court order of 5 November 1999 pursuant to section 244 of Te Ture Whenua Māori Land Act 1993. The capital value of the reserve has increased from \$1.8 million to over \$53 million (PNMR AGM Report, 2005). The increased value is due to the active management strategies outlined above and to developments entered into in partnership with other organizations. In the main partnerships have involved the PNMR contributing a land-base and its partners providing capital for development. The trust has followed a risk averse policy, ring fencing investment risk through the formation of stand alone legal entities.

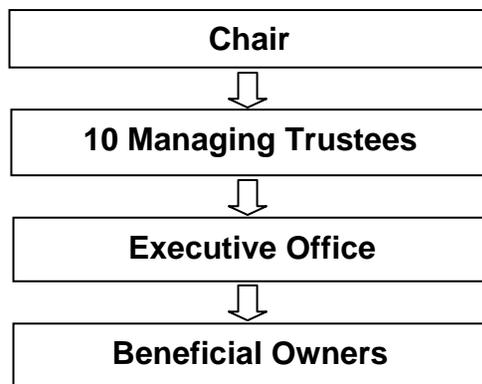
The current Trustees of the Palmerston North Māori Reserves are: Professor Ngatata Love (Chairman), Mr Roger Manaia, Mrs Liz Mellish, Mrs Paula King, Mr Teri Puketapu, Dr Catherine Love, Mr Mark Te One, Mrs Frances Kingi-Katene, Mr Holden Hohaia, Mr Matthew Love-Parata and Ms Jeanie Hughes.

2.6.3. Organisational philosophy/strategy and objectives

The active management, risk averse and partnership strategies described above have been the backbone of PNMR developments. PNMR differs significantly from WTT in that the owners are not mana whenua in Palmerston North. Hence PNMR does not carry the weight of responsibilities in Palmerston North that WTT carries in Wellington. PNMR do not act as an iwi authority in Palmerston North. Hence the PNMR Trust is able to operate almost entirely as a commercial entity. However the Trust has supported the Palmerston North mana whenua, and recognized and involved them in their enterprises in Palmerston North. PNMR has contributed financially to the Wellington/Te Whanganui A Tara Treaty claims process and, indeed the placement of the Tenths Reserves in Palmerston North is itself an important component of the Wellington claims, as are a number of public works and other takings of these reserves in Palmerston North.

2.6.4. Organisational structure

The flowchart below outlines the basic hierarchy structure of the Trust.



2.6.5. Organisational culture

As with the Wellington Tenth Trust, trustees and owners are all descendants of the original owners and are therefore all related and working towards the same visions and goals. In fact the due to Greys exchange of land most owners are close family of or themselves owners in the Wellington Tenth Trust.

PNMR does not lay any claim to mana whenua status in Palmerston North and therefore do not provide any mana whenua related services in the rohe.

2.6.6. Projects and investments

The Managing Trustees of Palmerston North Māori Reserves have embarked on a process to actively manage the reserve to increase the return to the beneficial owners. The following projects are developments which are helping to increase returns to owners as well as contribute to the economic and social development of the Manawatu region.

Metlife Care Retirement Village

In the early 1990s the PNMR Trust entered into a relationship with Metropolitan Life. Metropolitan Life provided the Trust with initial development capital and the Trust contributed the land to be developed and a capital contribution. Representatives from both entities formed Metlifecare Palmerston North Limited. The company developed a retirement village with a hospital facility and with serviced departments, as well as independent villas. The Retirement Village in which PNMR is a 50% owner, celebrated its 10th anniversary last year. This project has been a very successful one for the reserve. It provides excellent returns to the Trust and has proved to be a valuable investment.

In 2005 Metlifecare Palmerston North Limited recorded equity of \$5,331,370 (PNMR, 2005).

Baxters and Palmy 31

P.N.M.R has always been a significant provider of student accommodation and support. Recently the Trust has invested heavily in student oriented studio apartments. In 2002 they purchased an existing facility, and in 2003 developed new student accommodation with an 84 bed hostel. The two complexes owned by the trust provide a total of 138 units for students attending tertiary institutions in Palmerston North and continue to be well occupied. Both complexes have full time residential managers who are able to provide support to students when needed. The policy of the Trust is to give encouragement and preference to their own students who are studying both in Palmerston North and Wellington (PMNR, 2005).

Residential and Commercial Properties

Fitchett Holdings limited is another joint venture with a building and development firm. The development will produce 8 quality town houses close to the CBD.

New houses providing rental accommodation are being built on vacant sections. The trust has embarked on a program of upgrading its freehold interests and assessing the strategic value of leasehold properties. In 2005 the trust owned 48 leasehold properties,

providing a total rental income of \$692,696, with an average net rental of \$14,431. Also in 2005, the trust owned 40 freehold properties providing a total rental income of \$1,300,330, with an average net rental of \$32,508 (PNMR, 2005)

Rangitikei Street Development

This commercial project was undertaken in a joint venture with Wallace Developments Ltd and Carrus Development Ltd. The Rangitikei Street development has eight units and the developer undertook the project for a fixed price and ensured that the property was fully tenanted on commercially acceptable terms. The current tenants are Super Cheap Autos, Bond & Bond, Plastic Box, Warehouse Stationary, Bedpost, Lighting Plus, Eastern HiFi and a computer repair shop (PNMR AGM Report, 2005).

Social Services

PNMR has run Tu Tangata Workskills programs and University Student programs for descendants of beneficial owners and other Māori in the rohe for many years. Taranaki as well as other Māori studying in the rohe have been provided with accommodation through the PNMR portfolio.

2.6.7. Summary

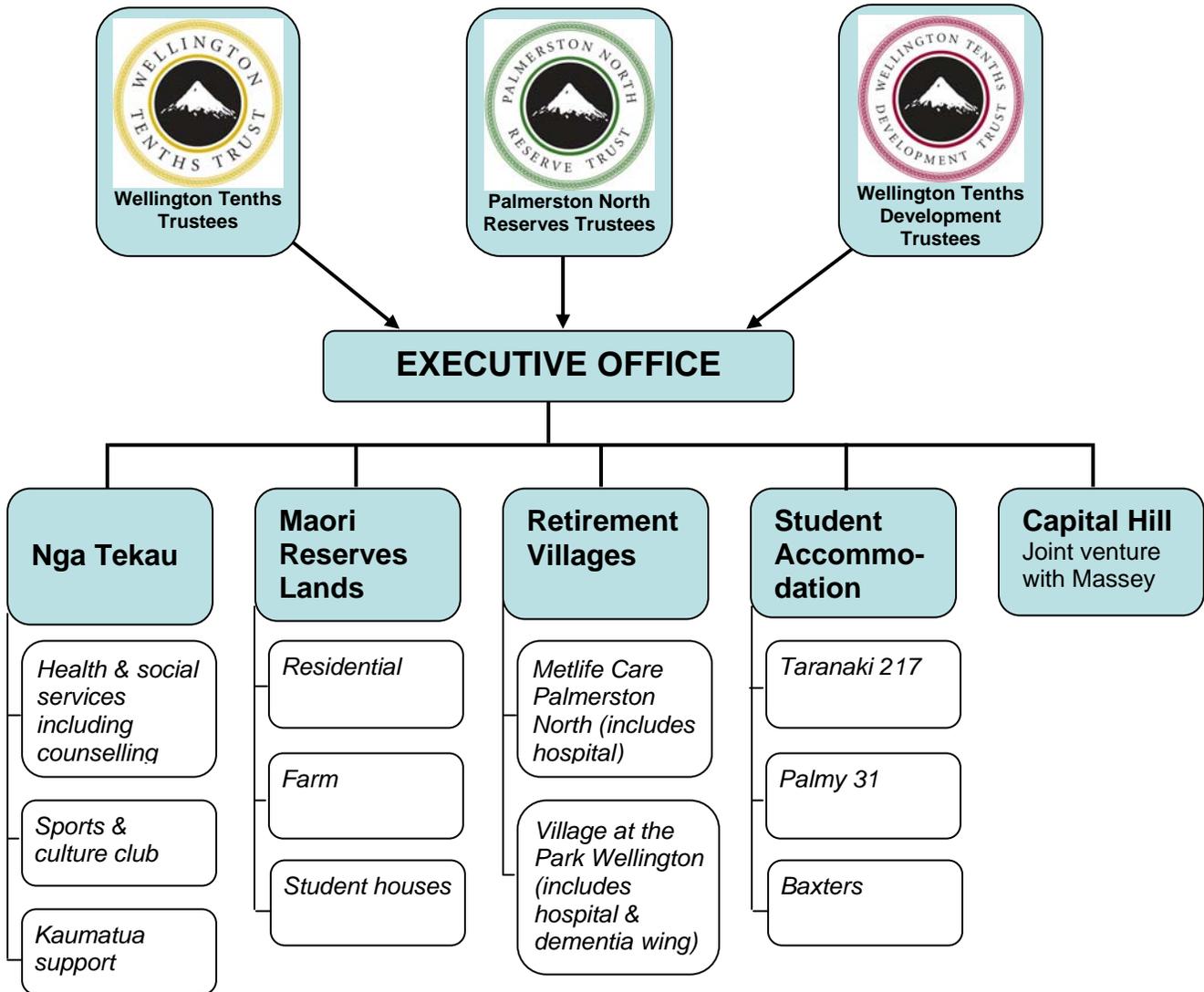
PNMR is now recognized by the local council, businesses, investors and developers as a major player in the development of the region. This is a benefit to Māori because it promotes the image of Māori as sensible and prudent citizens and contributors to society and the economy. A condition of partnership developments is that beneficial owners and their descendants are actively promoted for employment and training endeavors within the various initiatives (eg: geriatric care for the village, hostel management and administration, building and associated skills).

Many hundreds of Māori have also graduated from Massey University, Polytechnic, trade training and work-skills programs through the support of PNMR. Support has included accommodation, group activities, kapa haka, culture and language development, networking opportunities and mentoring.

2.7 Conclusion: Trusts' Contributions to Wellbeing

The 'Sister Trusts' of WTT and PNMR have developed a comprehensive structure that meets the rangatiratanga aspirations of mana whenua in the modern environment. Through contemporary structures and processes the Trusts utilize mana whenua resources as much as possible to promote wellbeing, and to enable their constituents to maintain and enhance mana and rangatiratanga. It is a matter of record that the Trusts' progress has occurred without the benefit of Crown assistance, and in fact, has been achieved despite long-standing discrimination and legislative and policy based inequities.

**Wellington Tenth Trust / Palmerston North Reserves /
Wellington Tenth Development Trust Structure**



In preserving and enhancing the land and resource base, and through the additional functions that the Trusts fulfil, WTT and PNMR are contributing to wellbeing by sustaining the dimensions of Te Wheke. These dimensions and facets provided for by the Trusts are outlined below.

Mana

Mana whenua status and functions such as kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga, manaakitanga

Wairua

Maintaining whakapapa links and enhancing connections with tupuna, whenua, moana. Reinforcing intergenerational continuity and the flow of the wairua.

Tinana

Provision dividends, care, transport, housing/accommodation, kai

Mauri

Keeping the bindings between physical and spiritual connection to land, moana, past, present and future; whakapapa, whanau, hapu and iwi strong. Protecting mauri of people, places and things through Resource Management Act (RMA) participation and maintaining tikanga and kawa.

Whatumanawa

Engaging whatumanawa, emotional involvement of constituents in the ups and downs of the Treaty claims and negotiation processes; through historical, current and future oriented narratives, and through regular connections and reconnections with extended whanau, hapu, iwi members. Providing for Kaumatua attendance at hui, tangi and other formal and informal occasions.

Hinengaro

Health including mental health service provision. Providing education on, and engaging Kaumatua in contributing to education on history, whakapapa, tikanga and kawa, current systems and processes and future visions and plans. Full provision of information to Kaumatua and participation in decision-making.

Ha a koro ma a kui ma/taonga tuku iho

Ensuring the stories of tupuna are remembered, told and recorded; in part through the Treaty claims process. Maintaining the values and principles, tikanga and kawa handed down by previous generations. Valuing the contributions of current kaumatua. Supporting intergenerational continuity, including involvement of younger generations and multigenerational sharing. Kaitiakitanga and mana whenua roles.

Whanaungatanga

Bringing Kaumatua to a variety of hui, functions, AGMs. Providing whakapapa information where required; facilitating connections with kin. Providing a variety of social occasions and opportunities for Kaumatua to fulfil formal and informal Kaumatua roles.

2. QUALITATIVE STUDY

2.8 Method

2.8.1. Participants

Participants were selected according to their membership of at least one of four groups. The groups were: kaumatua, trustee, owners, and employees. Most participants fitted within more than one of the four categories identified above. Fifteen participants were interviewed. Of these, thirteen (13) were kaumatua, six (6) trustees, two (2) employees, and ten (10) owners. All participants were informed of the nature of the research, and advised of the fact that they were able to withdraw their consent at any time before the completion of the interviews (See information and consent forms –Appendix 2)

2.8.2. Interviews

Interviews took place over a period from 22nd May – 3rd July 2006 . The semi-structured interviews were conducted according to previously agreed interview schedules (see Appendix 3). When consented to by participants, interviews were audio-taped and also DVD recorded (all participants consented to audio-recording, nine also gave consent to be DVD recorded during interviews). The tapes were then transcribed. Most identifying details of participants were removed at the point of transcription if they were not considered relevant to the research. The audio and video-tapes would be returned to the Trusts after transcription was completed and approved. Interviews took, on average, 30 minutes each.

2.8.3. Analysis

Preliminary analysis of the interviews identified responses to a number of categories included in the interview schedule. The key categories, being the same for all participants, were:

- (i) General things of importance for Kaumatua wellbeing
- (ii) Trusts' roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing in the past
- (iii) Trusts' roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing in the present
- (iv) Future roles for the Trusts to enhance and promote Kaumatua wellbeing
- (v) Barriers preventing enhancement of Kaumatua wellbeing
- (vi) Addressing barriers

2.9 Results

Results are presented here under the six categories identified above. In each response category, themes identified by participants are outlined and illustrative comments from participants are presented. Participant narratives are presented in a relatively full format, with the aim of preserving the integrity, representativeness and coherence of korero as much as possible. Key elements within the themes, as identified by participants, are highlighted in bold in the text. The results are followed by summary, discussion and conclusions sections in which the results are synthesized and presented as findings.

2.9.1. Understandings of hauora Kaumatua/Kaumatua wellbeing

Participants were asked about what it was that they considered important for kaumatua wellbeing. Responses tended to consistently identify several themes which were considered central to kaumatua wellbeing.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga relates to whakapapa, to the continuity and spiritual connection that exists between the past and the future through our lives in the present. Whanaungatanga also relates to social dynamics. It comprises participation in ongoing relationships, having significant roles to play within relationships and implies reciprocity, recognition and belonging in the context of those relationships.

A number of elements of whanaungatanga were identified by participants in this study as being vital to kaumatua wellbeing. These include:

- i. Having significant roles to play in whanau, hapu, iwi and Trust affairs; these contributing to the sense of reciprocity, recognition and belonging that Kaumatua saw as central to whanaungatanga
- ii. Having a secure base from which to forge positive future pathways for the younger generations
- iii. Having strong networks and involvement in social activities

Reciprocity, recognition and belonging

Overall results indicated a great importance put on the need for kaumatua not only to have a sense of whanaungatanga (an awareness of belonging, and of their place in the continuous flow of whakapapa between past and future) but to be important and active participants in whanau and iwi affairs. Whanaungatanga, as described by participants in this research, comprised several elements. A primary element was to have whanau accessible to people in their old age. While peer group interactions were viewed as beneficial, intergenerational contact (of kaumatua with younger whanau members) was seen as particularly important. Implicit within narratives relating to this element of whanaungatanga was the value placed on the role of kaumatua in relation to tamariki and mokopuna; the relationships themselves, and the valuing of the relationships were reciprocal.

“... you’ve got to have the whanaungatanga and the whanaungatanga is not just for old people, its for the young people so they’ve got to have it kind of spread around so that’s the way I look at it” (Kaumatua) .

“I think keeping the family around too. ...I think keeping a close family and it’s not only her children but its grand children...the great grand children are coming along now and..., you know I think that keeps her young...having the different generations coming along. That she gets out there and drives” (Employee/Owner)

“I think they just want to be close to the family and in their own environment... a place where they are close to the family.”
(Kaumatua/Employee/Owner).

“They need to be able to be able to be surrounded by family, or if not surrounded by, able to access them quickly either through telephone, travel or email”
(Trustee/Employee/Kaumatua/Owner).

“I think for someone my age what we need is access to our mokos. ...I think just opportunities for people to enact, to interact as whanau, as hapu, as whanaunga.”
(Owner/Kaumatua)

Secure base and future pathways for next generation/s

A number of kaumatua identified the younger generations as a primary motivator for them in their lives. While whanaungatanga and the importance of younger generations was often firstly applied to family, participants noted that the importance of intergenerational access, contact and participation was also important in respect of the wider circles of hapu, iwi and community relationships. In addition, and in relation to the Trusts in particular, the whenua (land) and the role of kaumatua in upholding mana whenua and acting as kaitiaki of resources (tangible and intangible, such as mana, and whenua) for the coming generations was seen as pivotal. The Trusts were the vehicles for maintaining and developing the land as a spiritual, emotional and physical resource and base for the future wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi.

“Well I think the important things relating to this work and what we consider in the Trusts are that we can uphold the dignity of the land that we have left and to grow that land to a point where it will be significant for the generations to come...I think part of the role that we have to do is to ensure that is firmed in and can be sustained in generations to come.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“...the opportunity for older people to share their knowledge with younger people [is] coming through. I see that as a very important part of being in transition. I think we would like to think that we do things a bit better than what we found them and I’m sure that our older people tried to do well for us. So we have an obligation as older people to actually ensure that we hand things over to future generations in better shape than we inherit them.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

.....as people get older... they look back and they look to their future of what may happen to them. And if they can gain strength that there is a caring society there through the original land owners (tupuna), through those people (mokopuna/descendants of tupuna) coming together and I think that gives them strength and hope for the future.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

A number of the kaumatua interviewed for this study had sat through the years of Waitangi Tribunal hearings in which the case for whanau, hapu, iwi o Taranaki mai Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui had been presented, argued and financed by the Trusts.

Participants were cognizant of links between maintaining the mana of their tupuna and contributing to wellbeing of their mokopuna, and of their own kaitiaki roles in maintaining the mana and wellbeing of these groups. Again, while participants' own whanau were a part of these groups, concerns were broader than immediate family; they encompassed hapu and iwi wellbeing, and they also defined wellbeing intergenerationally. Participants generally believed that the needs of older people were similar to those of any age group, and that if the important principle of reciprocity in intergenerational relationships was maintained, whanau, hapu and iwi wellbeing could be a reality for all groups.

“I think that what is missing a lot is that we tend to concentrate a little bit in terms of what we do for the aging, what we do for young people but if we take Māori society and our backgrounds, we really are and still should be part of a whanau, and everybody has an integral part to play there. So what is good for me is also good for the mokopunas and the younger people, and so I guess what we are probably trying to reflect is that if we hold to our values in regard to living together and mutually supporting each other, we shouldn't have any special needs as older people. Those things should be there as part of our natural progression as we go on. The important thing is that the younger generations understand that they have been supported to the point of being able to live their lives, hopefully taking advantage of all the opportunities available and in return you support those who supported you...” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“.....when you have carried on the traditions that have been handed down in the past and that what we're providing for future generations is opportunities and a history recorded that they can gain access to, to give them confidence in facing what is going to be a competitive future both here and internationally. So that's really a very important part and of course our own family, our own descendants make up part of that for their well being.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“I suppose to me its how do we encourage young people, even though they are not shareholders, to come and participate because that's our next generation of older people.” (Kaumatua/ Trustee)

“Also being kaumatua too you're also there for the young people. You know, it's alright for the old folk it the young people who you've got to look after too, to nurture coz they're coming through and they are kaumatuas for the years to come . But also you see, kaumatuas are usually the guiding light for young people. So they look at them for their wisdom and the kaumatuas are supposed to have the hand down to the younger people and also they look after older people like themselves.” (Kaumatua)

“Our young people look at us and they try to make everything good for us but at the same time we look at it the other way, we're here for them too. You know, if we get called out, well we do a lot of powhiris and that around the place and if we get called out for Kohanga Reo's, our school you know at Seatoun there, if we go

there, well whatever we need to do there well we do it. That's our koha to them, that's our koha to the young people. So it works both ways." (Kaumatua/Owner)

Social activities

Most of the kaumatua who participated in this study were sociable beings. Friends and family networks and activities were vitally important to them. Friends often consisted of peer groups, some of whom were also extended whanau, hapu and iwi group members.

".....she's also involved in lots of different things like she goes off to ten pin bowling, she goes to tai chi, and every year she goes to see my sister in [another country].....she's got her own things... like going ten pin bowling and some other interests out of the house which is helping her.....I know that just recently she went over to my sisters and my sister and her husband both go to work and I think she was missing the company of her friends, not only in the family, but also her friends she just wanted to come home, I think she just wanted to come home. You know, she said she loved being with [daughter] but she said she misses all her networking mates and you know" (Employee/Owner)

"Enough money or resources to be able to (participate in) family and social activities so social involvement and support, they're all very, very important." (Trustee/ Owner)

2.9.2. Personal Wellbeing

Although participants repeatedly emphasised whanaungatanga including collective, inter-generational and spiritual aspects of wellbeing as being of prime importance, there were also elements of 'personal wellbeing' that were important (albeit these were often connected to the whanaungatanga elements). Participants in this study identified attention to their 'whole selves', that is their holistic wellbeing, as essential for personal wellbeing.

Holistic Wellbeing: sustenance for taha wairua, taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha whanau

Participants clearly identified what they believed to be the elements of wellbeing for kaumatua. It is notable that these elements were generally viewed as thoroughly intertwined with and as identical to the components of wellbeing for people generally. However, awareness of and emphasis on aspects of these dimensions of wellbeing and the conscious nurturing of them, tended to increase with age. Thus, considerations such as security and mobility (to facilitate whanaungatanga and health care), which they had been able to attend to themselves and had therefore taken for granted in earlier times, became more significant. If safety and material needs were reasonably met, kaumatua could turn their energies to the elements where they saw their main contributions to be; that is kaitiakitanga, awhina, mau mahara, mau mana, elements of te taha wairua and whanaungatanga.

“The things I believe are important are threefold: taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana and I think those three things encapsulate wellbeing for everybody but particularly for our kaumatua and our paaeke. Sometimes we box them into certain roles and we need to come back to those three things and acknowledge and realize that they need stimulation in all those three areas” (Trustee)

“Can’t have one without the other. Yeah and I guess that that’s what you’d call the holistic approach to it” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“Well I’ve found now that I’m retired, the emphasis has changed. I think for someone my age what we need is access to our mokos, the materials things to make sure that life is not too difficult, we need our own spirituality and the ability to get around” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Well I think spiritually they’ve got to be sound. You know the spiritual being of a person, his inner being has got to be sound and settled so they can, I think, move around in the world..... And they must be physically fit too coz, you know, once old people sit around forever they can hardly get moving so they’ve got to have a certain level of physical exercise..... So that’s making them physically and mentally well too, coz if you’re physically fit, you’re mentally fit. once you’ve got that all together I think you have a better appreciation of life. Because if you get sick in this life... it’s all mental and physical and spiritual.” (Kaumatua)

Housing, nutrition, medical care

In terms of material wellbeing (te taha tinana), adequate housing, nutrition and medical care were seen as particularly important for kaumatua. The elements of good housing were identified as comprising safety, warmth and security. Medical care was also mentioned frequently, with accessibility a key issue. Eating well, both in terms of having good food and regular meals was also mentioned.

“.....that has to be the material wellbeing that people have to have good housing.....” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“.....have to have medical care....” (Kaumatua/Trustee/ Owner)

“Free medical care...” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Well hugely important for an older person to be housed, to be warm, safe, well fed and cared for in the aroha” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/ Owner)

“Well safe, secure, warm housing. Good regular food.....” (Trustee/ Owner)

Independence

A number of kaumatua spoke strongly about the importance of maintaining their autonomy and independence. The cost of independent accommodation was a major issue for some kaumatua. It was cost that sometimes forced them into moving away from all

important networks of friends and family. The need for affordable, safe and secure accommodation in their own communities was a recurring theme.

“...ability to get around. So probably physical things, abilities to move from place to place, to feel capable of caring for yourself independently. Probably independence plays a big part and somebody my age, we don’t want to be picked up and carried. If I want to go fishing, I want to get up and go. Things like that.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

I tend to be an independent and don’t become involved and that’s not WTT’s problem, it’s my problem but I don’t see it as a problem. I like being by myself, you know I’d rather sit on a rock by myself and sit and watch the water and be involved in a lot of community things but I think if a person has a desire to do that, he is able to do that.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“They [family that kuia is currently living with] are going to [another city], and I don’t want to go to [another city], I want to stay down here. So I went and had a look at a flat, it was a two bedroom and it was a \$700 bond with \$100 a week, but the rent might have gone up because they reckon now in Wainui its about \$140 a week. Well when you’re on the pension, its gonna be a bit stiff isn’t it?” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Mum looked at that flat...because she’s got her friends out here and her pools institute and the little group that goes out to Porirua on Tuesdays and she’s got her mates and her groups out here, like we said she could come to [daughter’s palce], we’d love to have her, my sister said she’d love to have her too but that way we would be taking her away from where she’s made her life for the last 25 years and you know” (Kaumatua)

2.9.3. Trusts’ roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing in the past

When the Trusts took over management of the Māori Reserved Lands, the primary focus was to move the Reserved Lands from unproductive holdings to sustainable and responsible development enterprises, and to transform the owners from passive recipients of peppercorn rentals to active participants in local economies. However the Trust Deeds and the overarching tikanga framework driving the Trusts allow for the Trusts roles to extend beyond land and financial management.

General Support: te awhina me te aroha

Participants who worked within the Trusts told stories of individuals and whanau who had been helped by the Trusts. People in need of assistance often ‘dropped in’ to the WTT and PNMR Offices. The types of assistance provided often involved those who were not confident in their identities and who were searching for information. The Trusts provided help with tracing whakapapa and land interests; and linking people into their whanau and hapu networks. The Trusts also provided assistance to kaumatua, providing

koha, part-time employment and sometimes assistance with finding and moving into suitable housing.

“...they know that if they need any help they can go there, they know where to go, they know where their, well what do you call it? It’s the kind of apex of the iwi isn’t it? They know where to go for someone to talk to if they’re needing help as well.”

*“Well we know that some of our kaumatuas have, you know, got themselves into a bit of a bind and they’ve been helped by the Trusts, we know this, you know, they have. They’ve come here and they’ve never been turned away, have they? They help them.....Yep, yep. No doubt about that...you know they are there to help”
(Kaumata/Owner)*

*“.....we can look after them when they come here...They are more than welcome to come into the offices and have a cup of tea and hear about what we’re doing”
(Trustee)*

“.....we are able to provide very small and inadequate, because of the resource base, help, when they need it.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

*“...they know that we leave early in the morning, they can sleep on the bus, get to the hui, they can have a cup of tea and a kai. They have a nice meeting and another kai and we go home and it’s a good day for them, for older people, it’s a day out. So it doesn’t take all weekend or they have to worry about where they’re going to sleep because they can’t just sleep on the floor anymore. That’s a thing in the past, there’s so many different changes and how do we look after people.”
(Kaumatua/Trustee)*

“We always have the phone lines open for them if they have any concerns on any issue at all in relation to their families and we see that as an important component of our job” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

Leading and Funding Treaty Claims

The loss of land, destruction of pa and papakainga, death, dispersal and fragmentation of whanau and hapu groups, destruction of cultivation and food gathering sites, pollution and reclamation of the harbour and waterways had profound negative effects on all the dimensions of wellbeing (as identified in Te Wheke) for the whanau who comprise the Trusts’ constituents. The deleterious effects of Treaty breaches which began in the mid-19th century extended through the generations to the present. In making a claim, funding, researching and leading the claim for two decades, the Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Reserves Trust have utilized, re-energised and sought to reclaim and reassert numerous aspects of mana, whanaungatanga, wairua, mauri, ha a koro ma a kui ma, oranga tinana, whatumanawa and hinengaro. In battling to have the true history as told by the tupuna recorded and upheld, the Trusts aim to restore mana and rangatiratanga, ihi, wehi and replace awangawanga with an whanau ora focus.

The Trusts' roles in leading, funding, researching and presenting on the Port Nicholson Block/Te Whanganui a Tara claims was acknowledged by all participants as a very significant and longstanding contribution of the Trusts. The process has been costly in monetary and human resource terms for both Trusts. Owners had opportunities at every AGM to decide whether to continue to financially support the claims through the Trusts. At every AGM for 20 years, owners voted to continue to invest in the claims, and subsequently the negotiation process, by forgoing dividends that they would otherwise have received. In this way, owners and whanau were able to materially, significantly and jointly contribute to the claims process. In essence this represents an opportunity for owners to 'fight back' against the wrongs perpetrated against them and their ancestors, and to actively pursue he arahi tika, the putting right of the injustices of the past and the creation of a positive pathway for the future. This in itself moved owners, whanau, hapu and iwi from a place of dispossession and powerlessness to a position of empowerment, unity and solidarity. The claims process as enacted by the Trusts brought whanau, hapu and iwi members together, provided a forum for their active participation (for example through invitations and support from the Trusts for members to tell their own whanau stories in a public forum and have these placed on record), and also provided numerous opportunities for whanau to learn about their own history through attendance at Tribunal hearings and through the documentary evidence provided by the Trusts in support of the claims.

“.....it was the WTT and the PNMR that funded the 17 years of research and tribunal hearings up until the release of the report; and that have, since then, for the last 3 years or so, have funded the treaty negotiation process. So all that recording, that research that recording of our history, the telling of our stories so forth that went before the Tribunal that is now in the Tribunal Report and that has been vindicated by the Tribunal, all came from WTT and PNMR, the vast bulk of it and its been over 4 million dollars, over 4 million dollars that have been spent and that's in dollar terms that's not counting all the thousands and thousands and thousands of people hours that have been put in for free. So what, what the Trusts have done for whanau is get our story told, follow the Tribunal process right through and then fund the negotiations as well and that's all been done, every year the Trustees go back to the owners of both Trusts and seek agreement from them to keep on funding the claim and running the claim and in effect what the owners do is they forego their rent, their money and they pay it, they're paying out of their own pockets through the Trust to fund this process.” (Trustee/Owner)

Commercial Success

Owners in both Trusts have also chosen to forgo dividends over the past two decades in order to invest in developments. A range of commercial investments and developments entered into by both Trusts, either jointly, in partnership with other entities or in their own rights, have emerged as successful commercial (and social) ventures. Maintaining and building the economic base of mana whenua through the Trusts is a key component of the exercise of rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga. With the success of the Trusts developments and initiatives, owners receive dividends commensurate with their

identified interests, even after apportioning funds to the Treaty negotiation process and to investments in continuing developments. For most owners, dividends are a bonus, rather than the primary kaupapa associated with the Trusts.

*“They’ve got something up there that they belong to or belongs to them..... And so they reap all the benefits of whatever those two trusts hold.”
(Kaumatua/Owner)*

*“.....that we are owners in and we are part of very successful ventures with commercially successful and also successful in terms of providing for older people, providing for students, supporting educational initiatives and so forth.”
(Trustee/Owner)*

*“.....and that little bit of money I look forward to every year, it’s a big help.”
(Kaumatua/Owner)*

2.9.4. Trusts roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing

Participants were asked about the role that the Trusts played in enhancing their wellbeing, and that of kaumatua in their whanau. Responses ranged over a number of areas. Commonly identified responses are provided here.

Mana whenua: whanau, hapu, iwi connection, activity and identity

The foundation for and fundamental origins of both Trusts is the whenua; and the inalienable connection of owners and whanau, hapu, iwi with the whenua. The connection of whanau, hapu, iwi to whenua is multifaceted. As noted previously, both Trusts originate from the same whenua and the same whanau, hapu and iwi composition. Participants tended to see the Trusts as the contemporary mechanism for expression, enactment and development of their mana whenuatanga, rangatiratanga, whanau, hapu and iwi identity and shared resource base. Although colonization has affected every aspect of whanau, hapu and iwi functioning, the Trusts were viewed as entities that had continued to fight against the unjust practices associated with colonization and overcome many of the odds.

The Trusts, while negatively impacted on by ongoing colonisation, provided a mechanism for the exercise of mana whenuatanga and rangatiratanga; for fighting Tribunal and Court cases; and a focal point for whanau, hapu and iwi activities and identity. The Trusts and Trustees participate in, utilise and support a number of marae and community activities. Numbers of whanau, and particularly kaumatua, re-connected with marae during the Trust(s) led Waitangi Tribunal and claims processes, when hearings and hui were held on local marae over the past three decades. The Trusts’ roles are seen as complementary to and facilitative of, not competitive with, marae and community organizations.

“Well it is the only entity really, or the entities that because when you look at them they are so related, more than first cousins, they’re brothers and sisters the

two trusts, that they are the entity which can bring the direct descendants together. They are linked by whakapapa, they are linked by the land that they were all part of, and so it's the crucial element, it's the only element that in fact we have that has the whenua as its basis. Others we can form through incorporations and trusts, but it is the links that these establish through the original land that really binds us much closer I believe than any creation of government entities that have cropped up over many years. It is that that makes this a unique entity and it is really that binds us forever, our rights in that whenua.

... it means that our people today, our people of tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrows can stand on the land and say this is where we are from, this is who we are. And that's why we've gotta identify that this is where we started, this is where we are now and this is where we'll be in the future. No one can take that away from us." (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

"I think for our people too particularly, prior to us being able to run our own Trusts, a lot of the older people have told me about how they knew very little about who they were, where they were from.... So our people had no focal point, but more than that, our people were driven out of Wellington in particular, our homes and our pa's all around the harbor from 1840 on really. So from the mid 1800s all our pa, we were driven out of the Wellington City, we were sort of scattered around the place and quite a few moved into the Hutt, but away from where they had been settled for many. And so our pa's, our papakainga, our cultivations and so forth were all erased, our cultivations and kaimoana beds were destroyed and we were left scattered, deposed. And very quickly, because of the breakdown in our whanau, hapu, iwi structures and systems we lost our language more than a lot of other iwi and we lost our identity for many of our people. So because we didn't have any of those focal points from the 1800s by the 1970s, a lot of our people just really didn't know who they were or where they're from. Maybe they knew their iwi and that was about it. Maybe they had an affiliation to Te Tatau o te Po which was built in the early 1930s and Waiwhetu was only built in 1960. So what the WTT and PNMR did was provide a focus point and a land base for many of our people that they hadn't had before. Some connection back to the land that had been denied them while everything was being run by the Māori trustee. And that was really important for the old people because that's about identity and that's about not only them but their children and their grandchildren and their great grandchildren knowing where their land is, where they belong, their identity and being able to see positives coming out of it, part of positive growth, positive development." (Trustee/Owner)

"I think that the WTT and PNMR gives, our older people anyway, a focus. They've got something up there that they belong to or belongs to them..... It's the kind of apex of the iwi isn't it? And so they reap all the benefits of whatever those two trusts hold." (Kaumatua/Owner)

“They’re seeking a quality of life which is, you know a lot of people are seeking their whakapapa to really know where they come from.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“And once the marae, once the land was taken, her whole place disappeared didn’t it? But by then she was married and living out (suburb in Wellington region). But from that point on we lost, well you lost contact and we never had contact for many years.... there was another side that I wasn’t aware of and for me that was a turning point” (Kaumatua)

“We have enjoyed getting back into contact with Waiwhetu marae and Te Tatau o te Po and to be involved with Mangatuku and everything else that goes on..... it’s been a joy really to become involved in some small way again....” (Kaumatua)

Spiritual guidance, strength and support

Wairua is an important component of the multi-faceted concepts of mana whenuatanga and rangatiratanga. Participants narratives explicitly and implicitly referred to the spiritual aspects of rangatiratanga and of mana whenua status, relationships and roles and associated with the Trusts.

“.....when people start reflecting, they see that this is the one thing that is stable, this is the one thing they can get strength from, spiritual guidance, and they look to it for support. In a way which I think gives them peace, gives them strength and they can then reflect much better on who they are, where they’re from and find comfort in that. And that’s really I think an important factor.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“You’ve got them there if they need anything on tikanga or anything like that, or support aye.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Whanaungatanga

At the base of tikanga Māori, manaakitanga and whakapapa based practices is the fundamental of whanaungatanga. Participants frequently referred to the Trusts and all those involved in terms of whanau and whanaungatanga.

“With the WTT as they are now, we certainly are more of a family aren’t we. We do those something’s but years ago when Dad was alive well we didn’t, we didn’t have anything, not a thing.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Q:I’ve seen you at the functions, I’ve seen you with the other kaumatua participating in not only official functions but tribal functions and it doesn’t matter rain, hail or snow, you can guarantee that (you’re) going to be there. (Interviewer)

A: Yes, yes, that has been a thing too and I’ve enjoyed them. We sort of you know, what to me is coming together and being one” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“.....its nice working with the family you know everybody. Its family members but it is also getting to know the other people, which to me this is like a big whanau, the Wellington tenths is just whanau and every body just all family to me that’s how I look at it.” (Kaumatua/Employee/Owner)

Whakakotahitanga a Iwi: Maintaining unity and identity

An important component of whanaungatanga for many participants is ‘keeping the fires burning’ in respect of Taranaki whanau whanui. The nature of the history of Te Atiawa and etehi o nga iwi o Taranaki is that there are shared genealogical and whanau ties between iwi members resident in the Wellington region, Marlborough, Taranaki and Waikanae. These links have been cemented over several generations through the institutions of marriage and whangai, and through hui and tangihanga. In the modern environment, however, with increasing whanau mobility and often disconnection, it is not always easy to maintain whanau, hapu and iwi connections, unity and identity. Several participants commented on the valuable function served by the Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust in bringing together whanau resident in the turangawaewae of Wellington, Taranaki, Waikanae, Marlborough and from elsewhere. It is through land, whakapapa, whanaungatanga and shared interests in the Trusts developments, initiatives, progress and activities, kotahitanga (shared identity and unity) a whanau, that an iwi is maintained; in particular links back to the shared turangawaewae of Taranaki.

*“I guess what I reflect on is a lot of the background probably where you and I both come from, is that living a lot of our lives here in Wellington, there’s been expectations that when our people come down from Taranaki we look after them..... As you know Parihaka is part in parcel, not of just Wellington but there’s a firm base in Waiwhetu. So those are the links where we have the opportunity to do something. So people like Sam Raumati (rangatira and former Trustee, now deceased) would drop everything to support us and others, and in return, in the past we have gone back to support our people back at the home base. **We must not lose that because if we lose that we lose who we are!...**” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)*

“Trusts do a lot to promote and enhance wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi and even though its not structured along whanau, hapu, iwi lines, its about whakapapa connections because all of us from the Taranaki iwi-hapu that were down here. We are related, we have those connections way back and WTT pulls those connections together, not as discreet this hapu or that hapu but as in the connections between us all back to maunga Taranaki and back to the settlement, and the movement down here and the settlement and living here together.” (Trustee/Owner)

“And I suppose its really valuable for those old people... to spend time together because they normally live in their separate little houses and a lot of them don’t have transport easily available and... for them to go out and be seen as who they are, as mana whenua.” (Trustee/Owner)

Upholding traditions, tikanga, reo and manawhenua status

Trustees from both Trusts were aware of their responsibilities as elected representatives of the people (owners). Kaumatua were also aware of their responsibilities as leaders, particularly in spiritual and tikanga areas. Many saw the responsibilities as extending well beyond decision-making at the Board table and into personal conduct in everyday life. Leadership responsibilities taken by Kaumatua under the umbrella of the Trusts spanned tikanga, reo, manawhenua, providing for current and future generations, and providing a base for contemporary wellbeing.

“....the work that we are currently doing with the DHB’s in particular but also with the Ministry of Health to ensure that the policies that are in place have a cultural component. That they understand the needs of our Kaumatua and that that’s not over looked as those type of policies are developed...”
(Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner).

“I believe that, you know, I think when you become a kaumatua its time to give something back to your iwi and that’s what we try and do. As well as trying to maintain our mana whenua status in Te Upoko o te Ika..... I think it’s very important. I mean you know, we’re here for our old people that have gone, so therefore we have to try and keep up with work that they were doing here and keep, you know, our mana intact.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“I think you have to conduct yourself in a proper manner because you’re up there, the young people are looking at you and everybody else is looking at you as well and you’ve got to try and well do things properly to the best of your ability.”
(Kaumatua/Owner)

“...over the years that’s tended to be the older people who come down to share with us their knowledge and things that we are responsible for in terms of maintaining our traditions and our language”

Manaakitanga: Inclusive Caring and Sharing

Participants were very clear that, although the ‘Pakeha law’ (as expressed in the Māori Reserved Lands legislation and Te Ture Whenua Māori Trust Deeds) limited voting rights to owners; the Trusts’ activities and orientations included all whanau and hapu and iwi members as much as possible. Trustees and kaumatua frequently assisted whanau, hapu and iwi members to trace their whakapapa and discover how they connected in. The Trusts run or are involved in a variety of activities in the areas of education and student accommodation, employment and health that target all whanau, hapu and iwi members; and are also open to others.

“.....if they whakapapa or if they’re a grandchild or a sister or brother of a shareholder, but they’re not shareholders themselves, we bring them, we ask them to come...We say to them to bring everybody and we have different levels of participation...” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“...and their families also can participate. So we don’t just have the beneficiary (owner) who has title to the shareholding list, but their family comes to the Annual General Meeting and they are looked after, we ensure that they are at those...(Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“.....so a number, particularly in Palmerston North where we had a lot of student accommodation and people coming over to Massey University and the Polytech there from Taranaki, we had a lot of the mokopuna of our kaumatua were in those houses and our young people, our whanau got first preference for those houses. Even if their grandparents may not have been owners but they’re descendants of owners, they’re part of the whanau because its actually its an accident, well its not an accident, it was the Crown, it’s the Crown policies that have resulted in some people being excluded, and some people being included.”

“So the WTT and PNMR is legally obliged to for instance, only allow registered owners to vote and to receive dividends. But hui are open and other things are open to everybody that’s part of the extended whanau regardless of whether they’re an owner, an official owner or not.” (Trustee/Owner)

“I just tag along with Mum... I have no shares... but out of curiosity we participate, and out of curiosity I used to go along and I had a lovely lunch in Palmerston North and a nice bus ride. So the involvement I had has been to go along with Mum.” (Kaumata)

Manaaki Manuhiri/Tiaki Taurahere

As mana whenua representatives, the Trusts formally and informally support a range of non-mana whenua and taurahere activities. From providing letters of support and endorsement to tauwiwi and taurahere health and social service providers; to formal MoU’s with Māori and non-Māori organizations; to assisting ‘lost souls’ that contact the Trusts offices in their search for assistance, mental health care, employment, company and/or food; Trust members, employees and Trustees see manaaki manuhiri/tiaki taurahere as a vital aspect of their mana whenua roles. Kaumatua often took pride in their ability to provide, through the Trusts, awhina, kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga for the benefit of all residents within the rohe.

“It doesn’t matter, it doesn’t have to be our wakas, it can be anybody, you know that might need a hand with something or something. So we’re there, we will help them as well, not only our own people. And I think that’s what its all about.... You’re not just looking at, just at your own wakas and your own iwi.” (Kaumatua)

“..and this is the good thing about them too (Retirement Village), it’s not only for our own people, it’s for all older people which is excellent.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“.....we’ve got to be thankful to people like old Ralph Love and he kept the fires burning down here. When in fact Te Atiawa was really embarrassed by just the sheer numbers of people coming to live in Wellington. We didn’t have the capability of hosting people through urbanization and through the relocation, coming to Wainuiomata, and all the other places [there was a mass migration of non-mana whenua iwi into Wainuiomata and other Hutt Valley and Wellington suburbs in the mid-C20]. So as an offshoot from that Ngati Poneke took on that role which was a sort of a community centre while we were represented in that by Fred Katene and Ralph [Sir Ralph Love was Chair of Ngati Poneke Association until his death in 1994] and many other of our elders. We didn’t have the facilities at Te Tatau o te Po and of course Waiwhetu is really a fairly recent marae. So its only now that I think we are starting to say well ok we now have the capability of being able to take some leadership, being able to act as folk who can do things not just for other Māori people but for the community locally, the community nationally and quite clearly we have a global involvement now because of the location and our presence in Wellington, as the capital city.”
(Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

Mahi tika, mahi aroha philosophy

Most participants in this research commented on the fact that Trustees volunteered enormous amounts of time and energy to progress the work of the Trusts, to exercise kaitiakitanga and maintain rangatiratanga and mana whenua obligations. Kaumatua in general also volunteered large amounts of time to support the Trusts and to maintain and uphold mana whenua integrity and responsibilities. The Chair of both Trusts led by example. Most participants were aware that he had been volunteering his time, energy and skills over the almost three decades since the establishment of the Trusts as legal entities. Prior to that he, his father and others worked voluntarily and extensively on submissions to Select Committees, Commissions of Inquiry and Parliament seeking rangatiratanga and practicing mana whenuatanga, in part through re-gaining rights to administer their own lands.

Although participants did not complain about their unpaid mahi (mahi aroha), it was clear that it was an enormous commitment of time and energy. The Office of the Community and Voluntary Sector, Ministry of Social Development (2006) has reported on the nature, extent and effects of cultural obligations and voluntary work for Māori. It is reasonable to propose that the experiences of participants in this study are consistent with the findings of the MSD (2006) study. As people get older, they are often in particular demand in Māori communities, have expectations from themselves and others and carry particular responsibilities in relation to whanau, hapu and iwi. This is also reflected in the korero of participants in this study. Trustees in kaumatua and younger age groups often carried these responsibilities and expectations to a significant degree. Their responsibilities are certainly not confined to their statutory roles as Trustees or as owners or employees, but extend into all facets of whanau, hapu, iwi and personal spheres of life.

“.....it is that connection that is very much a part of the reason for the commitment of time, to ensure that the future of these, our rights and both our

historical access to our place in history is understood.”
(Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“.....thousands and thousands and thousands of people hours (that) have been put in for free.” (Trustee/Owner)

“Certainly the claim has taken a lot of our resources and a lot of energy...”

“I was at a hui with a pakeha the other day, lawyers, because we won our high court case, I said to them ‘you know I start work again at 5. My other mahi starts at 5 and its goes 24/7. You guys wouldn’t understand that. The calls come in, well we do what we have to do. Whether it’s a tangi, or making sure the marae is okay or people know that, it’s different things that happen. That it’s my job; that I look after certain things’.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“....our people are thin on the ground as it is because we all hold down day jobs like (A) said and everything else that happens. One of my mates said to me, she said ‘people ask me if I’m tired’, she said ‘of course I’m tired I’ve been Māori all day’. We’re working doing our day jobs then doing everything else afterwards...” (Trustee)

Social and cultural involvement and support

Many participants noted that the Trusts played an important role in bringing people together, promoting whanaungatanga, taking people on outings, arranging positive events and facilitating peoples’ abilities to play a part in whanau, hapu and iwi affairs. The Trusts provided a forum for social activities and maintenance and extension of social networks. Kaumatua involved with the Trusts found opportunities to contribute, share knowledge, to learn, to socialize, laugh and arrange activities, and to play roles in the maintenance and kaitiakitanga of mana whenua responsibilities and obligations.

“Well we do that, we bring the people together, our kaumatua together and we have tea parties, visits to places....” (Trustee/Kaumatua/ Owner)

“Yes, yes there are kaumatua huis....” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Sometimes you go to Government House on Waitangi day and other things.....And we go out to Ratana Pa” (Kaumatua)

“.....they involve kaumatua in things like whether its having the kaumatua lunches or Christmas parties or taking people to Ratana Pa or up to huis in Taranaki or dawn openings or whatever... and that’s what they really enjoy...they get social outings and they get to be together a lot of the time and come to things whether it’s the opening of things like functions at Te Papa or functions at Parliament or tangi, or hui around the place” (Trustee/Owner)

“I think just opportunities for people to interact...” (Owner/Kaumatua)

“Mum loves to get out! But it’s a great joy for her to have a chance to go out somewhere rather than sit at home....It is wellbeing for Mum cause the worst thing for her is to sit here – I think she’d go crazy. I mean mentally it would be devastating for her if she just sat here everyday with no one to see or talk to, so to get out like that is quite beneficial.” (Kaumatua)

“...during the Tribunal hearings, the WTT brought in all the old people, you know from Wellington area, from Taranaki and a lot of the old people sat through every day of those tribunal hearings just listening to the evidence. And they sat there all day everyday over 17 years.”(Trustee/Owner)

Educational; learning why we are as we are

Related to the role of the Trusts as a focal point for whanau, hapu and iwi identity, was the role of the Trusts in developing and supporting educational initiatives for owners and whanau, hapu and iwi members. The Trusts role ranged from providing encouragement and facilities for community wananga, karanga, waiata, kappa haka and reo classes; to the joint development and provision (with Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi and other educational institutions), of certificates, diplomas, under-graduate and post-graduate degrees with foundations in matauranga Te Atiawa and Taranaki whanui.

Trust AGM’s invariably incorporated educational components outlining historical through to current developments

“I mean rediscovering ourselves, rediscovering who we are, our Te Reo... the stories. It’s very important otherwise we are just nameless people in an environment which really we should be an integral part of. And certainly growing up in the 40s, 50s and 60s that was lost no question about it” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

Housing and retirement villages

As previously noted, both the Wellington Tenth and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trusts operated retirement villages and hospitals. In line with the Trust Deeds and obligations of Trustees to provide for all owners and whanau, individual owners did not get free or subsidized homes in the retirement villages. To provide such facilities to some, and not others would be inequitable and would also risk being ultra vires in that it would be inconsistent with working for, and maximizing benefits to owners as a group.

There are owners and whanau resident in both Palmerston North and Wellington Tenth Trust retirement villages. These people have purchased their interests themselves. Residents interviewed for this research were uniformly positive about their decisions to reside in the villages and about their experiences as residents and as owners.

Participants were proud of the retirement villages and aged care facilities, and a number were keen to extend the experience of providing aged care to low income community

facilities that would be accessible to more owners and whanau. The provision of low income, accessible housing and care for kaumatua is something that the Trusts have been working towards for several years.

“The Tenth is promoting wellbeing by having our retirement villages... providing care for the aged through retirement villages. But because of the nature of those, it’s more difficult for our people to get access to them. What they can get access to is the hospitals we are building. Regrettably, dementia wings and hospital-care.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“Well certainly, one of the key things that we do is we own...retirement villages. So we’ve taken a very proactive role, in a commercial sense to provide those types of establishment.....and what that’s taught us is a lot about understanding the ageing process and what all that entails, very much so.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“And ventures like ‘Village at the Park’ in Wellington and the retirement village, ‘Metlifecare’ in Palmerston North have had some of our people in them..... And the ones that are in there, in both Palmerston North and Wellington, speak very, very highly of it and don’t want to go anywhere else.” (Trustee/Owner)

“Yeah well I think the WTT and the PNMR they play a great part in what they’ve done with their retirement homes.....You see so there alone they are there catering to elder people to give them better places to live and things like that. At a cost I know but it is put there for the benefit of older people.” (Kaumatua)

“Well we enjoy our place. But we don’t get time to mix with everybody with all the things that they do during the day and that but it’s a wonderful concept and everyone there, they all love their villas and now they’ve just put up the new pavilion where we all meet, so that’s wonderful. They’re all really, really happy there and I think it’s a wonderful” (Kaumatua/Owner/Retirement Village resident)

“I think we’ve got good examples already of some accommodation being provided for our older people.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“...I know that they’re providing housing in some instances which is great.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Transport

In promoting and facilitating whanaungatanga, the Trusts provide transport for kaumatua to attend events such dawn openings, powhiri, hearings and hui. The Trusts provide transport for local whanau and for whanau between Taranaki, Waikanae/Kapiti and Wellington. Maintaining the connection between Taranaki (and Waikanae/Kapiti) and Wellington whanau, hapu and iwi is seen as important. In part this is because it serves to

reinforce identity and whanaungatanga, reminding us that we are one people, with several rohe.

“.....it’s important I suppose to get them to meetings..... us in Taranaki we bring a bus...sorting out the bus, everybody knows to ring. Even the office staff now know what to do, they take the name, they take the phone number and the address, and then we ring them back 2-3 days before the hui and tell them where we’re going to pick them up because it’s dependent on who’s going to go and where we are going to pick them up.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“So we can get them buses to hui, we can look after them when they come here, we can get them taxis to come and support different Tenth’s kaupapa, the openings of different buildings, powhiri and things. We can organize to get them to those places and we do those things.” (Trustee)

“...frequently our beneficiaries are old people because succession doesn’t take place until someone has died so we’ve made a huge effort to ensure that they are able to attend meetings, so we ensure there is transport available for them, that they can participate in as many activities as possible.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“Oh I was just thinking about the support for different things they do, well you know when we do have anything here they do send the van over for them and that’s a support.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“They pick me up, yes they provide the transport, that’s good, we appreciate all that.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“.....we get vans and taxis to pick up the old people and bring them to these things and that’s what they really enjoy...they’ll get taxis or people to pick them up and so they get social outings and they get to be together a lot of the time and come to things. Whether it’s the opening of things, like functions at Te Papa or functions at Parliament or tangi, or hui around the place. And I suppose it’s really valuable for those old people...” (Trustee/Owner)

Communication

Participants in this study were proud of the communication and educational functions of the Trusts. Trustees in different rohe often made efforts to ensure that owners and whanau living out of the Wellington region were kept informed of Trust activities and developments – social, cultural and financial. A biannual newsletter and website supplemented information provided in annual reports and at AGMs.

“.....they learn about Trust things and what happens with the mahi and claims and whatever else we are doing as an organization and politically” (Trustee)

“...we have a strong responsibility to keep our kaumatua informed of what’s going on for the two Trusts, both in a commercial sense but also in a social and cultural sense.... (We).....have separate hui with them so that they are well informed and able to ask Trustees about their business in a safe and helpful environment” (Trustee/Employee/Kaumatua/Owner).

“They go and tell their others, and they might do it in their own way but its all supportive so that we as Board can make sure that we are giving out information to people..... educate them and give them all knowledge on what the Tenth is doing” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“Well we’ve come to know what we have and what we haven’t got....” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Pride in achievements/proud to be part of Trusts

Participants interviewed for this study were proud of the achievements of the Trusts. The retirement villages and hospitals, accommodation-particularly for students and whanau, waka house, Hikoikoi developments, Treaty claim work and high standard of conduct and professionalism exhibited by both Trusts were repeatedly cited by participants as things that they were proud of.

“I think they do a wonderful job for their shareholders and for everyone that comes in contact with them too They know that, you know there’s no mucking around with these organizations..... They’ve got a high standard..... Very high standard out there in the community. We are just very happy to be associated with them...” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“....we’re so proud and happy that some of our people are in there.”

“.....everybody benefits and they’re mainly, the owners are mainly kaumatua or older people, the older generation of their families, they all benefit by being, by knowing that they’re owners in successful ventures and they love coming to the AGMs and the meetings and seeing, going on the tours around the retirement villages, the hospitals, the student accommodation, everything that we have built up. Because it’s a chance for us as Māori and as formerly dispossessed people with no land base to actually see that we are owners in and we are part of very successful ventures (that are) commercially successful and also successful in terms of providing for older people, providing for students, supporting educational initiatives and so forth.” (Trustee/Owner)

“They [Trust whanau and constituency] are very positive about the trusts and what they are doing. Yeah I get good feedback.” (Kaumatua/Employee/Owner)

“They’ve [Trust whanau and constituency] got something up there that they belong to or belongs to them.”(Kaumatua/Owner)

Health and Social Services

Although health and social services are not the core business of the Trusts, the 'Development Trust' - comprised of representatives from both WTT and PNMR Trusts have provided several significant services and supported others. Trust employees and Trustees also provide informal health and social services for local owners and whanau out of a sense of aroha and whanaungatanga. These are not externally funded. A few services are externally funded and managed, facilitated or supported by the Development Trust. Alcohol and drug services, the employment service, crime prevention, healthcare, diet and mirimiri (massage) services, housing, business development/mentoring, participation on local Health Boards and Committees, participation in City and Regional Council Committees, care of the environment, harbour and waterways (including Iwi Strategic Development Plans for land and sea environments) and educational initiatives were cited as some of the health and social service areas that the Trusts were involved in.

"....they've got Wai [mirimiri/massage provider] there and have provided a place for her to work where our kaumatua can go to and that's a wonderful thing. We always hear about them, we see Aunty... and she say 'oh we've just been over to have a massage' and you know I think that it's wonderful that..... Yeah, and I mean that was done by the WTT, that set her all up and that and for our people"

"...if anyone's in hospital they always go over and visit them, send them flowers and things, let them know that you know, we are all thinking about them. And well I think they are already doing the social services aren't they?" (Kaumatua/Owner)

".....she goes to mirimiri with Wai..... people like Wai are there to help and provide the mirimiri services..... And she has rooms at Hikoikoi. ...I know that they've been involved in trying to set up programmes to help people stop smoking and they've got hospital things." (Kaumatua/Owner)

".....our young people who are out there that are doing a lot of mahi for the alcohol and drug abuse." (Kaumatua/Owner)

"Well we will look at the services that we got here the A & D services... which is fabulous. It's doing the right thing...." (Kaumatua/Employee/Owner)

2.9.5. Future roles in enhancing and promoting Kaumatua wellbeing

Interviewers asked participants what they would like to see the Trusts doing in the future to enhance and promote kaumatua wellbeing. A number of comments and suggestions were made.

Catering for a changing environment

Some participants noted that the mobility of whanau meant that the traditional support systems for kaumatua may be less accessible than in former times. Although the Trusts,

particularly the Wellington Tenth Trust, did provide a variety of opportunities for social interaction and whakawhanaungatanga, some felt that there was more that could be done to care for kaumatua, and to cater for those at risk of loneliness.

“Well I think the idea of just caring for them in the material sense and that sense, I think the social sense is very important too. Many of our people, because families leave, are getting lonely... We should be bringing them together more, we should be providing opportunities for them to socialize, for them to participate more and that I think is a programme that we should start in and do on a more regular basis.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Beneficial owner)

Health and Social Assistance

Many of the propositions put by participants in this study about what they would like to see the Trusts doing to enhance and promote wellbeing in the future related to health and social areas. Although the Trusts support some public sector funded services, Trustees did not see themselves primarily as social service providers. Hence there may be some disconnect between the extent to which Trustees and owners and whanau saw the Trust directly engaging in health and social service provision. For instance, some kaumatua wanted the Trusts to play a role in providing direct practical assistance for individuals, such as paying for glasses, dental and medical care. Trustees tended to be more cautious about getting directly involved in providing for some individuals, and inevitably, not all. Questions about the distinct roles and responsibilities of the Crown, and the most appropriate mechanisms by which the Trusts might contribute were raised by Trustees. Specific suggestions and areas raised by participants are summarized below.

Social Services

“Social services are issues. What to provide and what the level of provision, what role do we play? Do we become the advocates of the social services provided by the Crown? I think that’s a role we have to look at so that we are making sure that if they have strategic plans, those plans are getting down to where our people are and our people are taking advantage of them as New Zealanders, as pakeha people do and making sure those services are appropriate.” (Kaumatua/Trustee.Owner)

Basic medical care: eyes, ears, teeth and mobility issues

“I think they should subsidize glasses, those things cost 300 bucks.” (Kaumata/Owner)

“Well I don’t need one yet but a hearing aid might be good too soon. And some teeth! Can’t afford any. Rather go without, can’t afford them so just go without.” (Kaumata/Owner)

“Well we are pretty well off aren’t we, except I said they could have a look at glasses, I want some new glasses” (Kaumata/Owner)

“We were talking before you came in. We said you can get along basically with everything going well on a pension as long as you don’t come up against those big bills like a pair of new spectacles or teeth maybe if you need dentures or teeth removal, hearing aids. Those are the sort of things that probably knock a, you see I’m still earning money so I’m just thinking ahead to when I stop earning money will I be able to afford to pay for things like that? And its looking pretty bleak but I’m hoping that maybe something will come out of this that will help kaumatua without supplementary incomes to meet the bills for things like eye care, dental care, hearing, blood tests or scans if the need them”. (Kaumata)

“They could help in transport. Transporting them to doctors, hospitals, whatever medical is needed.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Whanau room at Hutt Hospital

“Whanau room in Lower Hutt Hospital, not Wellington Hospital, Lower Hutt Hospital..... Because they don’t have one. You’ve all got to go and congregate in a pokey little room or corridors or in the dayroom and other people come in and out, in and out. I think we need shares in these for a whanau room in Lower Hutt.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Affordable housing for kaumatua (in their communities)

The provision of affordable kaumatua housing was an issue raised by almost all participants. While the Trusts provided affordable student accommodation, public and private sector partnerships and leases, retirement village, care and hospital facilities; there was a strong desire amongst participants for the development of low cost kaumatua housing within the communities where they were long time residents. Wainuiomata and the Hutt Valley (particularly Petone and Naenae areas) were often mentioned as communities where Kaumatua had lived for a long time, and had strong connections and whanau and marae close by.

“.....so we need to consider kaumatua housing and that may be within a retirement village context or it may not be. So we are proactively looking at that now, how we can provide that type of housing” (Kaumatua/Employee/Trustee and Owner)

“I think the key thing for all of them is to have the relevant housing and out of that falls everything else. If they’ve got a safe and secure place to live that’s attractive that enables them to do whatever it is that they are interested in, in other words that is close to public transport, that their families can get there easily, and that is, you know, the environment is created that allows them to practice their normal life.....there needs to be a way of thinking about that” (Kaumatua/Employee/Trustee and Owner)

“.....build affordable accommodation and we’re starting on that path now so that we will have affordable accommodation attached to our villages for instance.

That means they can have access to the quality that a village life can provide but not have to have the capital investment.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“One of the main things I’d like to see them do is get, be able to get into low cost housing, provision of low cost safe secure housing for older people in places like Wainuiomata, the Hutt valley particularly around Taita and Naenae where a lot of our people live.” (Trustee/Owner)

“...in time some of the whanau here may need, well some of them already do need care, while others don’t yet, and maybe they can be placed there for them to be cared at discounted rates, because I think it’s nice in return of their money that’s been put into that place that they could perhaps get accommodation at a reduced rate so it doesn’t seem astronomical, could be good support.” (Kaumatua)

“I want to stay down here. So I went and had a look at a flat, it was a two bedroom and it was a \$700 bond with \$100 a week, but the rent might have gone up because they reckon now in Wainui its about \$140 a week. Well when you’re on the pension, its gonna be a bit stiff isn’t it?

Q: So what you’re saying is that there should be affordable accommodation...?. (Interviewer)

A: For the kaumatua, yes that’s what I’m trying to say...” (Kaumatua/Owner)

House calls, help at home and home modifications

Kaumatua wanted to stay in their own homes for as long as they were able. There were a number of suggestions about what the Trusts might be able to do, or to increase where services were already being provided informally, in order to enable this to happen. Suggestions ranged from home help, keeping in contact (eg. through regular telephone calls), ‘meals on wheels’ type services to home modifications.

There were some questions as to whether the Trusts would be best to provide the services themselves, or to provide an advocacy and service facilitation function to enable Kaumatua to access existing public services that would assist them to stay in their own homes.

“.....I’d like to see that extended to house calls where its needed, what we can do is take through our villages and our village particularly in Wellington we could take food out to people. All of those is the social services we should be looking at and can look at. And telephone calls to people who are home on their own. All of that is something we’re doing but I think we can expand it much more.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Beneficial owner)

“...that if they do get unwell, that they have the correct care and they can stay at home with the correct care...” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“Sometimes you have to pay for the aids, things that they need in the home, like rails. You’re alright if you own your own home but if you’re renting and that it’s a bit hard..... You are charged unless you can get it from some organization but they ask you if you own your own home.” (Kaumatua Owner)

“I can’t afford heaters and the power bill goes up and up..... Got to keep warm somehow. They did have some programme that some organizations, you know they put the batts in the ceiling and under the house..... And backed by hot water systems, you know, a hot water thing and they did the windows and around the doors. Why don’t they put some help in...those fire things?” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“I think the families, our people, well I just think that our families like to be in our homes until we pass away.I think also a lot of our people like to, you know, especially stay in there own home. And stay and have there families around them..... Its hard for them to change, think about it, to say right we are going into this lovely home and they’ve lost the closeness of there community which they come from but you know they could start again, but it would be hard after so many years”

Information and advocacy services

Related to the points noted above, there was clearly a perceived need for Kaumatua to have support in order to access the services and help that they needed. The Trusts were seen as well-placed to fill advocacy and information provision roles. The onus on the Trusts to maintain and grow the resource base for the benefit of all constituents, was seen as a priority by some participants. While caring for the wellbeing of Kaumatua was also an important role, there was a view that the provision of health and social services was not strictly an area of the Trusts’ expertise. A more efficient and effective option than pure service provision (with the risk of duplicating existing services) was a linking function, linking Kaumatua into services from which they could benefit. The Trusts would provide a monitoring role and serve as a central point of contact for Kaumatua and service providers. Kaumatua knew Trustees and employees, had a sense of ownership in and whanaungatanga in relation to the Trusts, and were generally comfortable talking with Trustees and employees about their needs. In essence, the model suggested was for the Trusts to serve as ‘whanau’, keeping in touch with Kaumatua, monitoring their needs and facilitating action to meet those needs. Although this was seen to be happening on an informal, somewhat ad hoc basis, there appeared to be a desire to extend, systematize (and effectively formalize) these functions.

“WINZ don’t tell you jack..... Unless you got a good case worker..... Well that’s it. It would be a help if you can’t get there.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“We have a legal responsibility and a responsibility as Trustees to service our people. It’s in our deeds so we have a responsibility for that, even if it’s just a advocacy role and we don’t spend any resources.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“Well we will look at the services that we got here the A & D service..... are there any other any organizations out there that is actually offering the services that I was thinking of, I guess there must be services out there, but do our people, our kaumatua use them? Are they aware of those kind of services offered out there?... Yeah, yeah, make the kaumatua out there aware that these are the services that you can go to.” (Kaumatua/Employee/Owner)

Help with Transport, Van and Drivers

Also relating to the points noted above, were the needs noted by a number of participants in relation to transport. The role of the Trusts, in particular the Wellington Tenth Trust, covers the whole of the Wellington, Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata regions. The Trusts currently hire taxis, or vans with whanau/Trust members as voluntary drivers, for group outings and functions. There were suggestions that the Trusts’ invest in a van and employ drivers to enable individual kaumatua to access services, (Trust services and functions, and public, health and social services and events).

“I know that people seem to have difficulty getting to hospital and stuff like that. I don’t know if we could offer them a service it could run round once a week..... there must be people who have hospital visits every so often and it costs them quite a bit you know if they are disabled to get on a taxi.” (Kaumatua/Employee/Owner)

“...I’m sort of thinking of a second hand van that could take some of these.. a fairly sound investment.” (Kaumatua)

“I think it would be really good if we could have one or two full time employees and a nice van or so to be able to take Kaumatua around to things like appointments and things like that. We don’t have any vans or employees to do that at the moment and there are other organizations that are funded specifically by health or social services to do that.” (Trustee/Owner)

“...you can’t get a bus to Hikoikoi [this is a site where some health and mirimiri services are provided] and so if you tried to go from here to there you would be paying an awful lot of money and I don’t think you would be able to afford it.” (Kaumatua/owner)

Kaumatua specific programmes

Several participants suggested that the Trusts could become involved in providing ‘kaumatua programmes’ of varying types. The primary motivation behind such programmes would appear to be social, and strengthening links. However, keeping mind and body active, encouraging participation, and reinforcing cultural identity, whanaungatanga and ability to perform Kaumatua roles were proposed as foci for programmes. There was a desire to extend on and regularize the benefits that Kaumatua got from attending Trust events.

Probably if they were to become more involved, perhaps they are involved but being able to provide programmes that retired people would be willing to participate in..... I think just opportunities for people to enact, to interact as whanau, as hapu, as whanaunga. Places to meet, things like that.” (Kaumatua)

“I hesitate to say elderly because I don’t think I’m elderly, but I’m retired so I think some way that they can help to identify and provide some of the things that retired people need. Retirees need different things and there’s probably as many different requirements as there are people but how they’re going to address it and breakdown those barriers, I don’t know. By getting people together would help, making it less serious, more fun I think would be easier” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Have centers, have places where retired people could go to meet. Have things of interest to them because interests change as you get older. Rather than playing rugby I’d rather go and watch rugby, but there must be a lot. A lot to do also with tikanga, a lot of people my age went through the process where language wasn’t taught, tikanga wasn’t taught, it was actually discouraged and I find it very difficult to love studying tikanga. I know some people love to do it. I have difficulty loving book work and loving that sort of thing. I’m more of an outdoors person, I’d rather go and chop wood than read a book but I’m sure there’s things they can do to gather people in and I think as we get older and our abilities become less and less, we’re probably going to depend more and more on centres and probably programmes that WTT might bring out to look after people.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“If we could run wananga for them in different rohe and different parts of the town, for ten of them at a time and have whole weeks where they are involved in activities, that would be awesome. Have someone go to marae and take kaumatua aerobics for the morning twice a week or something like that.” (Trustee)

The Claim: reclaiming identity and gaining compensation for losses sustained

There was some anticipation that the longstanding Treaty claims and negotiation processes would come to fruition before too much longer. While no-one appeared to believe that they would reap personal financial benefits; there was a hope that some of the difficulties experienced by owners, whanau, hapu and iwi over many generations, in social, spiritual, cultural and economic terms, would begin to be alleviated or reversed.

“So that preservation of our rights and recognition of those rights and the strengthening of the people who have been lost as a result of what occurred in both Palmerston North and Wellington.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“...because our people are the descendants of those who were the original owners of this land who have been deprived of so much in terms of economic and social wellbeing that part of that has to be to provide what we can over and above what the government should be providing and people should be able to achieve themselves..... So there is a time, which is occurring now to some degree but

will occur more in the future, we'll be able to pay back those people for the losses that they have sustained and the losses their forefathers sustained.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

Marae utilisation

The ethnic cleansing and dispossession experienced over the generations and subject of the Treaty claims has led to disconnection for many from their whanau, hapu, iwi bases, their turangawaewae. Rebuilding and maintaining marae and sacred sites has been a struggle. The struggle has been carried primarily by those (comparatively few) who remain both connected and local. Some kaumatua were keen to see increased resources through Treaty claim settlement directed at using local marae more, facilitating access to marae, increasing marae facilities and usages, and using Marae on a regular basis as gathering places for kaumatua

“Making our marae more available, user-friendly, have a place set apart so that retired people can go there and play cards or chess or whatever without having to go and ask the secretary for permission to do whatever.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Kaitiakitanga/Increased access to and control of resources within the rohe

Several participants were indignant about their lack of access to areas that had been important to them within their own rohe. There was also a sense of hope that the mismanagement of areas and resources within the rohe might be improved if mana whenua were permitted to exercise kaitiakitanga. This was seen as a possible outcome of the Treaty negotiation process.

“If I want to go and sit on the foreshore and meditate, then I should be able to do that without any fear of trespassing or being asked to move or something like that.” (Kaumatua)

“I think if they were to get involved in providing access for myself for instance as a lover of the outdoors, access to some of the locked gates around the place. Places that have been now considered out of bounds, places where I would go fishing and in the old days go hunting, but we don't have any rights anymore. If they could find ways to allow people even on an escorted tour or something into places. I think of all the places now that are out of bounds for fishing around Wellington harbor and I think about Waiwhetu...stream. Which is now dead, its become just a big cesspool. I doubt if they're ever going to fix that up or if they can fix that up. I suggested once why don't they just put it round the other side of the old racetrack and then fill the river in but they didn't want to do that either. So there's a lot of things that affect us but whether or not WTT can do it, I don't know.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“When that comes to an end, hopefully our strategic pathway is to serve our maraes, to serve our old people....” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

Education for whanau

As noted previously, the Trusts have long been involved in educational support activities, from the Tu Tangata Business Studies, workskills, job training and MACCESS courses, to making whanau, hapu and iwi research accessible, to provision of student accommodation in Wellington and Palmerston North, and ongoing partnerships with Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, as well as relationships with Massey University, Victoria University and Weltech. Some participants again looked to the resolution of Treaty claims, to facilitate enhanced whanau educational opportunities.

“Certainly the claim has taken a lot of our resources and a lot of energy. When that comes to an end, hopefully our strategic pathway is to... strengthen our educational across the board and although some of our people will fall through the cracks and we’ll lose a lot of people on the way ...we need to look around and make sure that we are looking down at our rangatahi as to making sure that they’re encouraged to seek the highest training that they can in their fields and then come back and make a difference with our people.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“And I think in supporting education for the younger generations where also, that’s a real positive for kaumatua too” (Trustee/Owner)

2.9.6. Barriers preventing enhancement

Lack of resources (money and people)

Participants identified a lack of financial and human resources as barriers that were preventing the Trusts from extending their activities promoting kaumatua wellbeing. Participants did not identify a lack of the will to enhance and promote kaumatua wellbeing as a factor. Some participants, speaking of the possibilities around providing low-cost kaumatua housing, noted the particular features of Wellington (particularly the prices of land and housing) as a significant barrier.

“....we’re quite restricted with our resources and I’m talking human resources and financial resources.....the reality is we don’t have the resources right now.....and we don’t have the people in place to do it” (Trustee)

Money

“Well immediate barrier is cost. That to have someone who can take the meals out and all of that you know is a cost factor.....” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“Money. It’s a financial issue...the biggest difficulty again is getting the finance to create those places that are safe and in the right place. The difficulty probably is that Wellington City itself is a very expensive place and therefore it almost automatically rules that out...” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“I presume that the only thing that would stop it would be money. It would surely be in our will to do something like that. Perhaps not having trained people to help manage it but there would be an opportunity to provide training for younger

people. So I see money as being the thing that would prevent a lot of it happening.” (Kaumata)

“I don’t know. Everything that’s got to do with money, they have to think very hard about it.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“...it costs money say to take a group over to Kapiti and just to have a stay overnight and have a walk around the place. That would cost a lot of money and they may not want to do that but I think probably finance and programmes is one of the things that would prevent.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Well it may be a barrier for them to go into Village at the park because that is costly and that’s how it’s got to be because it’s a business.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“We are still struggling with what’s the correct amount of money to spend on different issues. Is it legitimate?” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“Well I suppose money. If they had the money I think they would be good...”(Kaumataua/Owner)

“I presume that the only thing that would stop it would be money. It would surely be in our will to do something like that. Perhaps not having trained people to help manage it but there would be an opportunity to provide training for younger people. So I see money as being the thing that would prevent a lot of it happening.” (Kaumatua)

“.....a lot of our people can’t afford to live there (Retirement Village) and we cant show favoritism, to some people, some families by for instance giving some people subsidies and not others.”(Trustee/Owner)

People

“I think its people they don’t... it’s the sufficient people you know, people resource. So maybe we need to have people train in those kind of things you know service but you know...” (Trustee/Owner)

“Yeah but maybe, not maybe but do our people want to do that, want to be trained up? Coz a lot of today is the dollar, it’s the dollar sign isn’t it? I don’t know.” (Kaumata/Employee/Owner)

“We don’t have any vans or employees to do that at the moment and there are other organizations that are funded specifically by health or social services to do that. See the WTT doesn’t rely on government funds so it hasn’t been a contractor to government agencies.” (Trustee/Owner)

Nature of the Trusts

As noted previously, the Trusts have been constrained and controlled for many years by Government legislation. Provisions such as the ‘uneconomic interests’ law resulted directly and indirectly in many whanau losing their formal ownership status, this being acquired by the Māori Trustee. The original lists of owners on which Trust ownership is based may not have been complete. The model of ownership was individualized, limited to individuals identified at a particular point in time. As a result of the individualization of title and in an effort to maintain ‘economic interests’ and prevent ‘confiscation’ of small interests, many whanau passed ownership in the Trusts to a single whanau member, thus excluding other whanau members and their descendants from formal ownership. The exclusion of people from recognized ownership was a direct result of Crown actions. Although, (as repeatedly emphasized by participants in previous sections of this report) the Trusts have attempted to combat Crown individualization and exclusiveness a policy of whanaungatanga and inclusiveness, the history and past and present legislation governing the Trusts have created some barriers to full participation on a whanau, hapu and iwi basis.

Asset rich but cash poor

The intergenerational nature of communally owned assets and Māori land based business, a focus on investment in growing the long-term asset base, and a policy (reinforced through legislation) of not selling assets, means that the Trusts tend to be ‘asset rich, and cash poor’. The long-lasting and significant investment in running Treaty claims and negotiations has also limited available resources. While participants in this study felt that a focus on future development and younger generations was important, some would also like to see more direct investment by the Trusts in their older constituents.

“.....although the Tenth have, from when I came onto the WTT we had 6 million dollars worth of assets, they probably have over 50 million dollars worth of assets now which we are asset rich but cash poor. So there needs to be a lot more work done getting to a position where we can make a difference in my view and that’s being able to look after people and we’re talking about kaumatua.”
(Kaumatua/Trustee)

“.....but they’re not a very rich.....they haven’t got a lot of finance. You see what they do is try to pay it back into the (investments)..... Yeah, (they could) keep their money to keep drawing back to...constituents...” (Kaumatua)

“(They pay) back into their money, recovering our land too” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Certainly the claim has taken a lot of our resources and a lot of energy.”
(Kaumatua/Trustee)

Competitive Health and Social Service Funding Regimes

‘Patch protection’ by some organizations, in particular those funded by Government to provide health, social and other services, was identified as a barrier by some participants. Some Māori and other ‘mainstream’ and ‘NGO’ organizations relied on public funding to

run their health and social service businesses. The prospect of the Trusts entering these competitive arenas was not viewed favourably by them. The role of Pakeha or Government agencies in generating division and competition for recognition and resources was seen as contributing to the adoption by some other organizations of a competitive mentality, where the Trusts were seen as threatening their status with Government or Pakeha organizations, in particular funding bodies. This operated to impede the collaborative and unified approach favoured by the Trusts. It was identified as a factor in the Trusts' reluctance to involve themselves too heavily in government funded health and social service delivery.

“I think there has been a tendency for some division where there are particularly among some of our younger generation, those people who believe that they need to be part of the leadership. I guess that's fine but sometimes you have to wait your turn, and we had to wait our turn.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“...sometimes I see that as an obstacle for our people that sometimes we are unwilling to relinquish control over things – “this is my patch, I've got to do what I'm doing here” rather than looking at the bigger picture...” (Trustee)

“...because how we've been, in my view of being competitive like pakeha people and we've used it against each other for all sorts of reasons.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

Constitutional/Legislative restrictions

Some participants believed that constitutional and legislative requirements acted as barriers to providing some of the kaumatua wellbeing enhancing services that might otherwise have been possible. Some also pointed out that it is the Government's job to look after all citizens, particularly those in their twilight years. While certainly wanting to support Kaumatua, some participants felt that it was not the Trusts' role to take over Article 3 responsibilities of Government. Social service provision has not been the core business of the Trusts, who operate under the umbrella of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act, and are defined as Māori Land Management Authorities. The Wellington Tenth Development Trust was established as a separate entity from WTT and PNMR; it is the specific role of this Trust to 'umbrella', support and provide health and social services. However, Development Trust Trustees are drawn from the Trustees of WTT and PNMR, and these Trustees are not, in the main, health and social service providers. Hence they are unfamiliar with the systems, structures and processes pertaining to government funded services, and are fulfilling their roles on the Development Trust on a purely voluntary and part-time basis. Most Trustee energy has been directed to the business of the WTT and PNMR Trusts, including the Treaty Claim and Negotiation processes.

“Red tape..... as an organization I think their hands are tied as far as raising funds..... I don't know how they would go about it probably more from a government point of view” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“Yeah the thing that will prevent it is because there’s rules, regulations as written up in the Trust. Now when you’ve got rules and regulations you can’t bend them to do things really because that would prevent them, because you can’t give out, say, student loans or money to students as though you put into some money to go to varsity because its not entered into their contract or what do you call it, its not in their constitution to do those things. So that would prevent them from doing quite a lot of things.” (Kaumatua)

“Yeah coz you are looking at the way the WTT and the PNMR, they’re there to look after their shareholders, that’s what they’re there for. And I suppose in the background there is to try and get some of our lands back and they are not there really to hand out monies for education and all that sort of thing.” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“I see the 10ths as one of our major resources or assets and I suppose the way that I view them is that in the past the rangatira would have control over all the resources and they would then give those resources out in a way that’s acceptable to them in the past. Today we are using pakeha (Government) models and to me that’s not always the best option”

“We have a legal responsibility and a responsibility as trustees to service our people. It’s in our deeds so we have a responsibility for that, even if it’s just a advocacy role and we don’t spend any resources.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“They were telling me the other day at Kokiri that they get grants from Social Welfare and COGs and Lotto board, but I don’t know if the WTT, it’s a different organization aye. I’d say it’s a private thing against these others isn’t it?” (Kaumatua/Owner)

2.9.7. Addressing barriers

Participants identified a number of possible courses of action to ameliorate the barriers identified.

Work in partnership with Government

There was mixed support for taking a role as a contractor to or supplier of health and social services for government. A number of participants spoke explicitly of partnering with Government; a position consistent with Treaty, mana whenua and kaitiaki obligations. The nature of any such partnerships may be negotiable, however they would not entail the Trusts or iwi serving simply as a contracted provider for central or local government service provision.

“We believe that we need to cooperate more with the government...that should be a bond between...between the Crown and the Trusts to do that...partnerships between government and local government and the Trusts is obviously the way to

go. And this is now being planned and starting, I think to get significant opportunities.” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Owner)

“...we’re looking hard at how we can work with central government to develop another way to house them and to ensure through that, that they have some of the benefits that people who can afford to in a retirement village have...the Ministry of Housing does have some schemes and we are certainly looking at those which give assistance” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

“Around social services and health, and there’s a whole resource out there within the Crown that can assist but we still need the trained human resource to be able to captivate that.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

Apply for funding and grants

There was some thought that the Trusts could apply for Government agency funding and community grants. However there was also a concern that taking government money or appearing to become a social service agency for government may compromise the rangatiratanga or independence of the Trusts.

“Could they apply for grants at all do you know? Say the Lotto board and COGs and those ones? Because quite a lot of the ones over here, they apply to the Lotto and they apply to COGs all the different things and you might get a few hundred dollars here and a few hundred dollars there, and that’s for their old people, that the Pakeha I’m talking about now and they’re getting these grants and a van and somebody comes and picks them up and takes them up to the doctor or takes them to the hospital or brings them home and we haven’t got anything like that at all have we?” (Kaumatua/Owner)

Increase resource base through Treaty settlement

The prospect of a Treaty settlement in the short to medium term future provided some hope that resources returned, compensation provided and sustainable income generated could enable more and improved services for kaumatua. The prospect of an end to expenditure on the Treaty settlement process also raised the prospect of income historically and currently used to finance the research, hearings manaaki, mandating, information and negotiation processes relating to the claims, being freed up to serve the interests of kaumatua and specifically to enhance and promote kaumatua wellbeing.

“Certainly the claim has taken a lot of our resources and a lot of energy. When that comes to an end, hopefully our strategic pathway is to serve our maraes, to serve our old people.....” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

“...hopefully once the, we talk about the claims money and all that coming through, and once the developments really start providing a return for us, we may be in a position to do that... I think we are doing what we are capable of at the moment but looking ahead once the resources start coming in and the

developments start returning, we will be in a better position to provide a lot of that stuff.” (Trustee)

“...some of (the barriers) can possibly be addressed through the claims settlement process...” (Kaumatua/Trustee/Employee/Owner)

Constitutional Reform

There were suggestions that the legislative and constitutional restrictions facing the Trusts currently may be able to be amended. However such a process would entail Government action, and could not be done by the Trusts acting independently. For instance, in order to sell assets and reinvest in other assets or developments, the Trusts are currently required to wait for an AGM or call an SGM, to gain approval from 75% of owners in attendance. Although there may be valid reasons for this, this is a costly and time-consuming process, and can prevent the Trusts from operating on an equal commercial footing with other organizations that do not face the same restrictions. Similarly, the requirement to have a ‘Custodial Trustee’ entails time delays and expenses not faced by other non-Māori entities.

“Well to organize, to reconstruct your Trustees memorandum or whatever you call it. If they reconstruct that then you might be able to find roads to them, finances, but they’re not a very rich...they haven’t got a lot of finance.” (Kaumatua)

Maintain active and risk averse development strategies

The risk averse philosophy and operation of the Trusts has been successful and responsible. Although not the most potentially lucrative strategy, a number of participants advocated continuing on this established path and progressing in the steady manner that was currently in place. The possibility of small investments in higher risk but more potentially lucrative initiatives was raised; however was not widely supported by participants in this study. Participants were very aware that they were dealing with an inter-generational asset base, hence the focus was on security of assets into the future, and for the ongoing benefit of future generations.

“I think they do a very good job for what they are, they do, their projects are really very low-risk the projects they do. They’re not like a private company which take a gamble and get big profits. The WTT and PNMR don’t, they do it very quietly and slow, they don’t get into trouble like other companies..... So I like they way they do it, it’s very slow but they will get there..... Its safe for our people, they’re not going to lose any...” (Kaumatua/Owner)

“So it’s important that we invest, and we have been investing I suppose in different opportunities as we call them businesses like our retirement village.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

Coordinated/Strategic planning

With much of the Trusts resources historically being employed in growing the assets and generating returns, and in fighting the Treaty claims processes, some participants felt that it was time to begin focused strategic planning in the areas of kaumatua care, health and social services.

In addition, it was acknowledged that succession processes as presently structured (through the Māori Land Court) were slow and appeared haphazard. Succession planning and preparation was an area that some felt could be improved, although it was recognized that this might require law and/or policy changes through central government.

“...I think we need to coordinate and work on, take a coordinated approach to providing services. We have hauora groups here and other groups there and other groups here, all doing awesome mahi but in isolation of one another and there are times when we are duplicating services. Part of coordinating with everybody working in this field, so maybe one agency takes responsibility for taha tinana, one agency takes responsibility for taha wairua and another take responsibility for taha hinengaro so that we’re not all saying that we’re looking at three groups, I don’t know how many they are, but instead of three groups trying to do all three things, one group takes responsibility for one of those three things.....”. So for me, I’m about strategic planning and all those kind of things..... – a strategic approach to what we do in the future..... for sitting down and planning out how we’re going to look after each of those things and how we’re going to coordinate. It’s getting buy-ins from all sort of corners and facets of who we are to do that.” (Trustee)

“....make sure that succession order is there and the next generation is encouraged to do things. Somehow the trust needs to have that strategic social plan to work through.” (Kaumatua/Trustee)

Wairua group to unite people

One of the strengths identified with both Trusts was the whakawhanaungatanga and unity promoting aspects of their functioning. This was an area that some felt could continue to be enhanced, and spread further afield, with a particular emphasis on wairua development, as a means of tempering divisions that sometimes emerged when people considered themselves in competition for scarce resources.

“The wairua group is probably the next level that we’ve got to get to. It’s the group that must go around and unite people around issues.... The only way we’re going to speed up is to have a group of people whose sole job is to unite people. It seems to be a psyche that we have and it’s important that that gets fed and certainly for some of us, you know like when Sir Paul was around and others were talking about spiritual things, people relax and they let go.

When you look back at what Tohu and Te Whiti did, that was their key strategy, in my view, is that they were able to do that for people. So they could relax even

though the world was coming to an end as far as they were concerned. All their resources were taken off them, they must have been gutted. We're not facing that because that reality has moved on. I suppose all we're facing is whether we can get it right for our immediately family somehow. We're at different points of the compass on all sorts of issues so the wairua thing to me is that we've done all the mahi on claims and we've got a pretty good idea of the assets, we know how the money works because that was the missing component from the past, our people didn't know that you could have futures and this little bit of money was more powerful than the land and all of that stuff. So we've got a whole kind of hold on all that stuff. So we can actually start to move on and really the next task to unite people and at the moment we've got the people around us who can do that. So we need to let them loose and tell them well, you are the wairua group, go and do it!"
(Kaumatua/Trustee)

3. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Participants' understandings of wellbeing for older people were holistic and consistent with models such as Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 2003) and Te Wheke (Pere, 1991). Participants understood wellbeing for older people as encompassing the same dimensions as wellbeing for younger generations.

Although the elements of these models are intertwined to the point of being indivisible at times, it is possible to discern some facets of wellbeing which were particularly significant for participants in this study in their latter years. The significance of these facets to wellbeing in later life may be, in part, that they can no longer be taken for granted. A number of the issues identified by participants were secondary to more fundamental dimensions and aspects of wellbeing. For example, mobility tended to become an issue for people in their later years. The significance of mobility relates in part to whanaungatanga (ability to engage in whanau, hapu, iwi and access social contact and participate in social and community dynamics) in part to mana (for example the ability to fulfil kaumatua and mana whenua roles) and in part to tinana (the ability to care for self and access medical and dental care). Some of the dimensions and facets highlighted most often by participants in this study are summarized and outlined in Table One below.

In Table 1 the dimensions of wellbeing are presented in the left hand column. The facets within these dimensions, as commonly identified in the narratives of participants, are presented next. Descriptions of how the dimensions (and facets within these) may be expressed are presented in the third column. Finally sample indicators of how the Trusts contribute to kaumatua wellbeing are presented in the right hand column.

Table 1: Hauora Kaumātua/Kaumātua Wellbeing

| DIMENSIONS | FACETS | DESCRIPTORS | SAMPLE INDICATORS |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mana | Mana Atua | Kaitiakitanga | Decision-making in regard to management of resources, including Trusts |
| | Mana Tupuna | Whanau, hapu, iwi, Trust decision-making | |
| | Mana Whenua | Participating in mana whenua functions Kanohi kitea/representing whanau, hapu, iwi, Trusts | Attendance at formal and informal occasions as whanau, hapu, iwi and mana whenua representatives |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | Mana Tangata | Valued roles and responsibilities as kaumatua in relation to whanau, hapu, iwi, taurahere and tauiwi. | Securing physical and spiritual base and pathway forward for future generations. |
| Wairua | Tikanga Tapu/Noa Whakapapa Utu/Muru Whakatikatika | Land as a spiritual base for the future wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi Upholding tikanga in modern environment | Performing and participating in whakatuwhera and other ceremonies. Providing ‘living link’ between past, present and future generations Clarifying and affirming kin relationships Attendance at Waitangi Tribunal hearings, report back and settlement hui and Trust AGMs |
| Mauri | Turangawaewae Kaitiakitanga Mau whenua Kanohi ora | Land as a spiritual, emotional and physical resource base for the future wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi Linking essence for tupuna and mokopuna survival/presence as a distinct entity | Maintaining ‘health’ of physical resources (land, sea, waterways, vegetation) Working with DoC to participate in care and restoration of flora and fauna Placement of pou at significant sites Preserving narratives and mauri of particular artifacts/sites/beings |
| Whatumanawa | Ahi ka roa | Land as emotional | Maintaining presence |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | Aroha Tangihanga Ngakau Rangimarie Kotahitanga | base for the future wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi Maintaining whanau bonds and aroha | on and connections to turangawaewae. Tending, safeguarding taonga Strong inter-generational and peer group relationships Keeping whanau, hapu, iwi presence and identity 'alive', visible and ongoing |
| Ha/Taonga Tuku Iho | Utu Muru Whakatika Commitment to the kaupapa | Continuing tupuna battles for justice and land Focus on legacy for future generations | Participation in Treaty claims processes; sharing of whanau narratives and history Active participation in decision-making re-Landholding Trusts, elections, developments Heritage education for younger generations |
| Hinengaro | Mohio Matauranga Rangatiratanga Kaiarahi Whakapakari | Secure Identity Valued Roles Continued Learning, intellectual stimulation, | Decision-making; pathsetting Maintaining and teaching key values; kaitiakitanga, awhina, mau mahara, mau mana, elements of te taha wairua and whanaungatanga |
| Tinana | Physical/material resources Land and resource | Physical safety, warmth and security | Adequate and affordable housing ⁸ Adequate resources |

⁸ While the Trusts provide affordable housing and accommodation for whanau, hapu, iwi and communities generally, and provide retirement villages and older persons care facilities and hospitals, there were suggestions and a declared intention on the part of the Trusts to develop affordable supported Kaumatua housing in the communities where constituent Kaumatua live.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | base for the future wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi | Nutrition and medical care | and nutrition ⁹ Access to medical and dental care |
| Whanaungatanga | Reciprocity, recognition and belonging | Sense of belonging, and place. Active participation in whanau, hapu, iwi affairs Valued roles within whanau, hapu, iwi, social settings. Sense of purpose and usefulness Whanau accessible | Affirmation of whakapapa, to the continuity and spiritual connection. Social participation; peer and intergenerational involvements Participation in formal; whanau, hapu, iwi functions; Kaitiakitanga, mo nga tikanga, arbiters of appropriate process Regularity of contact with whanau, hapu, iwi |

Studies of the performance of the Māori economy (NZEIR and TPK, 2003) indicate that Māori Trusts have significantly higher operating surpluses than other sectors of the New Zealand economy. This is attributed, in large part, to the high productivity of labour employed. A major contributor to the notably high productivity of Māori Trusts is likely to be mahi aroha/voluntary labour. Māori communities have demonstrably higher rates of mahi aroha/voluntary work than non-Māori communities. Much of the voluntary work which contributes to the fiscal and social economy of Māori and of the nation occurs within the context of whanau, hapu and iwi networks and systems (Oliver et al, 2006). Older people are significant contributors of mahi aroha/voluntary work, and are also the beneficiaries of significant contributions by the Trusts, their members and employees. The Trusts contribute meaningfully and in a variety of ways, to the holistic wellbeing of Kaumatua. The relationships are reciprocal and mutually beneficial.

⁹ The Trusts may assist Kaumatua informally in these areas and in accessing to medical care, at present. However, there were suggestions that the Trusts formalize and systematize these functions, or alternatively, formalize a monitoring and advocacy role to ensure that Kaumatua are having their needs met.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study are consistent with research indicating that Māori conceptions of wellbeing emphasise particular elements, such as wairua, mana and whanaungatanga, that are not captured in existing Government indicators of wellbeing for the population (Love, Malaulau and Praat, 2005). The contributions of the present Trusts and other similar landholding and iwi representative organizations to kaumatua wellbeing have been largely voluntary, officially unrecognized and unreported in the financial ‘bottom lines’ of Māori Trusts and Incorporations as well as within mainstream indicators of health and wellbeing (NZEIR and TPK, 2003; MSD, 2005).

This study indicates that the Wellington Tenth Trust and Palmerston North Māori Reserves Trust contribute significantly to the wellbeing (as defined by participants in this study and as illustrated in relation to Te Wheke model of whanau wellbeing) of kaumatua associated with the Trusts. Within the Trusts, kaumatua play major roles in the key activities; for example in maintaining mana whenua roles and responsibilities, in the exercise of rangatiratanga, in the reclamation of secure cultural identities (for themselves and in relation to whanau, hapu and iwi) and through the promotion of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga.

The contributions that the Trusts make to enhancing kaumatua wellbeing are not adequately captured by existing data collection methodologies and templates. Thus the social and economic contributions of the Trusts, and of other similar Māori organizations, are unlikely to be factored into analyses of Māori contributions to the overall economy. This is despite the fact that Western governments recognise that without the unpaid and currently non-quantified contributions of organisations such as WTT and PNMR “the costs to governments of providing social, health and ... (other) ... services would be prohibitive” (Kerr, Savelsberg, Sparrow and Tedmanson, 2001 cited in Oliver et al, 2007). The very significant unpaid contributions of members of collectivist cultural systems and structures, are particularly likely to go without recognition or support from official channels, as the said systems and dimensions of wellbeing within these are largely unrecognized within official Governmental organizations and funding streams.

The unpaid and traditionally unrecognized value of voluntary contributions in New Zealand conservatively estimated at \$2.5 billion in 1999 (Oliver et al, 2007). It is timely that the report of the ‘Non-Profit Institutions Satellite Account’ (N-PISA) is due for release in August 2007. With a growing proportion of older people, including older Māori people, and the disproportionate contribution of Māori organisations and individuals to voluntary work; (and in particular contributions to kaumatua and whanau wellbeing) it remains to be seen whether the N-PISA report will provide clear indications of the value of these contributions at a national level. Māori contributions are located, in the main, outside of the recognized ‘formal’ avenues of voluntary contribution. It may also be timely for additional attention to be paid to the ways in which Māori contributions to enhancing kaumatua wellbeing are currently made, and how these contributions may be supported, facilitated and developed through Government policies across a variety of social and economic portfolios.

Glossary

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Kororia ki te Atua I runga rawa | Glory to God above |
| Maungarongo ki te whenua | Peace on earth |
| Whakaaro pai ki nga tangata katoa | Goodwill to all people |
| Ahi ka roa | Longstanding occupation and associated land rights |
| Ahi kaa | Literally, the burning fires of occupation; refers to customary title to land through occupation by iwi, over a period of time |
| Arahi | To lead/conduct |
| Aroha | Love/caring/sympathy/actions express these |
| Atua | God/Gods |
| Awangawanga | Worried/anxious |
| Awhina | Help |
| Etehi o nga iwi o Taranaki | Some tribes of the Taranaki region |
| Ha a kui ma a koro ma | Literally, breath of female and male ancestors/metaphorically, legacy of and continuity through ancestors |
| Hapu | Sub-tribe |
| Hinengaro | Mind/psychological |
| Hui | Meeting/gathering |
| Ihi | Personal magnetism - psychic force as opposed to spiritual power (mana). |
| Iwi | Tribe/people |
| Kaiarahi | Guide |
| Kaimoana | Seafood |
| Kainga | Home/unfortified village |
| Kaitiaki | Guardian |
| Kaitiakitanga | Guardianship |
| Kanohi ora | Intergenerational wellbeing |
| Kapa haka | Māori Performing Arts |
| Karanga | Female call |
| Kaumatua | Elders (gender neutral) |
| Kaupapa | Theme/subject/topic |
| Kawa | Tribal procedures/processes/customs |
| Koha | Gift |
| Kohanga Reo | Māori Early Childhood Education Centre |
| Kotahitanga | Unity |
| Kuia | Female elder |
| Mahi | Work |
| Mana whenua | People of the land/tribe who hold authority in that area |

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mana | Spiritually derived authority/ standing in connection with land, genealogy, family and community |
| Manaakitanga | Hospitality/kindness |
| Marae | Meeting house |
| Matauranga | Wisdom/education/skill/understanding |
| Maumahara | Remembrance/ to remember |
| Maunga | Mountain |
| Mauri | Life principle/essence |
| Mirimiri | Massage |
| Moana | Sea |
| Mohio | Knowledge/understanding |
| Mokopuna | Younger generations/grandchild(ren) |
| Muru | Recompense/restorative justice |
| Ngakau | Heart/seat of affections |
| Ora | Healthy/well/safe |
| Oranga hapu | Wellbeing of a sub-tribe |
| Oranga ia tangata ia tangata | Wellbeing of all people |
| Oranga iwi | Wellbeing of a tribe |
| Oranga whanau | Family wellbeing |
| Pa | Fortified village |
| Paakeke | Mature people |
| Paepae | Orators bench |
| Pakeha | Caucasian |
| Papakaiinga | Home ground |
| Poroporoaki | Farewell |
| Pou | Post/pole/symbol of |
| Powhiri | Welcoming ceremony |
| Rangatahi | Youth |
| Rangatira | Chief |
| Rangatiratanga | Sovereignty/chieftainship/right to exercise authority/self-determination/self-management/ownership/leadership of a social group |
| Rangimarie | Peace |
| Reo | Language |
| Rohe | Boundary/district/region/territory |
| Taiohi | Youth |
| Tamariki | Children |
| Tangata | People |
| Tangihanga | Mourning process and protocols immediately following death/Funeral |
| Taonga tuku iho | Precious things (tangible and intangible) handed down (through the generations) |
| Tauheke | Taranaki woding term for older male |
| Tauiwi | Non-Māori |
| Taurahere | People from outside the region |

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tauranga waka Te Upoko o te Ika | Canoe landing/mooring areas Literally, ‘the Head of the Fish/ refers to the Wellington and Hutt Valley region |
| Tiaki | To guard/care/protect |
| Tika | Right/good |
| Tikanga | Values and principles determining correct behavior and course of action/correct procedure |
| Tinana | Body/physical dimension |
| Tupuna | Ancestors |
| Turangawaewae | Domicile/place where one has rights of residence |
| Urupa | Graveyard |
| Utu | Reciprocity |
| Waiata | Song (s) |
| Wairua | Spiritual |
| Waka | Canoe |
| Wananga | Learning arena |
| Wehi | Something awesome, a response of awe in reaction to ihi. |
| Whakakotahitanga | To unify |
| Whakapapa | Genealogical |
| Whakatikatika | To correct/make right |
| Whakatuwhera | To open |
| Whakatuwheratanga | Opening ceremony |
| Whanau | Family (extended) |
| Whanaunga | Relation/kin |
| Whanaungatanga | Sense of family connection/kinship; social dynamics, peer group and intergenerational roles and relationships |
| Whangai | Adoption/adopted person/someone taken into a family and cared for |
| Whanui | Broad/extensive/wider |
| Whare | House |
| Whare wananga | House of learning/university |
| Whatumanawa | Seat of emotions/heart |
| Whenua | Land |

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