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CHAPTER 8

THE MAORI WARDENS

APPOINTMENT OF WARDENS

After the Marae Steering Committee, the most immediate group derived from the Maori Committee was the Otara Maori Wardens' Association. In June 1987 when I first went into Otara the Maori Committee had only two gazetted wardens who were in possession of the badge and warrant to operate in the Committee boundaries. By this time the tempo in the activity of the Maori Committee had increased. People began to read and hear about the new Committee, its welfare work and its institution of Maori Courts. Maori Women's Welfare Leagues looked to the leadership provided by the Committee and gave their support by nominating suitable people as wardens from amongst their members. Others came forward voluntarily to offer their services to the Committee. At most of the Court sittings I attended in 1987, one or two people came before the Committee to be nominated as wardens so that by October of 1987 the Committee had sixteen additional wardens acting on interim warrant on its behalf with several others in the process of being
The appointment of wardens began at the committee level. It was the committee's responsibility to check each nominee for his particulars such as name, age, address, reason for becoming a warden, character, employment etc. The next step was to forward the nomination to the Executive Committee which checked that the applicant was not residing in another committee area. Having endorsed the application, the Executive then forwarded it to the District Officer of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs, from whence it was forwarded to Head Office in Wellington. The Head Office was responsible for the final screening of a nominee and in each case consulted the police to see if he had a police record. Successful applications were then forwarded to the Minister of Maori and Island Affairs for approval. Once approved, appointments were then published in the New Zealand Gazette and the successful applicant notified officially and issued with his badge, warrant and copy of duties.

With the sudden upsurge in the work of the Committee, the Secretary sent forward fourteen nominations as wardens to the Department of Maori and Island Affairs. In doing
so the Committee by-passed its Executive and the nominations languished in the Department for several months because they had failed to use the correct channels. In the meantime the Secretary issued "interim warrants" to the nominees pending their appointment by the Minister. The method of appointment of wardens is clearly outlined above. There is no provision in the Maori Welfare Act for a committee to issue temporary or interim warrants. From the data I have, it appears that the originator of the interim warrant was the Secretary himself and I quote from his address to the wardens at the inaugural meeting of their association:

When an application is made, I collect information on the applicant which is brought before the Committee. The Committee speaks on it. If they find no objections from members or from the police they approve the application. Then a temporary warrant is given by the Chairman or myself which is signed. We notify the police and send the application to the District Council. The interim authority is held pending satisfactory service, then sent to the District Council and the New Zealand Maori Council for approval and gazetting.

The final statement gives a clear indication of the intent of the Secretary. The interim warrant was issued to an applicant under which he served an indefinite probationary period in conjunction with a gazetted warden. It was made clear to wardens holding interim warrants by
the Secretary that they had no power to act on their own. When rostered for duty, temporary wardens could act only under the direction of gazetted wardens. The apparent aim of the Secretary was to maintain his power over the wardens. Nominees not carrying out their duties to the satisfaction of the Secretary, the Chairman or any other members of the Committee could be ignored for promotion to full status as a warden. Furthermore, the Secretary obfuscated the position by suggesting that the nominations went through the District Council and the New Zealand Maori Council, for the matter, as the Act indicates, is clearly outside the jurisdiction of these bodies. Thus, the twenty or so wardens who were appointed by the Maori Committee in 1937 were acting de facto but not de jure.

THE OTARA MAORI WARDENS' ASSOCIATION

The increase in wardens in Otara led to the need for an organisation separate from the Maori Committee to attend to matters which were of immediate concern to the wardens themselves. Consequently a meeting was called by the wardens to discuss the possibility of forming an association of their own. There is no provision in the Act for wardens
to form a separate association, but this did not deter the Secretary from giving the meeting directives as to how the wardens should constitute themselves into a corporate body. He directed that only gazetted wardens could be full members of a wardens' association while those on interim warrant could become only associate members. This would have meant an association of only two full members and twenty or so associate members. Undeterred by the distinction between full and associate membership the wardens went ahead and elected the first officers of the Otara Maori Wardens' Association in August 1967.

The main concerns of the Wardens' Association were fund raising, the provision of uniforms, clarification of duties and the rostering of members to patrol the hotels in the area.

The only insignia of office provided by Government are the Maori Warden's badge and warrant. Under the tribal committee system in rural communities where most people were known to each other the warden's badge was sufficient insignia of warden status. But in the urban situation where many Maoris from different tribes were
concentrated in one area the badge alone was felt to be inadequate as an indicator of warden status. As the senior warden Pat Baker, put it: "To play the part you must look the part. So I bought myself a uniform." But not all the wardens could afford the outlay of $60 for a uniform. Therefore one of the most immediate tasks of the wardens' Association was to promote fund raising activities such as raffles and socials for the purchase of uniforms for members.

The Wardens' Association also won a certain amount of autonomy from its superior, the Maori Committee, by assuming the responsibility of rostering its own members to patrol the hotels in Papatoetoe and Otahuhu. The Secretary, who by this time was under considerable pressure from welfare work in the Committee was more than happy to delegate the responsibility to the Senior Warden. The Senior Warden also asked the Maori Committee that his Association be granted the right to 'screen' a prospective candidate before his nomination went to the Committee. The Wardens' Association asked for this right so that it could ensure a candidate did not have some physical defect such as poor eyesight or hearing which would render him a hazard to himself or others in the event of his having to act as traffic controller at any Maori function. Again, this right was
granted to the wardens, on the understanding that the final authoratative screening was the prerogative of the Maori Committee. In this way, the Wardens' Association began creating for itself a useful role within the structure of Maori associations, a role which is not envisaged or provided for in the Act. For example, there is no mention of a physical test for the position of warden, or even a literacy test. The Wardens' Association revealed from experience that one of its members had physical defects which rendered him incompetent to handle traffic, while another could not read or write and therefore could not make a written report to his Committee. The exploration of the warden's role in the urban environment by those appointed to the position brought to light these deficiencies. Further questioning by the wardens of the requirements for adequate role performance underlines the uncertainty surrounding the role and the lack of a model on which to pattern one's conception of the role. The most immediate model used by the wardens to develop their conception of the role of Maori Warden is the police. In this respect, the Pakeha constitutes a significant reference - group for the Maori Warden. On the other hand, in modelling themselves on the police, wardens were constantly warned by the Maori Committee against too close an identification
of their role with that of the police. In their desire for uniforms Maori Wardens were expressing a need for recognition of status, for respect from the people and for pride in the image they projected to the public. By possession of a uniform their authority would be enhanced and recognition granted to the viability of the minor system which possessed forms of social control parallel to those of the major system. The position of the Maori Warden gave respectability to minority status, it showed the Maori was willing to accept social responsibility of helping his fellows adjust to urban life and maintain harmony within the major system.

As the Wardens' Association grew in strength it began to adopt the characteristics of a union. It began dealing with such matters as wardens drinking on duty, failure of its members to go on duty, and progressed to requesting the Maori Committee for the reimbursement of costs to members for transport, accident and damage to clothing. It is also recorded in the minutes of February 1968 that members of the Association asked the Maori Committee to restrain its members from interfering with wardens when they were on duty.
By April 1968, the Wardens' Association began to question the Maori Committee over the delay in gazetting its members still on interim warrant. Most had been waiting for their badges for nearly a year while an extreme case had been waiting for official status for eighteen months. Although there was no satisfaction from the Maori Committee the wardens did gain the sympathy of Cyril James who resubmitted the fourteen applications made by the Secretary together with three others to the Manukau Executive. The meeting at which the Executive endorsed the applications was chaired by the Chairman of the Maori Committee who was also chairman of the Executive. Thus these two officers of the Maori Committee used their power in the Executive to rectify a situation created by the Secretary in the Maori Committee. They did not consult the Secretary about these nominations. The result of this disposition of power was the appointment of fourteen of the seventeen wardens nominated. Thus, the Secretary had power and control over the wardens lower down the hierarchy of Maori associations by keeping them subject to the Committee on interim warrant. The rift between the Secretary on one side and the Chairman and James on the other led to their assertion of their power in the superior council to outmanoeuvre the Secretary and have the necessary wardens
appointed to the Committee. The wardens on the other hand were unaware of the internal politics of the Maori Committee or even the illegality of their interim warrant. The appointment of fourteen Wardens to supplement the existing two made the performance of their duties easier and gave them time to think of other issues.

One of the concerns of the Wardens' Association was the formation of a hierarchy within its ranks. The original ranking - albeit a false one was between a gazetted warden with full powers and one on interim warrant, with authority to work only in conjunction with a full warden. With the appointment of more wardens the rank of Senior Warden was tacitly recognised by the new appointees and accorded to the original two wardens. The following passage quoted from the minutes of the Wardens' Association meeting in April 1968 shows the concern with social ranking:

As Jack Tohu who was senior, but now has been transferred to Manurewa, Bob Mahia is Senior Sergeant Pat Baker, Jack Mahia, Ted Waka, George Kendal, Mrs. Te Moana and Joe Heke as sergeants.

There is no provision in the Maori Welfare Act for the ranking of wardens as senior sergeant and sergeant. Indeed there is no recognised training given to wardens
by which criteria for assignment to such rankings have been established. These rankings have grown out of the need to recognise seniority of service, the need for organisation and its co-partner the need for leadership. There is also the need for prestige which is attached to each status and the concomitant obligations involved.

Ranking, uniforms and badges as insignia of status are all derived from the major system with the police as the most immediate model.

The adoption of uniforms however, did not mean that the total conception of the role of a Maori Warden was derived from the police model. The Senior Warden, Pat Baker discusses the effect his uniform had on his relationship with the people he came into contact with in the course of his duties:

When I was first made a Warden I used to dress so as to look respectable. The badge I wore was the only thing that identified me as a Warden. When I put on a uniform I was sorry in a way, because the contact between the public and myself had been cut. It changed. They know who you are and it was not the person they respected then it was the uniform. So wearing a uniform does make a difference.

At a later stage in the development of the Wardens'}
Association Senior Warden Baker became concerned at the development of too close an identification with the police, and subsequently started a Wardens' Social Club to strengthen the identification of the wardens with the people.

The social club was started by me. I thought it would be a good idea to have a football team for wardens and invite members of the (Maori) public to play for us. The aim was to establish a good relationship with the public because we heard a rumour that wardens are getting like the police, and some were calling us Gestapo. We found the football team did improve the relationship.

The concern of the wardens to establish a good relationship with the public determined the conception of their role and the way in which they carried out their duties. One of the primary duties undertaken by wardens is the supervision of the behaviour of Maoris in hotels and the prevention of minors entering licensed premises. Other duties include being on duty at socials, gala days, field days, housie¹ and other public functions where organisers Maori or Pakeha request their services. The conception of their role as welfare workers concerned with the promotion of harmonious relations in both the minor and major systems is stressed by Wardens at all times.

¹ Game of chance also known as 'Bingo' which has been legalised in New Zealand for fund raising purposes by voluntary organisations.
I've learnt you don't go barging into things. You take it quietly and try to help the Maori people from wrong to right. I'd even help a Pakeha, an Islander or anybody who needs my help. There was one case I dealt with of a Pakeha assaulting his wife (a Maori). I asked him to stop and he said 'It's none of your business.' I told him it was and that our job was to look after Maori people. 'It doesn't look very good for us and even your own people to be noticed in a place like this,' (an hotel) so I led his wife outside and he followed up. That was the only way to take some of the attraction away was to get one of them out. Next day I saw him again and he apologised. We're on speaking terms now.

When I see minors in the hotel I ask them how old they are and usually they walk out. Teen-age girls I find hard to handle. Perhaps we don't speak the same language but when the women Wardens talk to them it's just like us talking to teen-age boys. But you've got to have a man there as well. When they won't listen to the woman you just have to send a man there.

Pakehas also ask us questions about our job. I tell them we can arrest them, they said 'Oh I thought you could only deal with Maori people.' I said we can't arrest you really, but we can notify the police if you are against the law. It's my word that gets you arrested. Pakehas often say to me 'These Maori Wardens they're doing a great job, they're not getting paid or anything.' They say why do we do it? I say because we want to help our Maori people. They say 'What about the Island people?' I say we'd do the same for them. When I'm on duty I usually stay at the one pub and get around and talk with the patrons, so I get to know them. There is always a word of 'Hello' when I walk in. At the Star and the Criterion (hotels) I get the same reception.
PAT BAKER

It all depends on how you approach people. If you approach a minor drinking with his mates who may be older, or even other minors, you will get their backs up right away. They'll give you a false age. The best approach I've found is to ask a person outside quietly and have a talk to him rather than accuse him in front of his mates. Nine times out of ten you get cooperation. Failing that you just take his name and address and check his age with his parents.

Often I've stopped fights. But there is always a danger here. Sometimes the two fighting join forces and fight against you. The stupid part about it when you try to find out who started it they don't talk. Nobody accuses anybody.

We also approach Pakehas, especially minors. Some say 'you've got no authority over us'. I just advise them it would be better for them to leave, because if the police came in they won't ask questions 'What are you doing here?'. They find out for themselves who is a minor and arrest him. When we started full patrols the majority in the local hotels were minors. Within two Saturdays they were out of sight. They'd shifted to another area. If there are no Maori Wardens there, then it is ineffective. This is where the Maori Committees fall down. In one area there would be a strong committee, in another the committee is either dead or dying.

This work is like watching a flood from a mountain top. You look down at that flood and you see a lot of people struggling. You're all right. You're high and dry. You can look down on them and say 'I hope they get through, or you can get down there and help them.

TUI FENUA

One weekend I went to the Papatoetoe Hotel with my husband for a beer. When I saw all the teen-agers there it upset me so I walked out. I discussed this under-age drinking problem with my League (Te Rongopai
branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League) and they nominated me as a warden to the Maori Committee. When I go on patrol at the Papatoetoe Hotel and I see an under-age girl I sit down and talk to them. 'I know you're under age, you know it's against the law. You must have a mother and father somewhere, and I know you wouldn't like to bring shame on your parents by being dragged before the Courts.' Usually they leave. One day I got twenty-two out.

Fighting is quite a common thing we have to stop. One day I was in the hotel and this old kaumatua was swearing at a Pakeha and an Indian. He lifted up a bottle, I caught his hand and said 'Kia tau te rangi-marie' (let there be peace) and pointed out that fighting was for the young and inexcusable in an old man. He burst out into tears and walked out. Another time there were these two women fighting over their husbands. I said 'It's no good to fight in public. You disgrace the Maori, I'm a Maori and you're disgracing me.'

The Pakehas sometimes defy you because they think a Maori Warden is only for Maoris. I knew this Pakeha girl was under-age and only about eighteen because she was at school the same time as my girl. When I spoke to her she said 'You've got nothing to do with me. You're a Maori Warden, I'm a Pakeha.' I said 'Wouldn't it be wiser to go now before I contact Constable Whitehead to come and remove you?' Two policemen came in while I was talking to her, she then disappeared.

Experiences like those quoted here are discussed among wardens and recounted at their monthly meetings, and provide the following guide-lines in the development of the role concept of warden in the urban situation.

1. Wardens work by persuasion rather than intimidation
PLATE XV.
MAORI WARDENS.

PLATE XVI
MAORI WARDENS' ASSOCIATION MEETING
of the warden however, the lack of a training scheme, ignorance of the law and occasionally exploitation of the position has in some instances led to corruption and malpractice. Sam Barton, on whom the Secretary had conferred Senior Warden status was not a warden de jure. It was merely assumed by the people in the community and patrons of the hotel where he worked as a bouncer that he was a Maori Warden. When the Maori Committee was remodelled, Sam Barton was known for the work he had done in keeping Maoris in order in the hotels, and was invited to act as a Maori Warden. Barton was also an honorary Fisheries Inspector who was known for policing the mussel-beds at Orere Point and confiscating mussels from any Maori who had more than his four-gallon quota. Sam Barton was not liked by the Maoris who frequented the Corner Bar of the Papatoetoe Hotel. They were critical of him because in their view he confiscated the mussels and appropriated them for his own use. Worse still, they said he raffled the shellfish he confiscated in the bars of the hotel where he was a warden through 'agents' who did the work for him. The 'boys' resented Barton's activities because he didn't observe their unwritten code, and kept himself immune because of his warden status. Patrons of the Corner Bar, although mixed were predominantly Maori.
The regular patrons of the Corner Bar regarded it as their territory which was controlled by three men. The right to run a raffle in the Corner Bar was granted by one of these three. Anyone of course could run a raffle (because all were illegal in any case) but if he were a stranger and he had not sought permission of the unofficial heads of the Bar he would be made unwelcome by people not buying his tickets. The goods raffled in the bar were 'flogged'\(^1\) from work. Sometimes the goods were bartered among the patrons and they ranged from coffee to prime cuts of meat. The raffles were conducted every night of the week with an upsurge on Thursdays when the men were paid. The police knew the raffling went on but carried out only the occasional raid on the Corner Bar. This seemed to encourage rather than stamp out the practice. Joe Rapani who had been introduced to me as 'The King of the underworld (Maori)' resented Sam Barton as a warden. He felt Barton was using the privilege of his uniform to break up the raffles and take over the territory for himself. Rapani felt that Barton, by trying to break up the raffles was overstepping his role as warden. On one occasion I was in the Corner Bar while raffling was in progress when

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1. Colloquialism for 'stolen'.
Walter Kani (alias Carney) a colleague of Barton's confiscated the tickets of a raffler and tore them up. The action was seen by one of the heads of the Bar and noted for future reference. Kani, like Barton, was now classed as one of the 'bad wardens'.

The ill-feeling the boys of the Corner Bar held toward Barton and Kani did not extend to all wardens. They held the women and some of the male wardens in high regard especially Matu Houkamu who was the one warden who kept the corner bar quiet, broke up the fights and ensured that everyone behaved themselves.

Ignorance of the law is perhaps one of the most vulnerable points of Maori Wardens. Often their actions are motivated by what they consider to be good and right under certain circumstances as they see it, without reference to the legal position. One warden who took it on himself to help a drunk who had been sick, tried to engage a taxi to take the person home. The taxi driver refused the engagement, whereupon the warden berated the driver for his lack of charity. In due course the Maori Committee received a letter of complaint from the manager of the
South Auckland Taxi Association about the warden and pointing out the driver's right to refuse a hiring under Part IV Regulation 45 of the Transport Regulations.

Ignorance of the law with regard to assault is one of the dangers faced by wardens. Newly appointed wardens in particular think that warden status and the uniform they wear confers on them licence to retaliate when they are assaulted in the course of their duties. It is one of the constantly recurring questions at wardens' meetings "Can I hit back if they hit me first?" Even one of the senior wardens Joe Hiko made the mistake of trying to use force to expel a man from the hotel. Hiko by laying his hand on the offender made himself culpable of assault, so that the man retaliated by beating Hiko and knocking him unconscious. The police made no charges because of the warden's error. Of course, incidents like this are all instructive and become part of the folk-lore, of wardens. They learn by trial and error the limits of their powers and gradually stake out what is permissable in their role as warden.

In this respect, the Otara Maori Wardens' Association fulfills a useful function. It establishes the boundaries of the role, helps induct new recruits, and acts as a union in the interests of its members in relation to the
The Auckland District Wardens' Association to which the Otara Wardens' Association was affiliated frequently held its monthly meeting in Otara. The attendance at these meetings was usually above twenty. The District Association showed concern in matters similar to those dealt with at the sub-association level. Its organisation was looser than that of the Maori Committee in that its only officers were the chairman and secretary. All the ninety-eight wardens in the Auckland District were members and had equal power to vote if they attended the meetings. There were no formally appointed delegates to the Association's meetings from the sub-associations, consequently when twenty to thirty people were in attendance the meetings often lasted four and even five hours. Officers from Maori Committees and Executives and District Council were also welcome at the Association's meetings.

Because of its concern with the presentation of a good public image, the District Association ruled that wardens
caught drinking while on duty should be fined £10.
This was a disciplinary measure adopted within the Association itself and had no statutory authority in the Maori Welfare Act. The Association also pressed for the official recognition of ranking among wardens and included the adoption of stripes for Senior Wardens on the agenda of its national conference. At one meeting held in Otara the Chairman of the Otara Maori Committee stood up in support of the wardens' expressed desire for insignia of rank:

You are entitled to recognition. If necessary I will step forward and support you in this fight. I will even go and fight with the Minister (Maori Affairs) when he comes to your conference at Mangere. I think you should have markings to show your rank. Three pips for the Chairman of the Association, two pips for the Secretary and three stripes for a Senior Warden. You should have these things, so people can see who you are. Once you've got these things and you can show you've got the people behind you, then you can fight for subsidy.

The National Conference did not go as far as the Chairman suggested but it did rule that Senior Wardens be distinguished by three stripes. It also embellished the plain circular warden's badge with a silver laurel wreath surround, surmounted by a crown.

Like the sub-association, the District Association
also regarded itself as the upholder of wardens' rights. Complaints had been lodged by the Otara Association over the delay in the gazetting of its members. Letters were written by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Otara Maori Committee asking for an explanation, but they were unanswered. Further letters were sent inviting the Secretary to attend the Association's meetings. By this time, the officers of the Association learned that the majority of the wardens in Otara were not gazetted and had been acting on interim warrant for over a year. In addition they learned that Sam Barton who was ranked as Senior Warden and wore the full uniform and insignia of Senior Warden status was in fact not gazetted. The Association could find no record of Barton's being nominated and appointed as a warden. The Association treated the matter seriously as impersonation of a warden which in their view was an offense of the same magnitude as posing as a police officer. Further letters to this effect were sent to the Secretary inviting him to the Association's meeting.

The meeting was held at Otara College in June 1968 but neither the Secretary nor the Chairman of the Otara Maori Committee attended. Cyril James who had maintained close touch with the Otara and the District Associations
chaired the meeting. The President of the Association outlined the complaints against the Otara Maori Committee:

1. The failure of the Maori Committee to attend the meeting and come to the conference table to discuss the complaints of the Otara Wardens.

2. The failure of the Secretary of the Otara Maori Committee to acknowledge correspondence.

3. The failure to gazette wardens after two years, John Smith for eleven months and David Baker for eighteen months.

The Secretary of the Association spoke forthrightly in support of his chairman:

We must do something drastic. If this committee was here tonight it would be sitting in front of the barrel of a gun. I want to bring a charge against a warden of this committee of impersonating a warden. He has been seen in uniform with white flashes. He is also acting as Senior Warden in the district now. This is a serious offense. It is equal to impersonating a policeman. The Executive has the power to move into an area and straighten things up. This man has ignored us and the secretary of his own Wardens' Association.

(Encouraged by this attack on the Secretary, Cyril James used the opportunity to criticise the Secretary
Otara does a number of things that are not in the book. There are eleven gazetted members in the Otara Maori Committee but there are an equal number of proxies. No minutes are read. When the Chairman is away the Secretary automatically assumes the chair. The proxies are the Secretary's back-up men. Nor has the Maori Committee held a meeting since January. The business of the Maori Committee is pushed through in conjunction with a Court sitting. I can't get a quorum to meet in order to challenge the Secretary. If he were here tonight I would challenge him. Then there's Barton. He's a warden one minute in uniform and next he's out of it, he's a paid bouncer. They (wardens) also go to dance halls and stop fights when they're not directed by the Committee to patrol dances. They stop fights and the next thing they're there with the people up before the Court. They also go and check on private parties without authority.

TE WHATA:

I can verify what Mr. James has said. We are being ruled by a dictator. It's time we had the Secretary off the Chair.

None of the issues raised in the meeting could be resolved simply because the Secretary had evaded the challenge by not attending. Although the wardens had a strong case they had no power to summon the Secretary to bring him to account. Only the Manukau Executive, the immediate over-riding authority could do this.

Cyril James by this time had withdrawn from attending Maori Courts for the reasons he states above. He saw
what had happened in the Maori Committee but felt powerless to correct the position. The reasons for James's inability to ensure that the Committee adhered to procedure were several. Firstly there was the erratic attendance of the Chairman at meetings. Secondly the withdrawal of gazetted members and their replacement, not by Committee election but appointment by the Secretary of proxies for the absentee members (only two of whom had resigned). In this way the Secretary packed the Committee with his men and ensured his full control over it. Thirdly the ability of the Secretary to argue fluently in both languages and use the dual cultural frames of reference to win a point. Because of his inability to correct the position of the Maori Committee internally, James withdrew and tried to bring the Committee to task by external means. He tried first to bring pressure to bear on the Secretary through criticism in the Marae Committee. He failed because the Pakeha Chairman ruled him out of order. But James found a platform to launch his attack on the Secretary in the Wardens' Association meetings at both the local and district levels. Maori Associations are not as the chairman of the Steering Committee ruled, neatly compartmentalised. His ruling was correct on constitutional grounds, but in the minor system was not necessarily
right. James was the one man who remained a member long enough to see the inconsistencies occurring in the Maori Committee and its domination by one man. He knew the Secretary could be defeated only by winning the support of a large number of Maori people and challenging him in front of them. Although the Secretary still wielded strong influence over the wardens through his dominating position in the Maori Court where they had to take their cases, there was no longer a blind acceptance of his leadership. None would dare challenge him in the Court meetings in his mishandling of their affairs because none had the ability to debate with him. Few understood the Act and in particular its weaknesses, as well as the Secretary. Consequently he could mislead them any way he felt inclined as he did on the process of gazetting wardens. For this reason the wardens were driven to rely more on their Association at both the local and district level to gain redress for their grievances against the Secretary. The cavalier treatment of the District Association by the Secretary was a factor which contributed to the undermining of his position. The secretary and the president of the District Association although not as gifted as the Secretary, were determined men who had wider experience than the local
wardens and above all had no special allegiance to the Secretary of the Otara Maori Committee. They heard the gossip about the failings of the Otara Committee, they collected the information relevant to the wardens' complaints, and were prepared to go to law if necessary to charge Barton with impersonating a warden. The discussion of these matters in the District Association had the effect of disseminating them throughout the Auckland District. Although the District Association could not break the autonomy of the Otara Maori Committee it at least gave James the opportunity to bring the matter out in the open. The Otara Maori Committee was no longer an isolated autonomous entity. Its affairs were now the concern of a wider group of people who could view the position more dispassionately and take the necessary action to correct faults. Although the Secretary was never confronted in person by the District Association, the pressure it brought to bear on the Secretary had the effect of forcing Barton to withdraw from his favoured position of Senior Warden in the Maori Committee and relinquish all claim to warden status. The facts of the case were well known and represented a discomfiture of the Secretary in the eyes of his critics. It was strong proof that the Secretary was not infallible
and could be made to retreat from his authoritative position.

This interaction between the Wardens' District Association and the Otara Maori Committee illustrates the interlocking of the network of Maori associations. While there is no one encapsulating group the overlap in membership combined with their open nature ensures the free transmission of information between Maori associations.

THE SHIP GIRLS

That The Auckland District Maori Wardens' Association was concerned with wider moral issues besides drinking and its effect on family life was expressed in its vigorous attack on the problem of girls on the waterfront visiting ships. The District Association assumed the responsibility of rostering its members to patrol the inner city, particularly the lower end of Queen Street, the amusement parks, hotels, docks and coffee bars. In the course of their work the wardens became concerned at the number of Maori girls who went aboard ships at night, and did not come ashore till the next day. The enquiries conducted by the president and secretary of the Association with the Harbour Board Authorities as to the legality
of visitors having access to the wharves at night, led to the institution of a pass system. Although the pass system was only a partial success in that it did not stamp out the practice entirely, it did reduce the number of women gaining easy access to the ships.

DEVELOPMENT OF A TRAINING PROGRAMME

Wardens have come to learn their role purely by experience and informal instruction. Those who happen to be at Court sittings or Association meetings glean information about their role from answers to questions raised by members to the Committee or a constable who might have been invited to the meeting. At one meeting for example Warden Te Whata asked the constable present what was the extent of his power with regard to the offense of adolescents riding their bicycles on the footpath at night. He said he felt the offense caused danger to pedestrians, especially mothers with young children. He had attempted to stop the practice by issuing a warning. But as the warning was ineffective in the case of one persistent offender he confiscated his cycle, took it home and chained it to his own gate-post. The constable replied that if the parents of the boy so wished, they could have charged
Te Whata with theft. His only and proper course of action was to take the name of the offender and pass it on to the police. At this meeting there were less than a half a dozen wardens present, whereas all would have benefitted from this information. The constant raising of questions of this nature in Maori associations from committee to district level led to the demand for some form of formal training for wardens. To meet this demand the District Maori Council and the Maori and Island Affairs Department in conjunction with the police department arranged a one-day training course on behalf of the wardens in September 1969. Fifty wardens from the Auckland District attended the course which was held at the Central Police Station.

The District Welfare Officer outlined his view of the personal qualities needed in candidates who offered themselves for the post of warden:

1. **BACKGROUND:** The warden needs to be a man of the people, he must be one of them, and have knowledge of the local area. His own reputation should be above reproach, though this does not of course preclude the man who has committed some minor misdemeanour in the past.

2. **HUMILITY:** There is no place in the ranks of wardens for people who are overbearing and authoritarian.
The warden is above all a servant of the people, therefore he must put service above authority as his ideal.

3. **SINCERITY:** The man who aspires to be a good warden must be sincere in his motivation. The ideal is one of giving service and this should be the motive, rather than a desire to wear a uniform or raise one's head higher than another.

4. **UNDERSTANDING AND PATIENCE:** Since a Warden does not and should not impose his will on another, he needs to be a student of human nature. He should work by reason and persuasion rather than use threats or force.

5. **PERSONALITY:** In the Maori idiom this means 'he tangata mohio' one who is knowledgeable and able to speak Maori where necessary, a man with mana, one whose own 'back-yard is right'.

6. **EDUCATION:** The personal qualities mentioned above are placed ahead of educational qualifications such as ability to write reports and fill in forms. Formal education is desirable but not essential.

7. **AGE:** The minimum age qualification is twenty-one years, though this will probably alter if the drinking age is altered.
Following the outline of the ideal qualities the wardens should aspire to, a member of the Police Force gave a three hour analysis of the powers of Maori Wardens under the Maori Welfare Act. The incisive questioning on the part of the Wardens together with their sustained attention to the lecture high-lighted the value of an authoritative statement on the Act by a member of the Police Force.

The enthusiasm with which this initial course was received, combined with the growing strength of the Wardens in the Auckland District will probably lead to more such courses in the future and eventually to a regular training programme with a set curriculum.

**SUMMARY**

Maori Wardens who are appointed by Maori Committees have felt the need for an organisation of their own to deal with problems affecting them in their work. Out of this felt need has grown local associations such as the Otara Maori Wardens' Association and the Auckland District Maori Wardens' Association. These new associations although not recognised by Government are strong and vigorous. This is derived from the fact that the role of a warden is essentially an active one. It is directly
concerned with people and their problems. The search for clarification of role combined with the need to combat malpractice as occurred in the Otara Maori Committee provided additional raison-d'etre for the new organisation. However, wardens need committees just as much as committees need them. Although the wardens' associations have won a certain amount of autonomy from Maori committees they are still subject to the committees under the Act and must always end up by taking their cases to the committees to be dealt with.

The interlocking of Maori associations is demonstrated by the way in which the Wardens' District Association took it upon itself to straighten out the mal-practices relating to wardens which had occurred in the Otara Maori Committee. A dissident member of the Committee also used the Wardens' Association as a platform from which to denounce other mal-practices in the Committee such as not reading minutes, or holding regular monthly meetings. The Secretary avoided a confrontation with his opponents simply by not attending the meeting which he was entitled to do since the Wardens' Association was not recognised under the Act. The wardens had no power to summon the Secretary to a meeting and it was unlikely that he would
invite them to a Maori Committee meeting to lodge their complaints. However, the Association by implying its readiness to appeal to higher authority within the major system caused the Secretary to retreat from his position of isolated indifference to instruct ungazetted wardens to withdraw from duty and cease wearing Warden's uniform.

The use of the police as a model to develop a conception of the role of warden in the urban situation combined with the use of the major system of the Pakeha as a reference group for notions of 'right' and 'wrong' and appeal to the law, show the embeddedness of the minor system within the major system.

That the role of the warden is a dynamic one is illustrated in the readiness of the wardens to tackle deep-seated social problems such as girls frequenting ships. The wider the horizon that the wardens explore, the more pressing the need for rigorous training programmes to fit them for the tasks they have assumed. Together with such a programme there must also be provision for ranking within the system. None of these matters have been envisaged by the Maori Welfare Act, that they have evolved and will continue to do so, will undoubtedly necessitate revision of the Act in the future.
CHAPTER 9.

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS.

Although the Otara Maori Committee, the Marae Steering Committee and the Otara Maori Wardens' Association are Voluntary organisations they have been dealt with separately as a group because of their close inter-connection. Other voluntary associations which are independent of the Otara Maori Committee will now be examined to see how they contribute to the social adjustment of the Maori to urban life and how they fit in with the hypothetical model of the neo-urban Maori community as I have conceived it.

THE WAIHĀHĀ SPORTS CLUB.

The Waihāhā Sports Club consisted of an amalgamation of three formerly separate sports clubs. The Waihīhi, Rangimarie and Te Awhina basketball teams. The Waihīhi basketball team was started by Mrs. Tui Fenua, President of the Te Rongopai branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League and also Secretary of the Otara Maori Wardens' Association. The Waihīhi team was an offshoot of the junior branch of the Te Rongopai League which also had its
own concert party. The group was comprised mainly of Mrs. Fenua's children and those of one or two of her neighbours in the Flatbush area. In the club there were fourteen adolescents who met at each others' homes twice weekly to practise action songs. When the group formed the basketball team it gave expression to its tribal affiliation to Waikato by asking the Maori Queen to provide it with a name. The two names given to choose from were Waihihi and Waihāhā, the names of the two hills in the Hawaiki homeland which are mentioned in the tribal canoe chant "Toia Tainui". The first name adopted was Waihihi and when the team amalgamated with the other two clubs the name of the combined group was changed to Waihāhā to maintain its tribal connection. The Rangimarie team was run by Mrs. Matiu whose husband was one of the foundation members of the Otara Maori Wardens' Association. The Rangimarie group was affiliated to the Methodist Church as a youth club and basketball team. The Rangimarie basketball team although belonging to the Methodist Church was affiliated with the Auckland Catholic Basketball Association and played in the Catholic competitions. Mr. and Mrs. Matiu were from the Ngāpuhi tribe and saw no incongruity in joining with the Waihihi group or even in the fact that theirs was a Methodist team playing in a Catholic
competition. The Te Awhina team came from the Papatoetoe area and became connected with the two Otara teams when they travelled together for field-days to Paeroa, Otorohonga and other places. The amalgamation of the three teams was brought about by Mrs. Hewi (also a warden) of the Waihīhī club who wanted to stage a field day in Otara for the purpose of raising funds for uniforms and travel.

The three clubs amalgamated on the understanding that the field-day proceeds would be divided among the three teams and a donation would be made towards the Otara Marae. The first error as to the distribution of the proceeds occurred when Mrs. Niko, a kuia from the Waikato living in Otara, announced at a field-day in Otorohonga that Waihīhī was having its own field-day in Otara to help the marae project and she would like Otorohonga to give its support to the day. The announcement coming from a kuia was like a royal command, reminding the Otorohonga people of their obligation to reciprocate the visit of the Otara clubs for the worthy cause of the Otara Marae. The second error concerning the proceeds of the proposed field-day came from the Secretary of the Maori Committee. Mr. and Mrs. Matiu who were the chief organisers of the field-day
approached the Maori Committee for financial help in sponsoring the field-day of the Waihāhā group. Accordingly the Secretary was invited to attend two meetings of the Waihāhā Club. What transpired between the Secretary and the Waihāhā group is quoted from Mrs. Matiu:

We had to borrow money to get this thing going. This is how the Maori Committee came into it. The Secretary was there when we formed the Waihāhā Committee and he paid his membership fee, so he is a member of the Waihāhā Club. We were working on a small scale just to raise funds for the sports clubs. But the Secretary was talking on a big scale. He was talking about a sports association, pound for pound subsidies and other things we couldn't understand. He gets us all confused. He talks so fast and uses such big words. By the time you think what he's saying it's too late to do anything about it. That's why I can't say whether it was a sports day, a marae day a Waihāhā day or what. The Waihāhā Club had no funds for the field day, so we asked the Maori Committee for $100 to purchase meat and vegetables for the hāngi. The Committee granted the loan and in this way sponsored the field-day.

At the next meeting of the Marae Steering Committee following the formation of the Waihaha Club, the Secretary tabled a report purporting to come from the Maori Committee, that it was sponsoring a field-day for thirty rugby and basketball teams. The Secretary stated that after expenses had been deducted half the proceeds would go to the marae. The Marae Steering Committee opposed the Secretary's suggestion that it should become involved in the field-day
and ruled that Waibaha was an independent group and if it wished to donate to the marae that would be quite acceptable. Thus, the Secretary was not given the chance to ask the Steering Committee to provide the $100 needed to sponsor the field day, an amount which the Maori Committee funds was incapable of meeting at that time.

The Maori Committee managed to provide less than half of the money needed for the field day so the rest of the produce had to be bought through credit on personal accounts.

Mrs. Matiu was critical of the Secretary's handling of the situation:

I think the Secretary realised that if he'd gone to the Marae Steering Committee to sponsor the day it would have been out of his hands altogether. He's too concerned with building up his own kingdom. A lot of people don't understand that the Marae Committee is different from the Maori Committee. This is where a lot of confusion arises with the public. I don't think the Secretary has done anything to clear that up, and I'd go so far as to say he's encouraging it.

The Secretary's concern with mana is underlined in his whole handling of this question of sponsorship of the field day. He, as the leader of the Maori Committee was asked to advance $100 to the Sports Club. Instead of admitting that the Maori Committee had no funds, he made
an abortive attempt to get the money from the Steering Committee. The inducement he held out to the Steering Committee was half the proceeds of the field day — something different from the donation envisaged by the organisers of the Waihāhā Club. The Secretary's concern with mana is also illustrated in another connection regarding provisions for the day. Having failed to provide the full $100 sponsorship he attempted to recoup some of the lost esteem by making a grand gesture. Mrs. Matiu relates the subsequent actions of the Secretary:

The Secretary made all the arrangements for the canteen, ice-creams, drinks etc. When we were discussing the canteen the Secretary said 'I've got tea and sugar — that cost nothing.' I think he was thinking of using the Steering Committee's stuff from the week before which was supposed to be for the workers at Whitford.

THE FIELD DAY

The field day was staged on the Otara Reserve and attended by over a thousand people. Buses and cars began arriving at 9 a.m. and were directed by wardens to the parking area. In one corner of the Reserve preparations for the hāngi were in progress. Several women were seated in the shade of a tent plaiting kono (food baskets) while two men were cutting up the meat. Another man had
the fire lit to heat the stones for the oven. Old people stood round in small groups talking, while little children who were unattended amused themselves by swinging on the fence. Youths were busy changing into their football gear while the girls who were already dressed in their uniforms were passing basketballs about and shooting goals. Managers of teams were rushing hither and thither arranging their teams, entering them at the official tent and perusing the draw. Proceedings started an hour late with an inter-denominational church service, and speeches of welcome in Maori by the Chairman and Secretary of the Maori Committee. It was 11 a.m. before the basketball and football games started. The whole function was characteristically Maori in its timing, loose organisation and air of informality. There were long stretches of time when nothing much seemed to be happening. No one seemed to be concerned if a game started a half an hour late, or that the hangi was not opened until 2 o'clock. Entire families were present, and they had come for the whole day, which did not conclude till 7 p.m. with the presentation of the trophies. Although this field day was held in the heart of a thriving metropolis it was totally Maori in conception and action. The scene could have been transplanted directly from any one of dozens of rural Maori
Financially the day was a success. Gross takings were $528 with expenses of $260. The net profit of $240 was split three ways at the insistence of the clubs with a donation of $15 going to the marae. Mrs. Matiu was concerned at the small amount donated to the marae and gave the whole of her club's $60.50 share to the marae. This action spurred the other two clubs to donate a further $5 each so that the final cheque sent by Mrs. Matiu to the Marae Steering Committee was $84.30.

There were recriminations, and much ill-feeling was generated following the field day and the share out of the money. The announcement at Otorohonga had stated that the day was in aid of the marae. Consequently the people came from there with this understanding. Many who had bought tickets for the hangi found that when they got there the food was all gone. But instead of asking for a refund, they tore their tickets up saying "I suppose it's for a good cause." There were also two or three people who made donations to the marae. Mrs. Matiu attributed the source of the confusion to the Maori Committee:
Previously there had been reports in the paper that the Maori Committee was putting on a sports day to raise funds for the marae. A lot of people came because of that. I believe if we didn't associate with the marae we wouldn't have got the support. I think half the people who were there came to support the marae.

At the Waihāhā Club's meeting following the sports day two elders from the Waikato criticised their clubs for 'grabbing' the money. Had they known that the proceeds were not going to the marae they would not have been behind the project.

Criticism of the whole affair also came from Cyril James who took no part in the field day or the Maori Committee negotiations with the Waihāhā Club:

I wasn't informed that Waihāhā had overstepped the mark in using the Maori Committee's name and the marae. The Waihāhā Club expected a sum of money as assistance from the Maori Committee. But I for one know nothing about it because the arrangements were unofficial (out of committee.) I also knew that the Maori Committee had no money and that under our constitution we are not allowed to donate money for a case like this. Therefore I decided not to be involved, especially since the matter was based on hearsay. I felt it was the prestige of our project that was at stake. I know a lot of people were disappointed when the hāngi ran out of food, but they donated thinking it was for the marae. It was the Secretary who dragged the name of the Maori Committee into the field day, and the wardens followed their leader. That is their paramount chief. What he says goes.
Although there was this confusion over sponsorship, and criticism over the use of the marae project to foster the field day, the financial success of the day identified field days as a useful method of raising money and rallying community support. Other groups subsequently attempted to emulate the effort of the Waihāhā Club.

PEACH PRODUCTS FIELD DAY

Peach Products\(^1\) basketball team which participated in the Waihāhā Club's field day approached the Maori Committee to sponsor a day for it as well. The Secretary of the Maori Committee made the arrangements for the field day which took place only a fortnight after the Waihāhā field day. This second venture was a complete failure. Only eight teams participated and hardly any people came. Total takings were £126 which was insufficient to cover costs. Again, there was confusion as to where the proceeds were to go. Most people thought the profits would be donated to the marae, while some took the stand that the Marae Steering Committee should have been approached if its name were to be used to gain support for the field day.

\(^1\) A team from an industrial concern, comprised mainly of Maoris.
Because there were few people present there was a good deal of meat left over. The Maori Committee averted a total loss by putting the meat in cool storage and later putting down hangi which were sold at hotels. Over $50 was made in this way, and this helped to recover the position and enabled the organisers to cover the costs of the day. This field day failed because it was held too soon after the Waihāhā day. It was organised at short notice. Fixtures for field days are usually arranged weeks if not months ahead in order to minimise clashes with other fixtures, and gain full support. Above all however, a field day to be successful is dependent on a reciprocal interchange of visits with clubs in other localities. A Maori Committee cannot call a field day even it is in support of a marae project unless it has done the preliminary work of sending a team to support field days elsewhere. This fact was lost sight of by the Maori Committee which felt that its mana and the worthiness of its project were sufficient reasons for the sponsorship of a field day.

THE OTARA WEST SPORTS CLUB

Otara West entered a football team in the Waihāhā field day. The team was composed of youths from the
Wymondley Block neighbourhood under the guidance of the Chairman of the Otara Maori Committee. Also associated with the football team was a basketball team. The total membership of the club was forty-five people. Fixtures were by arrangement with other groups such as the Rātana Youth Club or works teams from various industrial concerns such as Peach Products.

Following the success of the Waihāhā field day the Chairman decided to establish a more formal organisation for the teams and called a meeting in December 1967 to form the Otara West Sports Club with the aim of promoting a field day in Otara in 1968. This field day was to be linked with the marae project, the stated aim being to donate half the proceeds to the marae project and half to the club. The club also had a subsidiary group known as the Otara West Pop Group which was comprised of two bands. One band had regular weekly engagements in the Flatbush Hall while the other played at the club's fortnightly social held at the Wiri Hall. The proceeds were split between the bands, to pay off their instruments, and the sports club. The bands had a sliding scale of charges. For outside engagements they charged the full fee but for worthy causes or newly formed groups they lowered their
charges. Once the instruments were paid off, the proceeds from band engagements were to be banked to sponsor the club's field day.

The club held its meetings at the house of the Chairman of the Maori Committee which was the focal point for the Maoris in the Wymondley neighbourhood. Although the Chairman and his wife held no formal office in the club they were its main mentors who were known as "uncle" and "Aunty" to the members. Raymond, the Chairman's son was president of the club. Although there was a show of delegation of authority into the hands of the members themselves, the steering of meetings was in fact in the hands of the Chairman who suggested courses of action and called for motions. But at least the meetings of the club did provide the adolescent members some experience in committee procedure.

The club applied to the Maori Committee for the right to stage the next field day in Otara (at the instigation of the Chairman) on the basis of half the proceeds to go to the marae, and this was granted by the Maori Committee. This application to the Maori Committee rested in the misappraisal of the situation by the Chairman that this was
a 'right' which the Maori Committee could grant. He knew that in attempting to stage a field day at approximately the same time of the year that the Waihāhā field day had been staged he would draw opposition. His solution was to appeal to the mana of the Maori Committee to give sanction to the Otara West field day.

At a meeting of the Marae Steering Committee in August 1968 Toki Matiu announced that the Waihāhā annual field day was to be held at the end of October. The Chairman (of the Maori Committee) challenged the Waihāhā Club's right to stage a field day.

After last year's field day the Otara West Sports Club asked the Maori Committee for the right to put on the next sports day on a basis of half-share of the net takings. The aim was to rotate the annual field day amongst the different sports organisations and give all clubs a chance to put a day on for the marae.

The chairman of the Steering Committee refused to be drawn into the dispute and ruled the matter to be outside the competence of the Steering Committee.

Quite undeterred by the Chairman's opposition the Waihāhā Club staged its field day on the 19th October the week before the Otara West field day. This second field
day though well attended, as was the first held by the Waihāhā Club, was not patronised by the Chairman or the Secretary or even many people from Otara. I was asked to act as banker for the day and collected $349 from the gatekeeper and $100 from the hangi. This was a successful result considering the Māori Committee did not on this occasion give any backing to the Waihāhā Club.

The Otara West Sports Club's field day on the other hand was a more elaborate affair, extending from Friday to Sunday of Labour Week-end. Proceedings were to begin on Friday 25th October with a social, continue on Saturday with sports activities with a talent quest to follow in the evening. Sunday was set aside for an inter-denominational service, rugby matches and the presentation of trophies. For a first venture, this was too ambitious a programme to undertake, especially in view of the fact that it was staged over Labour Week-end when many people would travel out of town. The venture failed and for very much the same reasons as the Peach Products field day failed. The Waihāhā Club was the first to stage a field day and it awarded annual challenge trophies. This meant that winners were obliged, and deemed it an honour to defend the trophies the following year at the Waihāhā field day. The Waihāhā
Club travelled far and wide and established reciprocal relations with clubs outside Otara. The Otara West Club had not done this to any great extent. Field days are not under the jurisdiction of Maori committees nor are they a right which could be conferred on one club and prohibited to another. The Waihāhā Sports Club was willing to approach the Maori Committee for sponsorship in return for donating to the marae project, but this did not make it subordinate to the Maori Committee. The Waihāhā Club went ahead with its second field day without Maori Committee sponsorship, to the discomfiture of the latter which for political reasons decided to back the Otara West Sports Club instead. Mrs. Matiu felt no rancour towards the Chairman and the Otara West Club for attempting to pre-empt their day by using the authority of the Maori Committee. She regarded the failure of their field day as being a misfortune which could have been avoided had the Chairman been willing to negotiate with the Waihāhā Club. The Waihāhā Club through its experience and connections with other clubs could have suggested the most suitable weekends to hold a field day and which ones to avoid. But instead of negotiating, the Chairman tried to stifle the Waihāhā Club by his appeal to the Maori Committee which he believed had more mana than it actually possessed.
MAORI WOMEN'S WELFARE LEAGUE

There were seven branches of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Otara. Each gave tacit recognition to boundaries and spheres of influence. When a new branch came into existence territory would be allocated and boundaries defined at the Otara District Council meetings.

The strength of each branch was dependent on the ability of its president to gain the loyalty and support of a core of half a dozen or so followers from her immediate neighbourhood. Membership above this number was usually fluctuating and inconstant. I attended meetings of three of the League branches which were active in Otara. I did not contact other branches because either they were defunct, had gone into recess or had just come into being.

TE RONGOPAI MAORI WOMEN'S WELFARE LEAGUE

The Te Rongopai branch of the League was started in the Flatbush area by Mrs. Fenua in 1964. The name of the branch was chosen from three names all symbolic of unity, Rangimarie (peace), Rongopai (glad-tidings) and Te Rau-aroha (compassion for all). Tui Fenua, having had
experience of working in a welfare league in the country, was young enough at the age of forty to gain the support of the young mothers in the neighbourhood. Although the manifest function of the league is the promotion of welfare work, the latent function of this branch was the satisfying social intercourse it provided its members. Mrs. Fenua and the members of her branch all had pre-school children or babies whom they brought along to the meetings, so that the league had an atmosphere of a young mothers' club. Meetings were held at the home of the President. At the conclusion of the formal business the group would play a game of flag 500 for enjoyment as much as a means of raising funds. One of the meetings I attended was followed by a 'big kai' of a specially prepared hot meal provided by the members. A feature of the meal was *paroa rewana* (home-baked yeast bread) and *paroa takakau* (a large unsweetened flat scone) otherwise known as 'Maori bread' and was eaten with much relish and comment.

The Te Rongopai branch took an interest in pre-school education, and advocated that the mothers interested in promoting a play-centre affiliate with the League and work together towards a project. Mrs. Fenua convened a public meeting to elect a Play Centre Committee. A
mixed committee of Maori and Pakehas was elected. Misunderstanding arose when the Maoris felt that they were left out of count by the Pakehas who held meetings without notifying them. A breach occurred and the Pakeha group affiliated with the Kindergarten Association instead.

The League continued to foster the play centre and began holding sessions in three homes during the week and at the Flatbush School on Saturdays. Other Pakehas joined the play centre which eventually affiliated with the Play Centre Federation when it was allocated the use of the Flatbush School hall, where it operates today. Thus, the League's interest in promoting a play centre is one area where it fosters interaction with the Pakeha. Mrs. Fenua also initiated the formation of a youth club in her area which had a basketball team and a haka (action song) group. Her own family of eight grown children was the core of the group which was supplemented by children from two or three families from the neighbourhood. Both the haka group and the basketball team were affiliated with the league and was eventually constituted as Te Hongopai Junior Welfare League.

The league raised its funds by having its haka team perform at various functions in return for donations, by
quick raffles, flag 500 and street stalls. Over a twelve month period the league had helped twenty families for an expenditure of $100. Following a report of under-age drinking in the Papatoetoe Hotel the branch nominated its president and another member to the Otara Maori Committee as wardens because it was felt that this was the only channel from which mana could be derived to deal with the problem.

Although the Te Rongopai branch had fourteen members come and go since its inception, its active membership remained at twelve. The stabilising influence was the leadership of Mrs. Fenua who made provision for the continued recruitment of members by founding a junior group to provide activities for the youth of her area.

EAST TAMAKI MAORI WOMEN'S WELFARE LEAGUE

The East Tamaki branch of the League consisted of a group of five older women who were past middle-age. There were only two pre-school children present at the meeting I attended and they were the grandchildren of two of the members. Although the members could speak Maori, business was conducted in English. In addition to the
usual fund-raising methods for welfare, the branch had the novel idea of a distress cupboard. At each meeting a member was required to bring along a tin of preserved food. These were kept as emergency rations for 'needy people, an example of which was cited by the president:

One case we visited the home, the man was off work. The mother had only one tin of Milo which she was feeding to the baby. She had one piece of dry bread which she was saving for the children for when they came back from school.

The supplies for the distress cupboard provided by the members were supplemented by donations of cartons of tinned goods from two business firms specialising in canned foods. The distress cupboard was "for anyone needing help whether Maori, Pakeha or Islander."

The branch also took an interest in education, especially in helping to provide children of needy families with books or school uniforms. Consequently it was decided to invite the Principal of Otara College to the next meeting to discuss how the money the league had for the purpose could be allocated and at the same time qualify for Government subsidy.

The majority of the members of this group held aloof
from the Maori Committee. They criticised the Maori Courts for failing to respect the privacy of the individual. Wardens had been overheard discussing some of their 'cases' in a restaurant and other places. For this reason, members avoided the Maori Committee, because they didn't want to have their affairs 'aired in public.' Although there was this disjunction with the Maori Committee, the branch was approached to help raise funds for the Committee by running housie at the College on its behalf. Two of the members were willing but were unable to help the Committee because they were fully committed with their own housie and those of other organisations, and so cooperation with the Committee did not eventuate.

Finally, at one of the meetings of the branch a motion was passed to donate £20 to mate (deaths) which occurred in the families of the members. The president favoured the idea because of a feeling of insecurity, as she put it:

Kei waenganui tātou i te Pakeha, (we are in the midst of the Pakeha) and every bit helps.

Although the motion had been passed, on examining it in retrospect some felt it was not necessary since the majority of them were members of family clubs. The woman
Welfare Officer for the district urged the branch in no uncertain terms to abandon the idea:

E hoa ma, (friends) I think it's a waste of time. You've got your rōpū, your family pools for that. It is more important that you look after the living. Don't look backward. There is plenty to spend your money on. You've got play centres, marae projects, education, all these are worthy projects for your attention.

This reminder spelt out the true functions of the League. But the incident did illustrate the feelings of insecurity and the Maori preoccupation with death. The fear was engendered not by death itself but the cost of dying in the metropolis. Thus, for one or two of its members the league operated as a form of insurance against financial insecurity in the face of death. The homogeneity of the age group of the members (all except one had grown families) also pointed to its being an interest group which provided a satisfying round of activities for members to relieve the monotony of domestic life.

OTARA WEST MAORI WOMEN'S WELFARE LEAGUE

The President of the Otara West Branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League was the wife of the Chairman of the Maori Committee, hereafter. I shall refer to her as the
The league was in recess when I came here. I started it again in 1963. The trouble was they had a Pakeha woman in it, Mrs. Parker who was also a Councillor. She used to be in this branch. The aim of the league was to help people whose power had been cut off and to help children in need of food and clothing. Mrs. Parker always queried the spending of money this way, so some of the members resigned, leaving only her and the secretary. That's how the first group folded up. She doesn't understand. She's all Pakeha. She's a business woman. She opposed money going out unless it was to her satisfaction. That's why the thing broke down. What she wanted to do was to get some of those people to help themselves. That's probably why they're well-to-do and better off than we are. I saw the need for a league when I came here and I went round and got the women to form it. Our aim is to help the families in the Manukau area which includes Otara, East Tamaki and Mangere. We also donate $10 to the mate round her. We raise our funds by raffles, donations and stalls at the shopping centre where we sell cooking, clothing and vegetables.

This branch of the league had eighteen financial members. The three oldest women in their late forties were the core of the group, the rest were young mothers who lived within a half mile radius of the President's home. The young women looked to the President for guidance and leadership. The President in her turn trained the young women in the work of the league, and in such matters as committee procedure, conduct of meetings, methods of raising funds and formal speech making when welcoming guests. At the first meeting of the group I
attended, I was welcomed by the President in Maori, and in English by one of the younger members who had to be prompted in her role by the President. The formal business was conducted in English, the language in which the young members were more at ease. The President and her husband filled a quasi-parental role to the young people in the Wymondley Block, and they were addressed as "Aunty" and "Uncle". Although the President and her husband could demonstrate distant links with many of the young folk—especially those from up North, for others the relationship was putative and was a reflection of the respect in which they were held in the neighbourhood. The President and two other members were also nominated by the League as wardens to the Maori Committee, and the leadership she and her husband provided among the wardens, in the Maori Committee and the local branch of the league enhanced their standing in the eyes of the young people. They were respected on account of their age, experience, leadership and concern for others in the neighbourhood who were having domestic difficulties. The President instructed members that the primary aim of the league was to help people in trouble, not to accumulate a healthy bank balance for itself. Consequently the £200 the league made annually was always expended on helping needy families.
At the time that the Otara West Women's Welfare League was revived, the play centre movement was gathering momentum in New Zealand. The President, who was mindful of the large number of young children in her neighbourhood and of the many young league mothers with pre-school children, instituted a play-centre sub-committee within the Otara West League. The President advised the younger members to concentrate their efforts on the establishment of a play-centre, while the older members attended to the welfare work.

THE OTARA WEST PLAY CENTRE

The Otara West Play Centre Committee was formed in June 1967. There were nine people present at the election. The Committee decided to go immediately into action and set up a Play Centre instead of waiting until funds had been accumulated for the purpose. The treasurer, Mrs. Munn offered the Committee the use of her husband's garage as the temporary quarters for the Play Centre. Here the mothers met for an hour or two each morning with their children. The average attendance was five or six mothers with about a dozen children. The activities were quite informal and consisted mainly of solitary play with
the pool of toys provided by the parents themselves. One or two mothers made attempts to encourage social and cooperative play but in the main their efforts were directed at keeping the peace. When no immediate attention was needed from the mothers, they congregated at one side of the shed and gossip ed about the friction and backbiting that was going on among members in the organisation. This gossip resulted in resignations which are recorded in the minutes;

Mrs. Patu resigned from the Presidency of the Play Centre for personal reasons but remained a member, and Mrs. Kelly was elected as President. The Vice-President Mrs. Harkins also handed in her resignation as rumours were going on behind her back about her children and herself. However it was not accepted. No names were mentioned as to who was responsible for the rumours. Mrs. Taugle, (the Secretary) also asked to have her resignation accepted for the same reasons as Mrs. Harkins. Mrs. Ritchie was elected as Secretary.

After the initial spate of resignations the committee stabilised and became a hard working group under the leadership of Mrs. Kelly. It is probable that the friction was generated by having the wrong people elected to the leadership positions in the first place. The gossip merely catalysed the reshuffle of leaders, because none of those who resigned withdrew completely from the group. The committee began its fund raising by holding socials,
raffles, street stalls and housie. The first social was held at the residence of Mrs. Munn, and a letter was sent to the Maori Committee requesting that two wardens be sent on duty to the social.

Further friction came from the unexpected quarter of the league. The President felt that she had been neglected by the Play Centre group which had failed to send her notices of monthly meetings. The minutes record that after much discussion among committee members over their relationship with the league they decided to unite in raising funds for both committees.

However, in spite of the reassertion of the value of unity, the rift between the Play Centre and the league remained, and widened as the Play Centre group became stronger. The drive towards autonomy in the Play Centre group was brought about by generational differences between the younger members in the Play Centre group and the older members who controlled the league. An additional factor which hastened the fission of the two groups was their differing aims. The young mothers were more interested in providing early basic training for their
children which would enable them to cope with life, whereas the league was concerned with giving help to those who had failed to cope. These differences emerged in a group interview which I had with the young mothers of the Play Centre. I began with a simple interview of Mrs. Ritchie in mid-morning and ended up with a group of six as the others dropped in for morning tea. Because of the close-knit relationships of the people in the Wymondley Block I shall adopt symbols instead of using names to protect the anonymity of informants.

A: The President of the league told us they would sponsor the Play Centre. It was all new to us to be on the league. When the Play Centre (committee) was formed I resigned from the league at that point. A lot of young members in the league actually joined it because of the Play Centre. We were trying to raise funds for the Play Centre. We weren't sure whether the money was going to the League or the Play Centre. I think the President wanted to keep the members in the League to raise funds for welfare work. I'm quite sure that's what it was.

B: You are torn between two loyalties. We felt the Play Centre was more important than welfare. We could help with welfare now and again but a Play Centre is a must.

A: When we branched out on our own and had our own bank account that's when the division came. When our bank balance started to rise the President began to say the Play Centre was still under them, that they were our parent body, and could tell us what to do with our money. The argument was carried into the committee. We all opposed it, because the President had said 'When you get on your feet you'll be on your own'. Well that's how we all wanted it. Only we wanted advice from them, they being older
than us, being on all these committees they'd know better than us. The matter was settled at this point and we were affiliated to the Play Centre Federation. But three months later it cropped up again. She still said we belonged to the league.

At the end of its first year of operations the Play Centre Committee had achieved its autonomy and had a credit balance in its account of $81.92. The Committee felt secure enough to accept a proposal to join with the other groups in the Wymondley neighbourhood in a combined fund-raising venture. The aim was for the Otara West Sports Club, Pop Group, League and Play Centre groups to patronise each others socials, housie and other fund-raising ventures. The ideal of mutual support was fine provided each group worked separately. But when all the groups combined in a single fund-raising venture difficulties were encountered. The Pop Group proposed the idea of a joint hangi which was put down in the back yard of the Chairman's home. The aim was to sell the hangi to the families in the neighbourhood at $1.50 per family, 50 cents per person and 25 cents per child. The first hangi was a complete loss. Income was $20.30 while outlay was $49. The loss of $28 was spread between the four groups. Although several factors were blamed for the failure such as bad weather, lack of support and over-ordering, the real reason was uneconomic pricing of
the hāngi portions. A minimum price of 50 cents per portion is the recognised selling price for a hāngi for it to make a profit. Another hāngi was tried with similar results, so that instead of unity bringing strength, the divisions between the groups were deepened by these failures to make a success of a combined venture.

The young mothers of the Play Centre group discussed with me their involvement in a bad bargain and their withdrawal from combined fund raising with the other groups:

A: The President of the league brought us into the combined hāngi. She kept telling us that if ever we needed a band for a social night to hire the Otara West Pop Group. By paying them we would help them, and they would help us by not charging too much. That's how we got involved.

B: The Pop Group wanted everything split - social and all. We thought they were, wanting to take advantage of us. We were 'sucked in'. It was the President who brought that about.

C: We had two hāngis. The first one failed but the Chairman and his wife kept insisting we should have another one. They suggested instead of buying, we donate things to the hāngi. So we did. At one hāngi there was more meat than veges., and at the other there were more veges. After that we washed the lot and worked on our own.

B: It was the Chairman and the President who dragged us into combining. We did it out of respect to them. A lot of this came about through Dale. She always used to go there 'tattling' about our business. So we've learned to stick to ourselves.

1. Colloquialism for taken advantage of.
2. Colloquialism for terminating a relationship.
The decision to operate independently of the organisations in the Wymondley neighbourhood led to an improvement in the fortunes of the Play Centre group. It continued to run housie as its most profitable source of funds so that by September 1968 its bank balance had risen to $133.86. By this time the group had been brought to the notice of the Otara Lions Club which offered to help them acquire a building. A target of $2,000 was set to renovate the building and equip it. With a concrete goal in sight the Play Centre Committee redoubled its fund raising so that by February 1969 its funds had risen to $534. In the meantime the Lions Club arranged for a building of 900 sq. ft. to be shifted from the St. Heliers School to the site set aside in the primary school grounds at Wymondley Road. The Lions Club organised working bees of the husbands in the Wymondley neighbourhood to paint the building and put down paths.

At the time the Lions Club offered to help the Otara West Play Centre Committee, the group was composed entirely of Maoris. They were members of a closely-knit neighbourhood or interest group. The manifest reason for its existence was to build a Play Centre, but the latent
reason was social. Members visited one another every day and more often than not ended up at one house. It had no set target for itself. Fund raising was merely an adjunct to socialising at housie or socials. But when the Lions Club provided a concrete project, work began in earnest and in less than five months the group had quadrupled its funds on an amount it had taken a whole year to raise previously. The attainment of the goal also brought about a change in the organisation. It could no longer remain an interest group bound to a neighbourhood and confined to a single ethnic group. It had to affiliate with the Play Centre Federation and conduct a public election of officers. Although the original members were returned to office, Pakeha members were elected to the committee as well. The group now had to think in terms of integration, something which up till the intervention of the Lions Club they had not paused to consider. The Lions Club had taken the initiative, which the group accepted. This help coming from a Pakeha service organisation was a reminder of belongingness and membership in the wider grouping of the major social system.
AOTEAROA FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

The Aotearoa Folk-Lore Society was controlled by a well-known Maori leader from outside the Otara area. The group had members scattered in various clubs round Auckland and was invited into the Otara area by the Chairman of The Maori Committee to establish a branch in Otara. The Chairman wanted to provide cultural activities in Otara as a diversion for Maori youth from the hotels and billiard saloons.

The Society held its sessions on Saturday afternoons from two o'clock till nine o'clock at night, and used the primary school in Wymondley Road as its headquarters. The tuition included modern action songs, poi, haka, kawa o te marae (marae etiquette), whaikōrero (speech making), arts and crafts such as tāniko weaving, flax basketry and making flax mats.

Attendance at the weekly sessions was in many cases a family affair, with mothers present with their children right down to pre-school age. On one occasion I attended there were thirty children present between the
ages of five and thirteen years, eighteen adolescents and fourteen adults. The stated aim of the tutor was to teach the young person to be a good Maori, sure of his worth as a person and the richness of his own culture and traditions. By having young children present right down to pre-school age they were given the opportunity to be systematically socialised in the elements of Maori culture which the Society provided.

The activities of the group were run like lessons in a school. One group for boys, under a tutor, was given a lecture on marae procedure, while another group of girls was instructed in stick games. At the end of the first period of instruction the whole group combined for the teaching of action songs. This period was followed by a break for a buffet tea, provided by the parents. After this the younger children were taken home and the adults continued into the evening with craft work. The women specialised in the womanly crafts of flax weaving while the men were given instruction in carving.

Although the majority of members in this group were Maoris it was not exclusively so. There were three
Pakeha members which included Mr. Stern the publicity officer of the Maori Committee and his wife.

Un fortunately for the Society, it was denied the use of the school facilities following complaints by teachers and the caretaker about loss of children's banking money from five classrooms, taps being left on and so on. The complaints from the Maori point of view were badly handled. They felt they were singled out and blamed for things which could well have been done by other groups which also used the school. It was alleged that the headmaster and the Chairman of the School Committee had taken the decision out of committee to revoke the Society's right to use the premises. The Chairman of the Maori Committee who was also a member of the School Committee and the Society was deeply hurt by this turn of events. But instead of speaking to the headmaster about the dispute he chose to withdraw his support from the fund raising activities of the school and Parent Teacher Association. The Chairman took the view that withdrawal of his support (and of his followers) from the school would be noticed. He would wait until he was asked to help before he would air his grievance. In the meantime the Society shifted its headquarters to the Otara College.
for a short period. Finally the Society moved right out of the district altogether to another suburb over ten miles away and the benefits it provided were lost to the people of Otara. This treatment of the Aotearoa Folk Lore Society by the School Committee convinced the Chairman more than ever of the need for a Maori marae in Otara to provide the true setting and a firm tūrangawaewae for the cultural activities that a group such as the Aotearoa Folk Lore Society could provide for the young generation growing up in the metropolis.

**RELIGIOUS GROUPS**

An extensive survey of all religious groups in Otara is outside the scope of this enquiry, only some of the churches will be examined with specific reference to the role they play in helping the Maori adjust to urban life.

**OTARA MAORI CATHOLIC SOCIETY.**

The Catholic Church survey shows that there are 253 Maori Catholic families in Otara. Although not all attend church regularly, a sufficient number do so for the
Catholic Maori Mission to provide a monthly Mass for their benefit. Out of this church affiliation has grown the Otara Maori Catholic Society which attends to the needs of the Maori adherents of the Church.

The Otara Maori Catholic Society met on the second Sunday of every month after a 'Maori Mass' celebrated by their own priest from the Maori Mission. Few Maoris attended the early or 'Pakeha Mass' when Maori Mass was on. Most preferred to wait until the Maori Mass at eleven o'clock because they felt more at ease there, and because it gave special recognition to their needs as an ethnic group by having the congregation join in with the celebrant and reciting the prayers of the Mass in the Maori language. The activities described below are representative of the monthly pattern followed by the group:

The Maori congregation began arriving a half an hour before the Mass was due to start. The kuia sat on the grass waiting patiently. As the kaumātua arrived they greeted each other with a hongi¹ and shook hands all round and passed remarks such as "kua kaumātua tatou" (we are old fellows together), which stressed their fellowship as elders. Younger people as they arrived would come up

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1. Maori greeting consisting of the shaking of hands and the pressing of noses.
and greet their elders by acknowledging them as 'uncle'
'aunty' or 'granny' as the case may be.

When the priest was ready to begin Mass a middle-
aged woman ushered the children in and called the others
to go into church by announcing "Kua karakia! Kua karakia!"
(Mass is beginning). The congregation sat widely scatter-
ed in the church and consisted of forty adults, thirty-five
children, eleven adolescents and seven elders. The Priest
led the prayers for the Mass in Maori while the congre-
gation chanted the responses in a flat monotone. When
the Priest reached the principal parts of the Mass and
said the prayers in Latin, a lay-reader led the congre-
gation in Maori. It is this uninhibited participation
of the congregation that is the strong and most appeal-
ing part of the Mass to the Maori people, for it is some-
thing which they have been used to in their rural commun-
ities. This practice is also self-perpetuating in that
children of all ages were in attendance. Although for
the young, the prayers sound like a foreign language to
them, by constant exposure they come to accept it, even-
tually to pattern it and finally to participate by read-
ing aloud from the prayer books. It was noticable that
some adolescents were joining in with the adults in the responses to the Mass.

During the sermon, the Priest began in Maori and switched in mid-passage into English. The switches of language both ways were accomplished with ease, so that one was not fully conscious of whether the Priest was speaking in Maori or English. But when there was some important point he wished to emphasise or some deep philosophical or metaphysical point he wished to state the Priest did so in Maori. Herein lies the strength of the Catholic Church amongst the Maori People, in its recognition of bi-culturalism in the Maori and its provision for inclusion on those terms rather than following the loosely defined Government policy of integration.

Throughout the service the children behaved very well. For the pre-school children especially, the ceremony was long, uncomprehended and boring, but despite this, their behaviour was very subdued and conforming. Although the young wriggled, climbed benches and leaned over rails they did not vocalise in any way. They took

their cue from their elders and adolescents, that the Church is some place special where all are expected to be quiet and reverent, to participate or at the very least not to interrupt. They perceive that the system is fully accepted by their parents, that it is solid, enduring and that they are part of it, an on-going system to which they must conform.

At the end of the hour long ceremony, boredom eventually got the better of one two year old who ran a circuit up the centre aisle, across the front and down the side. He drew everyone's attention to himself, but it was not until he was half-way down the aisle that a woman (who may or may not have been related) hissed at him. The child stopped dead in his tracks, sensed the social disapproval of the congregation and crept quietly back to his own pew. Another two year old began laughing near the end of the ceremony, his sister who could not have been more than six or seven years old herself showed disapproval by smacking him. As the smack was a token rather than a real chastisement the child laughed all the more. Rather than suffer further embarrassment the girl and a brother younger than herself dragged the little boy out of church.
After church twenty-two adults and an equal number of children stayed behind and assembled in the church hall for lunch provided by the Women's Committee. The status of the Priest as their spiritual leader was given recognition by separating him from the people who sat in the main body of the hall while he sat at a special table on the stage. As a visitor, I was put in the place of honour on stage to eat with the Priest. The custom of providing a hot meal for the Priest after Mass is a perpetuation of the practice of extending hospitality to the itinerant Priest in rural communities. After lunch the Society held its meeting while the children played outside.

The Society was formed because it was known that one third of the parishioners in Otara were Maori, yet few of them participated in the activities of the Parish. The church found that the individual approach of the pledge system for raising money to support the Church in its work was ineffective with Maoris. Maoris would allow themselves to be talked into a weekly commitment of thirty, forty, and even fifty cents a week. They would pay for the first two or three weeks then fall away. In the Priest's view this did not mean a weakening of desire to
honour an obligation to the Church, but rather it illustrated that this method of supporting the Church was alien to their way of doing things. By having their own Society, and raising funds in their own way the Maoris did more for their Parish than they otherwise would have done on Pakeha terms.

Although the Society was led by a Maori chairman the real stabilising influence in the running of its affairs was provided by the Priest. The people insisted that the Priest be the treasurer of the Society, so as to allay any fears regarding the handling of money. The chairman and other officers of the Society did the real work of organising people, supervising the sub-committees, and conducting the fund-raising activities. But the Society drew its moral and spiritual strength from the Church through the presence of the Priest. His knowledge and administrative skill was always in the background, available when needed to steer the group and the chairman if necessary through difficult decisions. At least three or four elders were present at meetings in a supportive role. The elders seldom spoke and were reduced more to a ceremonial role of opening the mihi or of summing up at the end
and endorsing the work of the Society or a particular line of action. The carrying out of the functions of the Society was left in the hands of the more active middle-aged group. One feature of the organisation of the Society was its democratic attitude towards women. Women were given their fair say in the affairs of the Society and they also held offices in the sub-committees.

There were five sub-committees in the Society. The Whaiora Haka Team which had not been long in operation practised action songs on Sunday afternoons with the aim of raising money to pay for Maori costumes for the group. The Society also provided a Maori culture group for the Convent School. The aim of this group was to provide teaching on Maori traditions and 'true Maoritanga' for the pupils at the Convent. Matter taught included basketry, making pari (head bands) and action songs.

The Ladies' Committee attended to catering for the monthly meetings and for field days. The Sports Committee attended to the needs of the two basketball teams which played in the Auckland Catholic Basketball Association. The committee with the most onerous task of all was the Education sub-committee. It had the task of awarding
monetary grants to assist parents in the education of their children. The whole Society was responsible for raising the funds, but this committee had the job of enquiring into each case and deciding on the amount to be awarded.

The money raised by the Society was shared four ways with the Parish, The Maori Mission, Te Unga Waka (the Catholic Maori Community Centre in Auckland) and the Society's own needs. That the Society had a healthy bank balance in the four figure bracket from only a quarter of its income was a tribute to its vigour, and the dedication of its members to the affairs of the Society.

The contributions to Te Unga Waka were made to the parent body, the Auckland Maori Catholic Society to pay off the loan on the centre. The Priest anticipated that the next move from the parent body would be to decentralise and suggested that the Otara group look to the future when it could have its own community centre. He suggested that the Society should consider making a start on a fund of its own for the purpose of erecting its own community centre. The Church had land set aside for the purpose, all the people had to do was to provide the money to build
a miniature Te Unga Waka. The search for a kaupapa (basis or foundation) for the marae is highlighted in this discussion quoted from the meeting:

PRIEST: In the past we had whakapapa (genealogy) which established rights on a marae. Now we are all mixed up in town with people coming and going all the time. The proposal is that the individual can obtain shares in the marae in two ways. One by work done, to which share values will be assigned, two by donations for those who cannot work. Each donation will have a specific share value. Therefore when a person moves to another district, the Society can buy his shares. These would be the general principles to be considered at this point, details of operation can be worked out later.

GREEN: If we want to start a fund of our own then we should consider terminating or continuing our contribution to Te Unga Waka.

CHAIRMAN: One possibility by which we can start on our own fund is to reduce our contribution to Te Unga Waka from 25% to 10%. This way we can save 15% of the money we raise for our own building fund.

PRIEST: You will have to put it diplomatically. We can't say 'We are finished with you people'. After all we will need them to help us later on.

TIPA: If we reduce our contribution to them, then they are more likely to see it our way than if we cut it out all together.

The social solidarity of the Otara Maori Catholic Society is its most remarkable feature. Behind it stands the Catholic Church as an enduring corporate group which
encapsulates Maoris from different tribes. It provides one principle on which to establish social cohesion to replace the kinship system which was left behind in the rural marae. The price is allegiance to the Church. The gain is inclusion together with the maintenance of cultural integrity. The Church recognises bi-culturalism and makes provision for it rather than offering integration on Pakeha terms. The success of the Auckland Maori Catholic Society in erecting a Maori Community Centre in Te Unga Waka is a pointer to the future. A religion which makes provision for Maori values provides a strong cohesive base for Maoris who wish to perpetuate those values. The only fault is that religion is sectarian. For all that, if past record is anything to go on, it is predictable that the Otara Maori Catholic Society will in the future erect its own Maori Community Centre.

THE MAORI EVANGELICAL FELLOWSHIP

The Maori Evangelical Fellowship was founded in 1959 to form Maori Churches that were 'self-governing, self-supporting and self-propogating.'

is to administer to the spiritual needs of the Maori by encouraging Maori leadership and full responsibility in the government of the Church.

Election to the office of Pastor is by democratic vote of two thirds majority of the members present at a meeting convened for the purpose. Membership in the Church is gained by application answering five questions based on acceptance of Christ, the Bible as the word of God, communion, the doctrine of the Trinity and willingness to support the Church.

Pastor Terito was posted to Otara in 1965 and began his work by visiting people and telling them about the Fellowship. The first official meeting of the Church in Otara began with a Sunday School of nine children in his own home. Since then the number has increased to sixty-three children. The second stage began with 'Cottage Meetings' which were held in private homes during mid-week evenings. When the group became too large to be accommodated in private homes it applied to the East Tamaki School for the use of a class room for Sunday school and morning service. The service consists of hymns, communion and a gospel message. Through his evangelising,
Pastor Terito visited many Maori homes. The majority of people he found to be in debt and in need of financial guidance. He personally acted as budget advisor for eight families. Although the Church had no funds for welfare work, Pastor Terito used his own money to help the needy. Others in the Fellowship helped by voluntary giving of food, money and time to help people in difficulties. Pastor Terito's Fellowship unlike the established churches is minute, and numbers only fifteen members with nine contemplating membership. Although growth of the Fellowship is slow, Pastor Terito is well known in Otara and highly respected by all sections of the community for his work in welfare.

Although the Church is Maori in conception and aims at Maori leadership and control, it does not as yet make a wider appeal to the Maori other than that of ethnic identity. The prayers for example are said mainly in English, nor does the Church lay any particular stress on Maori cultural activities. However, the Fellowship has given Pastor Terito a respected position of leadership in the community which was given recognition by his inclusion in the Maori Committee and eventual election to the chairmanship of the Marae Steering Committee. In this way he
and his Church are connected with Maori values and aspirations.

THE RĀTANA CHURCH

John Walters settled in Otara in 1964. After meeting a number of people he realised there were many adherents of the Ratana Church in the district, but there was no minister to see to their needs. So Mr. Walters entered the Rātana Ministry. After a month's training he was qualified to carry out the work of the Church in Otara. Rātana Ministers unlike those of established churches are not paid a stipend, so Mr. Walters earned his living working at a concrete factory and attended to his ministry in his free time. Mr. Walters established the Church in Otara by getting to know the people and finding out who were members of the Rātana Church. The Church regards it as unethical to try to convert people of other denominations and consequently attends only to those who are already members or voluntarily come forward to join the Church. Because Mr. Walters worked in the day time he had to do his Christenings at night. The first services were held in private homes until eventually the congregation had grown to sufficient strength to warrant hiring
the East Tamaki Hall for regular services on Sunday afternoons. Although there are only one hundred people who attend services regularly, there are over 500 adherents of the Church in Otara.

The strength of the Rātana Church lies in its youth. Over 80% of those who attend services are under sixteen years of age. Consequently, the Church lays emphasis on providing suitable activities for the young people.

The Rātana Youth Organisation is at the core of Church activities. Every Sunday after the service the youth club meets to practise action songs for the competitions at the annual Easter Conference. The group also has basketball and football teams which play with the other Rātana youth groups or by arrangement with other Maori clubs which run field-days.

The Rātana Church services consist of tapae (forgiveness or repenting), himene (hymns), prayers and readings from the Bible. Although the Rātana Church is Maori in origin and lays emphasis on Maori values, the Minister conducts most of the service and instruction in English so that the children can understand.
The annual conference at Easter time to which Rātana youth groups travel from all parts of the country is the highlight of the year. There, usually in a marae setting young people are given instruction in Church matters together with the opportunity to participate in sporting and Maori cultural competitions.

Mr. Walters as a Minister of the Rātana Church, and Maori leader was invited to attend the meetings of the Marae Steering Committee. Eventually he was elected as a replacement member on the Maori Committee. Through his employment, and work as a Minister, people wanting financial assistance often approached Mr. Walters about budgeting. As the Church had no fund for welfare work and Mr. Walters himself was fully committed, he referred these cases to the Maori Committee. One facet of work in the Maori Committee causes 'role strain' for Mr. Walters in his role as Minister of the Rātana Church. It is against the rules of the Church to sit in judgement on another as a member of a jury, consequently Mr. Walters adopts a withdrawn and subdued position during sittings of Maori Courts. As a member of the Marae Steering Committee Mr. Walters also

has divided loyalties. His own Church already has a section of Crown Land set aside for its own hall, and a committee elected to raise funds to erect a building on the site. Consequently Mr. Walters is acutely aware of conflict between sectarian and community interest which he states explicitly:

Most of the groups would like to see their own marae come up first. Although I'm sure they would all agree to have a communal marae. Once one has been started and that's the difficult part, everyone would want to be in on it.

The Rātana Church being totally Maori in identity is one of the vehicles for perpetuation of that identity. As such it is inextricably linked with other groups such as the Maori Committee. There is congruence in their efforts towards cultural continuity but divergence in the means. The Maori Committee approaches the problem by secular and temporal means while the Rātana Church used the spiritual approach. There is a union of sorts, with the Rātana Church more in the static role and the Maori Committee in the more dynamic position. The Maori Committee, although strong, is potentially the weaker link of the two because of its dynamism. It has had only a short history and has yet to establish a tradition of continuity for itself.
The Methodist Maori Mission in the South Auckland region is run by Reverend Mako Gooch who lives in Manurewa. He states the emergence of the Maori Mission as a strong force within the Church:

We have a strong sense of nationalism in the Maori Mission, a thing which has been inspired by the Rātana Church. They are a strong nationalist Church and we weren't. Now there is a swing back to nationalism separated from the Pakeha section of the Church. The Church in the past set standards for the ministry which Maoris had to measure up to. Now what the Maori wants is for Pakeha ministers appointed to Maori areas to have some training to fit them into the area so that they will know something about Maoris. We've gone through a cultural revolution among Maoris in the Church, and now we've got to set our mind in the future rather than in the past.

In the South Auckland area the Methodist Maori Mission has set up local committees at Otara, Manurewa and Papakura. The local committee is responsible for raising money to support the Church, for Sunday School, the youth club and Bible training, keeping the membership roll up to date and pastoral visits. In Otara it is the local committee which advises the Minister of the venue and time of the Church service for the area. The youth clubs of the Maori mission are now unequivocally called
Maori Clubs where parents can go with their children to take part in action songs, gymnastics, darts, table tennis etc. Although there is a wide range of activities offered in the club, for Reverend Gooch, the stress on the Maori elements is essential to the success of the Mission:

I'd give up Bible classes and Church before I'd give up Maori Club. I feel this is the real part of our work. What justifies it all is that the people want it. Last Friday night when it was wet, I didn't think there would be a club, but I went down just to check. As soon as I opened the door, children came flying in. No matter whether it's wet or fine they're there. There are always twenty to thirty young people at the club.

Besides the stress on Maori cultural activities the Maori Mission also caters to Maori needs by giving attention to generational differences among the Maori. The older generation who were reared on the marae and learned their spiritual life in that setting are administered in the way they have been accustomed. There is no attempt to delve into high theology with this group. The middle-aged group, the migrants of the post-war years who have anchored themselves to Otara with a mortgage are the subject of pastoral care. They are helped by the Church in budgeting, marriage guidance and welfare. The third group, the children are encouraged to develop their identity as
Maoris by taking pride in their culture and to mix freely as an equal with the Pakeha, by attending Pakeha services.

The Reverend Gooch as a key person in the Methodist Maori Mission work in Otara came in contact with the Maori Committee and associated himself with its work in Maori Courts and the Marae Steering Committee. He was urged by the Secretary to channel some of his welfare and budget cases towards the Maori Committee, a suggestion which in his view was an encroachment on his pastoral work. He was also critical of the way in which the Maori Committee recruited the best people in the community from other organisations;

Anybody (Maori) who is active in the community invariably gets landed on the Maori Committee. From our Church the Committee has got our treasurer, deputy chairman, secretary and Toki Matiu. I felt the Secretary dragged the teeth from our Church Committee, and now he's trying to get me to hand over some pastoral work to the Maori Committee. He said 'We've got the set-up for budgeting and welfare'. I don't think this is the way we should work. I think we should work together. I don't think we should be in one big organisation.

Although the members of the Otara Methodist Maori Mission Committee have continued to support the Maori Committee, the Minister himself withdrew from attending
Maori Courts because of disagreement on moral principle with some of the Court's actions. He was prepared to accept cooperation with the Maori Committee but not subjugation to it.

SUMMARY

One of the features of Maori voluntary associations in Otara is the overlap in key personnel. In the Waihāhā Sports Club, Toki Matiu belongs to the Otara Maori Wardens' Association. He and his wife both belong to the Marae Steering Committee and the Methodist Maori Mission Committee. Tui Fenua, another strong supporter of the Waihāhā Sports Club belongs to the Wardens' Association as well as being President of her own branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League. This overlap in the membership in the varying associations produces between them a relationship analogous to a personal social network. Through this network different associations can be brought into a close-knit relationship if needed. The Waihāhā Sports Club for example is a strong independent group which can realise its aims (i.e. the promotion of sport, fund raising and field days etc) without reference to other groups such as the Maori Committee, the Marae Steering Committee,
or the Wardens' Association. However, the club chose to activate a relationship with the Maori Committee on a reciprocal arrangement of $100 loan to sponsor its field day in return for a donation to the marae project. The activation of the relationship was mediated by overlapping membership. The relationship is analogous to the options exercised by an individual in his personal network.

Some relations are found to be more congenial and more rewarding than others and where this is so, a close-knit relationship develops between the various associations. However, the relationships are dynamic, seldom in equilibrium and easily brought into disequilibrium. The marae project was used deliberately or inadvertently, it doesn't matter which for the result was the same, as a draw-card for the Waihāhā field-day, and the measure of success was proof positive of Maori sympathy for the marae project.

The confusion regarding the share-out of the money derived from the field-day brought about disequilibrium. The Maori members of the Marae Steering Committee were affronted that the Waihāhā Club used the marae to promote their field day without requesting permission from the Steering Committee first. One of the three clubs in the Waihāhā group in order to retrieve the position donated the whole of
its share of the takings to the *marae* and in so doing put
the other two clubs which had 'grabbed' the money into the
position of feeling morally obliged to make a donation
also. But the position was not fully repaired because of
the uncertainty in the minds of the people as to whether
the field-day was put on by the Maori Committee, the
Steering Committee or the Waihāhā Club.

The actions of the Secretary in the affair of the
field-day are also instructive. He was approached as
leader of the Maori Committee, whose star was in the
ascendancy to sponsor the Waihāhā field-day. Instead of
admitting the matter was outside the competency of the
Maori Committee and directing the request to the Steering
Committee he assumed the responsibility. The refusal of
the Steering Committee to accept the Secretary's oblique
approach about sponsoring a field-day diminished his
position in relation to the Waihāhā Club. He provided
only $40 of the $100 requested and made it difficult for
them to purchase sufficient provisions for the day.
Had he of course succeeded in getting the $100 from the
Steering Committee, he, as the manifest source of the money
would have had his mana enhanced in the eyes of the Waihāhā
group.
The Secretary, as the ostensible entrepreneur of the first field-day was approached by another club, Peach Products, to sponsor their day. This field-day failed, coming so soon after the first. The reasons for its failure have been discussed elsewhere and will not be detailed again. However the action of this group in approaching the Maori Committee for sponsorship underlines the network relationship. The Peach Products Team and the Maori Committee were unknown to each other but were mutually known to the Waihāhā Club. The successful Waihāhā field-day brought them into a relationship which should have been rewarding but in the event proved a failure. The relationship was not renewed in 1938.

The Otara West Sports Club although not in a structural relationship with the Maori Committee was nonetheless closely connected by overlapping membership of the Chairman and his wife, and can also in the sense described above be regarded as being in a network relationship with the Maori Committee. The Club attempted to take advantage of its connection with the Maori Committee to cuckold the Waihāhā Club and pre-empt the annual field-day to itself. In spite of the Maori Committee sponsoring the Otara West
Club, the Waihāhā Club went ahead independently with its field-day. Thus it can be seen there was no structural relationship between the three groups. The Maori Committee could not prohibit the Waihāhā Club's field-day in order to ensure the success of the field-day it was sponsoring. The Chairman and the Secretary had made the error of thinking in terms of a power structure, with the Maori Committee at its apex rather than in terms of a network of associations with free and independent choice as to which parts of their network they wished to activate and bring into a close-knit relationship.

The tendency to think in structural terms is also indicated by the actions of the Chairman and his wife in the Wymondley neighbourhood. Together, they established three Otara West groups with themselves as the leaders. The Play Centre group was treated as being sub-ordinate to the league until it could 'stand on its own two feet'. But when the Play Centre group began it act independently of the league, the President attempted to manoeuvre the Play Centre group back into a sub-ordinate position. The attempt to get the Play Centre group to engage the Otara West Pop group to play at its socials, the reciprocal patronising of each other's housie and the combined hāngi
were all aimed at maintaining a structural relationship headed by the Chairman and the President. Their position as the elders in the Wymondley neighbourhood was the unifying influence. The members of the Sports Club and Pop group were too young and inexperienced to challenge that leadership. But when the hangi failed, the Play Centre group questioned the leadership of their elders and split off in order to be responsible for their own success or failures. The independence of the Play Centre group brought it success, sponsorship of the Otara Lions, and eventually affiliation with the Auckland Play Center Federation. These changes were reminders of the group's membership in the major social system, that they were not self contained and now had to develop a working relationship with the Pakeha as well as with themselves.

The Aotearoa Folk-Lore Society is also illustrative of the network relationship between Maori associations. This group was invited into Otara by the Chairman of the Maori Committee. The activities the group carried out while it was domiciled in Otara is indicative of the values shared by Maori Associations, the search for identity and the desire to preserve that identity through Maori cultural activities.
Religious groupings, although sectarian and non-interacting in the way of previous groups discussed, still show features which are common to the other groups. The Otara Maori Catholic Society with the Church as its supporting pillar in place of a kinship system, is a strong, stable and enduring group. It is locked in a structural relationship within a Church that recognises and makes provision for the bi-culturalism of the Maori. Within the Church, the Maori is free to pursue Maori interests and maintain his identity through the establishment of Maori sports teams cultural groups, fund-raising committees, Maori community centres etc. The total acceptance by members of the role played by the Church as a vehicle for the transmission of Maori culture is indicated by the full age range of the members in Otara Maori Catholic Society.

The Maori Evangelical Fellowship is the latest all-Maori Church to join the ranks of the Rātana and Ringatū Churches. It is difficult to assess at this stage what the Church has to offer the Maori that is not already being catered for by other religions. It lays no special emphasis on Maori culture and offers only ethnic identity as a rallying point. Perhaps this is one reason why it is making such slow progress in Otara.
The Rātana Church plays a role in cultural transmission in much the same way as does the Catholic Church with the difference that the former is Maori in origin and places no special emphasis on bi-culturalism. The Methodist Church on the other hand has adopted a role similar to that of the Catholic Church. Its Maori Mission like that of the Catholic Church gives recognition to Maori identity by granting autonomy to its Maori members to run Maori affairs within the Church as they see fit.

To sum up then, Maori voluntary associations whether secular or religious have both manifest and latent functions. The manifest function is based in the raison d'être of the association while the latent function lies in the Maori need for cultural transmission within a major system that otherwise ignores the existence of the minor system.
CHAPTER 10.

FAMILY LIFE.

Data from the social survey of 100 households in Otara indicates the nuclear family to be the basic unit of the Maori household. There were only ten matri-centric households in the sample. In seven of these, the husband was deceased, in two the husbands were in gaol, while there was only one in which the wife was separated from her husband. There was no case of a household headed by a male without a spouse. Thus ninety of the households had at their core the nuclear family. Six of the households had legally adopted children while another six contained whāngai (foster children not legally adopted). Thirty-eight of the households contained one or two additional people who were related to the householder or his spouse.

The majority of the marriages (forty-five) were intra-tribal, thirty-one inter-tribal and twenty-four to Pakehas or Islanders. The age distribution of the couples showed seventy to be under forty years of age, thirty-two being between twenty and thirty years of age.
Five of the husbands were social security beneficiaries, while one was unemployed, leaving eighty-seven of the male spouses in employment. Of these there was one in a profession two clerics, two in skilled occupations while the rest were unskilled or in semi-skilled employment. Eleven of the husbands earned under $30 per week while the majority, sixty-four, earned between $30 and $50 per week. The highest paid were nine men who earned between $60 and $70 per week and four others who earned above $70 per week.

The majority of the wives, seventy-six, were confined to domestic duties in the home. Of the nineteen wives in employment the majority were in unskilled work. There were two employed in teaching, one was self-employed in her own shop while another did outwork at home for a shoe manufacturer.

Correlated with the concentration in unskilled work is the standard of education of the couples. There were forty-four husbands and forty-eight wives who had no secondary education at all. In discussing the matter they were very apologetic and attributed the deficiency to having to leave school to work on the farm or help at home.
The majority of the families, sixty-four, were tenants or mortgagees to the State Advances Corporation while thirty-three were purchasing their houses through the Maori and Island Affairs Department. Half the families capitalised the family benefit to obtain the necessary deposit to purchase their homes. There were two families which used their family benefit to pay the rent to the State Advances Corporation while forty-eight families succeeded in keeping their family benefit intact for the original purpose for which it was intended, namely to assist in the feeding and clothing of children. One of the effects of the State Advances Corporation being the predominant landlord in Otara is the contradiction of the policy of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs, of 'pepper-potting' Maori houses amongst those of the general populace. The Department in purchasing building sites from the Ministry of Works tries to limit itself to two or three sections in any one area, thus avoiding a build up in the density of Maoris. The State Advances Corporation on the other hand appears to pay no attention to this policy in its allocation of houses to Maori tenants so that in some parts of Otara there is a build up in the density of Maori people.
In a row of eighteen houses in one street there were nine houses occupied by Maoris, five of which were contiguous. Although this concentration of Maoris in the one place does not appear to have strained relations with the Pakeha neighbours at all it did in this instance promote a higher degree of interaction amongst Maoris which led to the formation of Maori associations promoting Maori interests. This was the locus of the home of the Chairman and his wife and the Otara West groups discussed in the previous chapter.

Although the majority of the families had no choice in settling in Otara, most were glad to acquire a home of their own, and were not at all concerned about the adverse reputation of Otara. Some did come to Otara by choice while to others it was a matter of indifference where they went as long as they got a home for their family. Otara, for those who lived in slum conditions elsewhere or who came from overcrowded homes represented an escape to freedom, a chance to attain the New Zealand ideal of individual home ownership and individual family responsibility. The following are representative of the attitudes held by the Maori people who have come to regard Otara as their home:
HOUSEWIFE 55 years, 10 years in Otara.

The first place State Advances offered us was in Manurewa. I turned it down because it was two miles from school. It was too far for the kids, so I was put here.

WIDOW 41 years, 10 years in Otara.

We got this place through Maori Affairs. We didn't mind shifting out here. It was a home for a big family. I had eight children of me (sic) own and four adopted. There's nothing wrong with the place, it's the people who've come here since. It's how you make a go of your life, it's not the place (that matters) it's home.

HUSBAND 42 years, 8 years in Otara.

We moved here because we wanted to be handy to the job at the Otara sub-station. We wouldn't move away from Otara. We've made up our minds to stay. We are used to the people, we know everybody, we like the place.

HUSBAND 29 years 3 years in Otara.

The bad name of Otara doesn't worry us. In years to come Otara will outgrow it. We like the place. We've got nothing against Otara, irrespective of what people say. Otara is a place where I can bring my children up the way I want them brought up, and to learn to mix with others.

HOUSEWIFE 86 years» 6 years in Otara.

We lived in a flat in Grafton. Nobody wanted a Maori with kids. The best we could do was one room at £3-10 ($7) a week where we lived and cooked. Six couples shared the bathroom. There were rats everywhere. Washing was difficult and had to be done in the basement where we carried hot water down two flights of stairs. We were glad to come here to have a roof to ourselves. I didn't care about the name (of Otara), it's just the same as anywhere else. Whose fault is it? We didn't plan it. I've got to know everyone else now, we like it here.
HUSBAND 24 years, 5 months in Otara.

You have no choice in coming here. When State Advances gives you a house you have to take it or go back down to the bottom of the list. We were happy to come here. We were not worried about the bad name of Otara. We used to stay in Mangere East with my mother. I was only worried about getting a roof over me (sic) head and get out of my mother's house.

While the majority accept Otara for what it is, a place to live in, a home of one's own at a cheap rent or rate of mortgage repayment, there are a few people who are sensitive to social differentiation and react to the reputation of Otara as a housing estate characterised by lower-class depression:

HOUSEWIFE 26 years old, 5 years in Otara

Otara has got a bad name, but this is not Otara. This area is classed as East Tamaki although it is part of Otara. People up here are different from the Otara people. Most of the trouble comes from the other side of the shopping centre.

HOUSEWIFE 39 years old, 8 years in Otara.

The Otara they talk about is the first half (i.e. Wymondley Block), this is East Tamaki. We like it here, close to transport. It's what you make of the place. If it is classed as a bad place you don't go bad with it. It's all right in our street. They're all private houses. Each has a different pattern, whereas the State houses up the road are all one pattern. That's why we like it here, private owners take pride (in their homes).
HOUSEWIFE 33 years old, 5 years in Otara.

When I first came here I used to give my address as East Tamaki instead of Otara. But now it doesn't worry me.

Having settled into Otara most families began filling their houses with consumer goods. Few had owned brand new homes before and most felt the only way to start off life in this new situation was to buy brand new furniture and home appliances. Few people had been into Pakeha homes to see how they coped with the situation of setting up house in suburbia. Pakeha standards in such matters could only be assessed by the over-glamourised picture presented by the advertisers in mass media. Thus, it was easy to assume that all Pakehas began home life with completely furnished homes. Therefore if the Maori were to take his place with pride alongside his Pakeha neighbour then he felt obliged to buy the best at the cost of long-term commitment to hire-purchase agreements. People who had never owned a washing machine or a refrigerator when they lived in the country now desired these goods because they were felt to be necessary adjuncts to modern living.

Of the hundred households surveyed ninety-five had
television, eight-nine a refrigerator, eighty-three a washing machine, seventy-six a motor mower, sixty-three a vacuum cleaner and fifty-one a car.

Over 80% of the home appliances were owned outright by the householders, something which was a matter of pride to them. That only 20% of the goods were still on hire-purchase agreements is a reflection that in the ten years since its establishment Otara is reaching maturity.

Some, like this housewife for example, have learned by experience how to economise in the purchase of home appliances:

We've got only two new things, a TV and a lounge suite. All the rest are second hand. I wouldn't go in for hire-purchase again. It took me all my time to pay off these things. I've learned what you can't buy you can't just get.

Although the television appears to head the list of home appliances, it actually takes second place to the refrigerator in the order of priorities because nine appliances were on hire rather than under purchase. It is a fair assumption however that television pre-empts a great deal of time in family life, because few of the houses I visited had any bookshelves or displayed any signs
of books. However, television was thought to be an asset in most families in that it kept the children in at night and in one or two cases the husbands as well when they might otherwise have sought entertainment outside the home. The facts of suburban living, such as small houses, close proximity to neighbours, the fifth of an acre building sections, the daily routine of regular employment, the commitment to hire-purchase, annual rates and mortgage repayments have impelled each household towards being independent autonomous units. Only limited help can be sought from kinsmen in the event of a crisis such as having water, gas or electricity disconnected in default of payment of accounts. Since it was the common lot to be chronically short of money, few kinsmen had a surplus of capital to lend for such purposes. Some provided a solution by offering temporary refuge in their homes for an unfortunate family until the crisis was overcome, but that was very often the limit of the help that they could give.

The trend towards life becoming more family centred is indicated by fifty-six husbands and fifty-two wives having no connection whatever outside the home, with voluntary associations. The reasons why people prefer to
remain uninvolved with their neighbours or associations outside the home are varied and includes such things as children being too young, concern with one's own affairs, the demands of one's occupation, age and ill-health. The following remarks are representative of the attitude of people who have confined themselves to their homes:

**HOUSEWIFE 40 years old, 6 years in Otara**

I just live at home and look after my children. I can't go out because I've got too many little ones. We keep out of trouble. We've got enough to worry about with our own family without worrying about somebody else.

**HUSBAND 29 years old, 3 years in Otara**

The time is not right for us to join anything. We are not in any committees because we are worried about ourselves. Everything in the home must be paid for and up to scratch. It's no good joining a committee and having your own goods repossessed.

**HOUSEWIFE 50 years old, 4 years in Otara**

All these things concern money. I didn't join because I don't want to get too involved, because I am in my own family committees to raise money for our home marae.

**HUSBAND 42 years old, 1 year in Otara**

When you are a shift worker you can't be in anything. You can't attend meetings so you don't know what's going on.

**HUSBAND 56 years old, 6 years in Otara**

I'm no longer in committees because I'm too old. I have arthritis and can't go to hui.
HUSBAND 35 years old, 8 months in Otara.

I'm just like a Pakeha. I have no clubs, no society or anything. In my spare time I do my garden, mow my lawn and visit friends. We just stick to ourselves.

Of the households that did hold membership in associations the majority were to be found in family clubs, (twenty husbands and twenty-five wives) and in sports clubs (sixteen husbands and ten wives). The next most represented organisation was the Maori Women's Welfare League (eight wives) followed by the parent-teacher Association (two husbands and six wives). There were only two husbands directly connected with the Otara Maori Committee. But there were six husbands and two wives who were wardens. There was also one husband and one wife who were connected with the Marae Steering Committee.

Although only five husbands and seven wives had a direct connection with the Maori Committee and its subsidiaries, the majority of families knew of the work of the Maori Committee and its wardens through the papers, through neighbours or kin who were members and through hearsay. The general consensus was that the Maori Committee was there for the benefit of the Maori people.
Those households which had additional members varied in the arrangements made to help meet the expenses of running the household. In the case of one family which had an aged father living in it was regarded as a privilege to have the old man living in the house. As the housewife put it:

We know my father hasn't much time left so we share him amongst us. Sometimes he goes to stay with my brother in Papatoetoe, and sometimes with another brother in Manurewa.

No board was asked of the old man but he gave 'help' in purchasing food or paying accounts. The idea of paying board is alien to the older people who prefer the notion of giving 'help' when needed. The idea of giving 'help' is reflected in the attitude of a forty-seven year old housewife with a grown family:

I don't expect my children to pay board, otherwise they will expect boarding house treatment. This is their home. If they want to board they can go to a boarding house. But they help with paying the bills for water and electricity. If everybody pays up we've got no bills, we're happy.

In some cases where regular weekly payments were made towards the housekeeping by a guest, a sliding scale was preferred to a set amount. "My brother gives me whatever I ask for, sometimes $5, sometimes $10".
This reluctance to charge board is a reflection of the Maori attitude towards kinsmen. It is regarded as a duty and an obligation to provide hospitality and accommodation to close kin. It is also a truism that kinsmen are expected to help each other. For these reasons one does not reduce close kinship relations to the common denominator of the cash nexus. By maintaining an open and sliding scale, the host lays up a stock of goodwill with his kinsmen which can be called upon to help meet unforeseen contingencies such as two or three accounts arriving at one time.

Even in families that are hard pressed to meet their financial commitments are reluctant to charge their children who have started to earn their living. One woman accepted £1.25 from her daughter rather than charge full board, and this she explained was used to pay the arrears in rent.

In all households (matri-centred households excepted) the women regarded their husbands as the head of the family. The younger housewives accorded their husbands leadership of their household by saying "Me ol' man's the boss", while the older women preferred to speak of their
husbands as "ko taku rangatira" (my superior) being the head of the house. This ranking of the men above the women as the heads of the household is attributed by the women to the sexual division of labour, to quote one housewife whose view reflected that of many others:

John is the head of the household. He brings in the bread and butter, therefore he's got the right to be the head of the house.

To the idea of the man's role as the breadwinner another housewife adds the distinction of the mother's role in caring for children as putting her in a dependent and subordinate position:

It's a man's world. The husband is the one who works to bring in the money. He has the say. There never is an equal partnership in marriage. A man can come and go as he pleases, but a woman has to take the children with her.

Husbands of course are not absolute despots in their own homes. Many husbands and wives discuss their problems together and arrive at joint decisions but even cases where there is this mutual discussion and sharing of responsibility wives prefer final decisions in important matters to be made by their husbands. As one wife put it:

Women can say so much, but the final say is with the husband, he's the breadwinner. When people try to
sell me something I tell them my husband's not in. We both decide what to buy. The only thing I buy is clothing for the kiddies. But where big things are involved I always consult him. I don't like taking things on by myself, he might get sick and we can't afford it.

Of the hundred households surveyed only one did not have children i.e. a descendant of the head of the household living in, or an adoptive child or even a grandchild. The average was 4.1 children per household. Maori families tend to regard a home as incomplete without children, and as children grow up and leave their home a middle-aged or even older couple would approach a close kinsman and ask for a child to foster or to adopt. The younger couples generally adopt a child legally to ensure that the natural parent does not claim the child back later in life. Other people however who are disqualified by age from adopting a child have to be content with 'Maori adoption'. Half of the adoptions were of this latter category.

Most of the families in the survey were solvent, but they all found it difficult to meet their commitments. Only nine households had suffered power disconnections, three had had their water disconnected and two had had
their gas supply cut off at one stage or another. Although the majority were coping only fifty-three families had a reserve of savings in a bank account. Of these only forty-three had sufficient funds to meet an emergency payment of £30.

This financial weakness of the family in the suburban situation is one factor that puts a brake on the complete isolation of the household. Life for most households has become more family centred with each unit responsible for its own affairs, but in emergencies brought about by ill-health or bereavement the family budget is stretched to breaking point. To cope with these situations families with sufficient kin in Auckland form their own mutual-aid organisations. About one quarter of the families belonged to family clubs.

Although the people of Otara are not rich, they do not by any means constitute a 'culture of poverty' as identified by Lewis in Mexican villages and cities.

Their houses are nearly all well furnished and well stocked.

with home appliances. Monogamous marriage is the norm rather than consensual union. But despite this, there is an incomplete integration with the major system. Although eighty-eight households had a newspaper delivered, only nine people held membership in a library of one sort or another. Although eighty-heads of families had been to the airport, and seventy-seven to the Town Hall only twenty-four had been to the Art Gallery. Of those who went to the Town Hall the majority had attended either a Maori concert, a pop group, or a boxing match. The museum was visited by ninety of the household heads with particular interest expressed in the Maori section. However, most admitted that visits to these civic amenities occurred prior to marriage or before settlement in Otara. Such visits are not regarded as part of family life. For those families with their own transport the favoured use of leisure time in the week-ends was visiting friends and relations and the occasional expedition to the beach. However, many families through lack of transport or shortage of cash rarely have the opportunity to go outside Otara. For these people the Maori Committee holds an annual picnic. In 1958 fourteen bus loads of people took part in the picnic. By the Secretary's estimate it was the first time that 40% of the children had been to the
beach. People who are worst hit by the difficulties of life in a housing estate are those under the control of a budget advisor. These people have little room to manoeuvre outside the routines of home life and the demands of employment. With a dollar a week for bus fares and a dollar 'pocket-money' for cigarettes, the quality of life is reduced to a minimum with little opportunity to expand it until indebtedness to creditors has been reduced, an aim which is seldom accomplished under two years.

Although there is only a small minority of people in Otara under a budget advisor (probably between 5% - 10%) over 90% of the families face a constant battle to remain solvent and keep up with their creditors. It is under these trying conditions that large numbers of children are being reared. The environment of Maori families in the metropolis is full of possibilities but the ability to avail themselves of the opportunities offered is stunted by shortage of cash. They are the first generation migrants whose main concern has been to establish tūranga-waewae or standing in the new home of their choice.

THE PĀPU FAMILY

Ray and Harriet Pāpu courted for seven months before
before they were married in 1950. Parental objections to the match were overcome by telling Harriet’s mother that she was pregnant and within a week they were married. But it wasn’t until eighteen months later that their first child was born. The young couple moved from Auckland to Mangakino to care for Harriet’s father and his family as her mother had died. While living in Mangakino Ray took an adult’s course as a boilermaker-welder. When the couple moved back to Auckland nearly five years later, Ray changed his job twelve times in the course of a year. None of the changes were for promotion. One job was changed because it entailed too much travelling, another because it involved shift work, another because of an argument with a superior over the interpretation of a blueprint. One job was changed for another which offered accommodation with it. But perhaps the most unusual reason for changing a job was in order to lower his income so as to qualify for a State house.

The Papus had six sons ranging in age from seventeen to five years old and a daughter who was two years old. The following observations are from my field notes made the first evening I was introduced to the whole family.
The two eldest boys, Mathew and Raymond shook hands with me in a confident and easy manner that is not common in Maori adolescents. Ray and Harriet had come in from work at seven o'clock. The younger boys had been fed by their elder brothers. They had just finished washing the dishes and were sitting round the fire. Harriet was sitting on the carpet in front of the fire nursing her daughter who was slightly unwell. While Ray was having his bath, Mathew played host by bringing me fruit and sitting down to talk. The TV was turned on. The fourteen and twelve year old were watching with interest but the two youngest aged seven and five were rolling on the floor. Sharron, 'the baby' held the favoured position in the family. Harriet took her to the shop every day so that they were constantly together. Sharron, by this time had left her mother's lap and was wandering about the room and climbing the furniture. In the meantime Harriet had prepared dinner for Ray and myself. While we were eating, Mathew bathed his little sister. When we returned to the sitting room the programme 'Star Trek' was in progress. Everyone was completely absorbed, except Sharron who continued to prowl the room in search of attention first from one and then
another. When she stood in front of the TV blocking the view of the others, she wasn't hissed or yelled at, but patiently asked to move away. She didn't understand TV but knew enough to perceive it as a competitor for the attention of her elders. For this reason she stood three feet in front of it and became the focus of attention for a minute or so. This childish demand for attention stemmed not from a lack of it, but rather, it would appear from having too much. The child was constantly being minded by someone, its mother, father or older brothers. This minding or petting is characteristically the attitude held towards the last child or baby of the family.

At 9:30 p.m. the younger boys were sent off to their room to go to bed. Mathew and his brother stayed in the sitting room. Mathew made no attempt to do homework. Raymond on the other hand, sat with a book in his lap and went through the motions of studying it if the TV programme did not interest him. About 10:00 p.m. Sharron began to whimper with fatigue whereupon her father picked her up and took her to bed with him. It was his job to lie down with the baby and put her to sleep. Needless to say he
went to sleep as well. It was midnight before Mathew and Ray retired to the bedroom which they shared.

Harriet, who had little education herself did not place a high premium on education. She felt that she was a moderate success in life without education in that she had set herself up in business as a dealer in second-hand clothes. She looked forward to the day when her two eldest sons would leave school and begin earning their living. Because Mathew failed his School Certificate examination the previous year, Harriet felt he had 'had his chance' and should begin work as an apprentice in the carpentry trade. Although Raymond was getting good reports from school and was sitting School Certificate at the end of the year Harriet wanted him to leave school and help her in the shop. She felt that if he wanted to sit School Certificate then he could go to night school.

The Pāpu family, being more financially secure than most is probably better adjusted to urban life. In spite of this there is a low valuation placed on education, tinged with a certain degree of anti-intellectualism ("I can teach him all he needs to know to get on"). This, attitude can only be explicable in terms of Harriet's
own childhood experiences when she was expected to work and help the family.

Raymond was conscious of his position at school as one of three Maoris who had 'made it' into the academic fifth form class. Consequently he worked more assiduously at his studies than his older brother. Raymond earned his own pocket money by delivering the evening paper for $3 per week. He also worked during vacations dispatching goods in a warehouse. Out of his earnings he had bought himself a motorbike and paid for his own books and school uniform.

Mathew worked even harder than Raymond at his part-time jobs. During vacation he worked at the freezing works, delivered papers in the morning and helped the milkman on his run between 11:30 p.m. and 3:00 a.m. Besides these vacation jobs Mathew had a regular Friday night job in a Department store in Otara for which he was paid $2.

Harriet encouraged the two boys to become financially independent. She charged them board of $5 and $8 when they were on full wages during vacation. With this
financial independence went treatment from their mother as young adults rather than as school boys. Mathew had a steady girl-friend whom he took out regularly and whom he kept supplied with pocket money. Harriet expected that once Mathew left school and entered employment he would get married fairly early. One of the gains which accrued to the boys from the experiences of working in the freezing works was the setting of their aspirations above that of merely earning a high wage. Neither boy, having worked in Westfield, wanted to spend the rest of his life working there. Ray had set his aspirations on becoming a school teacher, while Mathew aimed to qualify in the carpentry trade.

The maturity of Mathew and Ray contributed much to the smooth running of the routine life of the Pāpu household. Harriet's day began at 7:00 a.m. when she did the washing. Jackie the fourteen year old boy prepared the breakfast while Raymond cut the school lunches. Mathew helped with preparing the breakfast and saw to it that the kitchen was clean and tidy afterwards. Ray senior got out of bed at 7:55 a.m. and was at work ten minutes later. Mathew ran his father to work and returned the car to the
house for his mother. By 8:30 a.m. the boys were all off to school. Harriet stayed at home till 9:30 a.m. telephoning her business calls prior to going to her shop in Otahuhu. Harriet had Sharron with her all day at the shop and put her down for her morning and afternoon nap on a bed kept in the rear of the shop for the purpose.

On Monday afternoons Harriet shut the shop between 12:30 and 3:30 p.m. to work at the Otara Maori Catholic Society housie, held in the Municipal Hall in Otahuhu. Sometimes when Ray was off work, or one of the boys was kept back from school, they were left in charge of the shop while Harriet went to housie. Harriet also earned $5 per week as a 'caller' at housie on Friday afternoons for a branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Otahuhu. Harriet was also an organiser of the Otahuhu Catholic Society housie. She earned sometimes as much as $20 per week working at housie. Ray took four hours off work on Thursdays in order to go to housie. His wages would be made up by the $5 obtained through helping Harriet as a caller. The occasional win at housie would often boost this up to $20 for the afternoon. Ray's employers granted him the time off work because the housie was for the Parish.
On Monday nights Ray worked as a caller for the Otara Lions' housie. He was invited by his employers who were members of the Club to call for them. On Tuesday nights both Ray and Harriet went to housie for the Middlemore Hospital Amenities Fund. Harriet was also the organiser of this group. On Wednesday nights Harriet went to the Maori Committee meetings, or else made herself available to go on patrol with the wardens, a duty which she undertook on Thursday nights as well. Friday nights Harriet reserved for her weekly shopping. Saturday morning was the busy time for the whole family. While Harriet was busy with her housework the boys worked in the garden. In the rugby season the two eldest boys had to be away at mid-morning for football. If Ray was working on Saturday morning he took two hours off to watch his sons play for their College. This was the one condition he made when agreeing to work overtime for his employers. In the afternoon Harriet went off again to housie, this time for the Otahuhu Catholic Society. In the evening Harriet would go out to an hotel to relax. Sundays were usually spent quietly at home. But if the Otara Catholic Society had a field day, Harriet would be busy organising basketball teams while Ray organised a rugby team. The two
eldest boys played for this team as well.

Although Harriet had nine sisters and one brother, most of whom were living in Auckland she had little or no contact with them. She outlines here her attitude towards them:

When I was old enough to fend for myself, I broke away from my family. When you work for the Pakeha you learn his ways. From then on I thought it was one or the other so I carried on in my own way. We never bother with people outside the family. If I want anybody to look after my kids I pay them. We're too busy to bother with other people. We only go to tangi if we have to, otherwise we send a wreath or money. But if it's someone we knew well and he has been round our place a lot, then we'd go personally. My brother has been brought up under Maoritanga, but I haven't. He can say 'Oh yes, that's a relation of ours, but I can be sitting along side my uncle and I wouldn't know him. We're independent of relations. We don't need them.' That's how I've been brought up.

Although Ray did not take such an extreme view towards kin, as did Harriet, his circle of active kin was narrowed to three people whom he visited at the most once a month. These were his mother, a brother in Papatoetoe and a sister in Otara.

The Pāpu family exemplifies the trend among urban Maori families towards individuation of households where life becomes more family centred, i.e. round the family of
procreation rather than the family of orientation. The facts of urban living demand self-sufficiency in meeting the costs of domestic life. The Pāpu family is perhaps an extreme example of the trend towards individuation, because they do not need other people. Ray earns $50 per week while Harriet supplements the family's income from her earnings in her shop. This family has adjusted well to urban life and has maximised the economic opportunities available to it in the urban milieu. Both Harriet and Ray supplement their earnings by acting as organisers for housie, and in doing so pursue what to them is a worthwhile leisure activity. Housie gives them the chance to work for worthy causes as well as meet their own personal needs for friendship and membership in groups outside the family. That Harriet and Ray are able to pursue these interests and lead such a busy life is attributable to the maturity of their two eldest sons who take responsibility for the home and care for their younger siblings in their parents' absence. Mathew and Ray like their parents also had full lives. They played rugby for the school on Saturdays and for the Otara Maori Catholic Society on Sundays. Both knew the opportunities that were available for earning money and worked hard at it, even to the detriment of their school work. Mathew,
because of his failure at School Certificate (no doubt attributable to over commitment to part time work, sport and dating his girl-friend), had been told by his mother he had no brains but was good at practical work, had in his mind relegated school to second place in his life. He did not study as assiduously as his brother because he had been evaluated as non-intellectual, and passed the time till the end of the year when he could leave school and enter the world of work.

Finally, Harriet and Ray belong to a network of associations some of which are mutually exclusive (e.g. the Otara Maori Catholic Society and the Otara Maori Committee) while others have structural relationships (the Maori Committee and the Wardens' Association). The one mediating factor in their membership in these associations is their ethnic identity as Maoris. They belong to these groups because they pursue Maori interests and espouse Maori causes. However, their social milieu is not composed entirely of Maoris. Through his work associations Ray was drawn into an association with the Lions' Club, a Pakeha service organisation with less restricted aims than Maori associations. Similarly,
Harriet through her work in the Otara Maori Catholic Society was drawn into its Pakeha counterpart, the Otahuhu Catholic Society. The social field for the individual has the characteristics of both a structure and a network. The individual exercises options as to which parts of the structure and which parts of the network he wishes to engage in. A minor system which is embedded in a major system together with ethnic identity complicated the field by producing more options. But provided the social field is not rigidly demarcated (for example by caste lines) then a plural society becomes one where there are more options available to the individual in his social field.

THE TATE FAMILY

Pita Tate, 55 years of age was born in Te Ahuahu. He claimed genealogical descent from Aperahama Taonui, a well known ancestor of the Northern tribes, but preferred not to divulge his version of the genealogy, because he felt others would challenge it and counter-claim superior descent, something which in his view would serve little purpose except arouse unwarranted resentment. Pita Tate's original name was Teitei but when he was at primary school
his teachers anglicised his Maori name to Tate which has since become his family name. Six of the Tates' eleven children had already left home to work in Auckland and other places when Mr. Tate applied to the Maori Affairs Department in 1964 to have a house built on his own plot of ancestral land near Te Ahuahu village. The Maori Welfare Officer for the district recommended the application because it was hoped Mr. Tate would remain in the district to fill the role of kaumātua for the Parawhenua marae. All the recognised kaumātua had died, and Mr. Tate was acting as custodian of the marae. While the Tates were at Parawhenua the marae was kept in good order. The grass was kept trimmed and fruit trees planted to provide fruit for preserves for the marae. Mrs. Tate complemented the work of her husband by running a catering service for weddings and official dinners to raise funds to stock the marae with crockery and cutlery. However, Mr. Tate's application for a house was declined and the Department offered to build a house in Whangarei. The Tates decided that if they could not build on their ancestral land and had to move elsewhere, then they might as well move to where their grown up children were living in Auckland. Accordingly the funds they had accumulated with the Maori Affairs were transferred to Auckland and
they moved directly from Te Ahuahu to their new house in Otara. Tim, their second son, who was helping to manage a mission hostel for Maori boys at the time went to live with his parents to help them settle in and ease the financial burden of setting up house in a brand new home and a strange environment. Tim lived with his parents for three years until he married in June 1968 when he moved with his wife into a new house in the Mayfield sector of Otara.

Of Pita Tate's family of twelve children only three were still living at home. The three eldest sons had their homes in Otara. The fourth son lived with his family of five children in Kinleith. The eldest daughter lived with her family of three children in Te Atatu, while a fifth son lived at Mt. Smart with his family of two children. The second daughter who was twenty-three years of age had left home and was living in Otahuhu. Their third daughter who was married lived in Whangarei with her family of two children. All told, the Tates had nineteen grandchildren, twelve of whom were living in Auckland.

When Tim decided to get married in 1968, the Tate family assumed the responsibility of putting on the
wedding because his bride came from the South Island and had no relatives living in Auckland. Another reason why the Tate family wished to put on the wedding was the position Tim held as leader of the family. Although Tim was junior by birth to his twin Kerry, he assumed leadership in family matters. Whenever there was trouble in the family or someone needed help it was always Tim who took the initiative. Tim's position of leadership was given recognition by his parents who referred to him as the matua (parent) of the family. Although Kerry was the mātāmua (first born) Mr. Tate regarded Tim as having this honour, because when the twins were named, the kaumātua at the Parawhenua marae bestowed the name Te Mārama-tanga (the learned one) on Tim. In later life the kaumātua's action appeared to have been prophetic for it was Tim who had the better grasp of the Maori language and customs. In appreciation of Tim's leadership his father and siblings bore the cost of Tim's wedding, and planned the whole ceremony and reception without reference to him. Three of the family donated £20 each to defray costs while the smallest donation was £10.

THE FAMILY CLUB

The success of the wedding as a cooperative family
venture led to Mr. Tate suggesting the formation of a family trust fund. He pointed out that each of his children now had their own homes and family responsibilities, and it would be a benefit to all members of the family to have a trust fund available to assist in times of trouble, hardship within the family, or for bereavement within the family circle. The family agreed to the proposal and decided to levy £2 per month from each wage-earner. Mr. Tate filled the office of patron, Kerry the eldest was appointed chairman and Tim was appointed secretary-treasurer. The two eldest boys were also the trustees and signatories to the account. The first draw on the fund occurred early in the new year of 1969 when a kuia who was a close friend of the Tate family died at Waimate North. The grant from the fund was £14, of which £4 went in petrol to take the party of mourners from the family back up north to the tangi and £10 to the marae as a takoha (donation to help defray marae and funerary expenses). The second draw from the fund occurred when Kerry had to take time off work to take his wife to Mangakino to visit her mother who was seriously ill. He applied to the committee for a grant to help defray his expenses and make up his lost wages, and was granted £20.
The Tate family trust in a little over a year had called four meetings and had accumulated over $200. Although Tim officially collected the monthly contributions there was no pressure brought to bear on a member to make his contribution regularly other than the moral obligation to the family. If a member fell behind in his payments it was left to him to make up the deficiency when he could. Although affines shared the benefits of the trust fund they were not expected to make contributions. In practice of course the married daughters had their contributions paid by their husbands.

The success of a family trust such as the one discussed here is dependent on the proximity of the family of orientation to the family of procreation. The Tate family in particular is closely knit and every Sunday married sons and daughters living in Auckland converge on the senior Tate household with their children. A special effort is made on long week-ends when the son from Kinleith and the daughter from Whangarei come with their families to visit their parents. On these occasions all the members of the family living in Auckland meet at the parental home. Cooking is done in a *hangi* in the back yard and trestle tables erected in the garage.
At these family reunions as many as thirty people would sit down to a meal. Pita Tate and his wife, by coming to live in Auckland have helped the members of their family remain in contact with each other. The family of orientation provides for the individual family of procreation a point of focus outside itself from which to draw strength in the face of the difficulties and uncertainty of urban life. In time of trouble it provides a haven, in times of need a source of help. This need for security is given substance in the foundation of a family trust fund. Although the immediate members and beneficiaries are members of the family, the organisation also gives expression to kinship ties outside itself. The death of a kinsman is marked by a group from the family going to the tangi with their tākoha drawn from the trust fund. By keeping the organisation within the family of orientation high social cohesion is maintained, and the possibility of friction and disintegration through non-payment of dues is minimised.

THE PARAWHENUA MARAE RESTORATION COMMITTEE

As an elder and custodian of the Parawhenua marae, Pita Tate regarded his obligation towards the marae as deeply as the obligation he felt towards his family.
In Easter of 1969 he visited his marae in order to inspect it and find what maintenance was needed. While there he learned that the neighbouring marae at Waiomio had been condemned by the Health Department which was carrying out a survey in the area. Because of the deterioration of the Parawhenua marae Mr. Tate decided to form a restoration committee to renovate the buildings and upgrade the toilet facilities by building a modern ablution block before the authorities condemned the marae. Mr. Tate began with a group of half a dozen of his close kin and proposed his plan of a marae restoration committee in June 1969. From this small group the kaupapa (constitution of the Parawhenua Marae Restoration Committee) was established. In due course an executive of eleven was elected, together with thirty associate members who paid $10 for membership. The people in Te Ahuahu were kept informed of the plans of the Auckland group and a parallel organisation was formed there as well. Both groups set themselves a target of $3,000 which together with the Government dollar for dollar subsidy would provide $12,000 working capital. In the four months since its inception the committee had a credit balance of $700 in the bank. The main fund-raising activity was through the sale of hangi at field
days for the Hellaby's (freezing works) Social Club.
One of the members of the Restoration Committee was also
a member of the Hellaby's Social Club and it was he who
proposed that the Marae Restoration Committee be given
the right to cater at the field days of the Club. Over
$500 gross was made from eleven hangi over the four month
period of the operations of the group. The hangi were
prepared at the home of Mr. Tate with his sons as his
main helpers. Other members of the hapu were always on
hand to help as well and they took over in the absence of
Mr. Tate and his sons. The second method of fund-raising
was through socials. The venue for these was outside
Otara, the most favoured being the Newmarket R.S.A. Hall
where the group aimed to hold socials once a month.
The organisation was able to make good profits ($230 in one
case) from socials because it had its own band which pro-
vided its services free. The strength of the Para-
whenua Marae Restoration Committee lay in its recruitment
of members on the basis of membership in Te Uri-Taniwha
hapu. The project provided kinsmen who were scattered
throughout the suburbs of Auckland with a common aim, and
an opportunity to meet and renew their ties. It also

1. Returned Servicemen's Association
provided Pita Tate with the opportunity to exercise his role of *kaumātua* of his hapu in the urban situation. The leadership he gave within his own family served as the nucleus of loyalty which was extended to a wider circle of kin on the basis of a common *marae* and common *hapu* affiliation.

It is significant that the control of the Tates' family organisation was in the hands of his sons, but in the Marae Restoration Society, control was in the hands of the elders. At the core of the organisation was a sub-committee of four, comprising Mr. Tate and his wife, Sam Tipene, son of the last elder of the *marae* and Ben Paki. The former of these two was in his early forties while the latter was a few years older. Both accepted the leadership of the older man because at fifty-five years of age he occupied the role of *kaumātua* in the *hapu*, a position for which they had not yet qualified in terms of age and experience. These men, as the leaders of the first generation migrants from the *hapu* have no real identification with urban life. Although they live in the metropolis and derive their sustenance there, home for them lies outside it in their rural *marae*. Pita Tate symbolises the aspirations of the older generation of migrants and expresses his commitment to his rural
origins rather than to his present situation:

I'm not participating in marae projects in Auckland because I've always got my heart at home. When I die I'll be taken back home. This home is all right as a place to work but my spirit will always be in the kainga. My grandchildren also have the same spirit. Whenever trouble befalls them they go home. We all go back together from here to clean our cemeteries. During the Christmas holidays we lived on the marae for two weeks. I took all my mokopuna (grandchildren) there with me and we cleaned up the marae and cemeteries. We are already discussing a working-bee on the marae for this coming Christmas. The arrangements for this are made here.

Perhaps Mr. Tate is being optimistic in thinking the marae will mean the same to his grandchildren as it does for him. It is unlikely that a short annual sojourn on the marae will provide more than an episodic part of the total process of socialisation of the new generation. But at least it does provide the young with an insight into their point of origin as a nucleus on which to fasten their identity as Maoris.

THE TUREI FAMILY

Mary and Dan Turei live near the Flatbush sector of Otara. Unlike the previous families discussed they had no inner or cultural strength on which to draw and enable them to make satisfactory adjustments to urban life.
They have reached out towards the independence and uninvolved existence of urban living without adequate preparation or a satisfactory reference group to replace that which they left in their rural kainga. Consequently their life is one of uncertainty and indebtedness and is underpinned by little else other than the bond between husband and wife and affection for their children.

The following is the story of their marriage as they related it:

MARY, twenty-eight years old.

I wanted to go to college. But because there were twelve in the family my parents couldn't afford to send me. I got up to Form II and left school at fifteen to work in the office of a garage. I was a member of the Rātana Church and enjoyed going to Sunday School running in the sports. Our services were held at the Kotahitanga marae near Kaikohe. Although Dad went to the tangi my mother hardly went at all to those things. The first tangi I went to was when my brother died a few weeks ago, it's something new to me really. At Kaikohe, although the people I worked for were Pakehas, most of our friends were Maoris. I was seventeen when I married Dan. We lived with his parents at Kaikohe for fifteen months. Dan was working at Whangarei at the time and he came back for the week-ends. It was awful. I couldn't do what I wanted to do, or say what I wanted to say, so I kept to myself. Eventually Dan was transferred to Auckland in 1959. He was working on the Railways then, getting about £28 (§56) a fortnight. The flat we had in Ponsonby cost £10 (§20) a week, so we got his sister and her husband, Matt Pupekuke to live with us and share the rent. We were there nine months then got transferred to Taumarunui where we lived in a railway house for two years. We were transferred back to Auckland
again and had another railway house in Panmure. We were there for three years. Then Dan got into trouble at work and got the sack after being in the Railways for nine years. Ever since he left that job he's been here there and everywhere. Because we lost the Railway house we moved in with Martha and Matt who had a State house in Otara. We were there four months before we got this house from the State Advances, that was in 1966.

Dan worked for United Empire Box in Panmure for one year. After that he worked on the wharves for three months. Then he went driving trucks in Otahuhu. After we moved into our own house he drove buses for Passenger Transport Company and stayed there for two and a half years. He kept changing jobs because he was late for work or missed going to work. I blame it on his drinking. In the mornings I couldn't wake him up. From Passenger Transport Company he went to the East Tamaki Dairy Company. He was there only two months then he went to work in Papatoetoe for a concrete firm. The job lasted only a month then he was unemployed. He got the dole, which was only $2.50 a week. We got behind with the rent and had a rough spin. Dan was going from bad to worse. By this time gossip about us had got right back home to Kaikohe. Dan's sister came to see us one weekend, she asked if I knew that the people back home were talking about us. His mother also rang up to find out about Dan and I.

About this time we lost our baby. Dan bucked his ideas up and looked more to the children. He started buying food like a man should. Then he'd fall back to drinking again. In 1968 he got a job at James Hardie in Penrose as a hoist driver. He was there four months then he went back to the wharf again. In the New Year of 1969 he went to work at Alex Harvey's at East Tamaki. During all these changes of jobs we were short of money. He used to run up bills at shops to feed the kids.

1. Colloquialism for unemployment benefit.
He would pay them when he got a summons. He was desperate at Easter time because people were knocking at our front door - debt collectors and shop keepers. This was why we looked for help with budgeting.

DAN, 35 years old

I was born in Kaikohe and grew up in the hills at Okoriki near Rawene. We never used to go to town, and we didn't know what pictures was (sic). We had a bit of a farm with nine cows. We started off with only two. There were no buses there so we hardly went to school. We used to ride on horseback to the Kaikohe Native school. All the people there were Maoris, the nearest Pakeha was eight miles away. We used to stay together in one house, three families all together. There must have been nearly forty of us counting the children all living in the one place. We had to work at fencing, planting kumara and weeding gardens. When my grandfather died we left Okoriki and scattered all over the place, I was fourteen when I left Te Ringa school. Dad had his own farm and was milking fifty cows. There was Mum, Dad, three brothers and myself and my uncle living on the place. I worked on the farm for no pay till I was eighteen. Then I went to Whangarei in 1952 to work on the Railways. I was there four years. Then I went home because Dad wanted me to go on the farm. He was working on the Railway himself at the time and my uncle was managing the farm. I didn't stay there long because my older brother was there as well. He got the cream cheque and I was lucky to get £5 (§10) out of it. This was the time I met Mary in 1958 so I went back to the Railways in Whangarei. We stayed with Mary's father for three months in Whangarei, and had our first baby there.

In 1960 we got a transfer to Taumarunui to get away from relations. They talked too much about my affairs. There was gossip that I should go back to the farm instead of working for the Pakeha. They said I'd wasted the farm. Anyway I couldn't get on with my brother so I thought I'd transfer and get right out of it. I was four years in Taumarunui. While I was there I started drinking. In 1964 I was
transferred back to the Westfield yard. I left the Railways because of too much drinking, so I went to work for United Empire Box. We lived with my sister for two months until we got this place from the State Advances. My next job was driving trucks for Andrew and Andrew. I left that because there was not enough money - only £15 (NZ$30) per week. I worked on the buses for two years with Passenger Transport Company. I was paid £25 (NZ$50). There was trouble at this time between me and the wife. I was drinking and going out to parties with the boys. I spent a lot of money and brought only half my pay back. Next I went to Hardie Bros. as a hoist driver. By this time I had many debts, so I went under Mr. Winters to help me with my bills. He budgeted me for eighteen months. I left him because we didn't know how we were getting on. I was sick of these people coming to see me. I had no money, I was working late at night, I got brassed off, so I left Mr. Winters. I was in the cart. Bills were coming in from all over the place and on top of that I was off work for three months and was getting social security benefit. That's when I heard from Bill Martin about this new budget scheme that was started for Maoris in Otara, so I decided to join it.

The Tureis owed over NZ$500 by the time they sought budgeting advice. In order to help her husband overcome the backlog of debts, Mary took on twilight work in a carpet factory. She left for work at 4:30 p.m. and returned home at 9:40 p.m. In order to enable her to work Mary gave her five children their evening meal at 4:00 p.m. before her brother's wife Stella came down to take the children up to her place until Mary returned from work. Mary had a close relationship with her sister-in-
law whom she saw every day, visited in the week-ends and went with on a weekly shopping expedition on Thursday mornings. Dan on the other hand, disapproved of Mary leaving her children under the care of relatives. He felt relatives would gossip about both of them working and 'parking' their children with others. So concerned was Dan about depending on relations that he changed from shift work to permanent day shift so as to be able to mind the children himself while his wife was working at night.

Dan's unfavourable attitude to relatives stemmed from his early experiences on the farm and was reinforced by an unfortunate experience with his favourite sister, Martha and brother-in-law Matt. Dan borrowed $20 from Matt's nephews which he forgot or neglected to pay back. The nephews took their case to law and in due course Dan received a summons for $27 which he paid. This incident caused a break between Dan and his brother-in-law and deepened his distrust of relatives. Herein lay the weakness of the Turei family. The respective families of orientation of both the husband and the wife were too far away in the country to provide support, guidance and a stabilising influence in the face of difficulties. The family was thrown back on to its own slender resources.
It had no reserve of money or backing from a family organisation to help it when the husband was unemployed or off work through illness. Dan sought solace in drink or in the purchase of material possessions neither of which he could afford. In the space of six months during the period of his greatest financial crisis he bought two old motor cars, wall-to-wall carpet for his sitting room, a TV set and a vacuum cleaner. The inability of the family to manage its affairs together with estrangement from kin impelled it to seek advice in budgeting from a total stranger. This family is fairly representative of the five to ten per cent of those families which are not successfully adjusted to urban life.

A CASE OF DECISION - MAKING IN THE SOCIAL MATRIX OF KINSHIP

There were nine children in the Karanga family, ranging in age from sixteen to three years old. The family left the ancestral home at Mangamuka for Okaihau where the father Maki, worked for a while on the Railways. Eventually the family moved again to Mercer and finally settled in Otara in 1965. Maki, as the mātāmua (first-born) of his family was generous to his brothers and sisters
who lived in Auckland and visited him frequently. He asked Don, his youngest brother to live with him. The family occupied a large State Advance house with five bedrooms. Having lived in with the family for three years, Don became attached to his brother's children. Not long after Don married in 1967 his brother's wife died. Within a year Don's brother had died as well leaving him as the head of his brother's household. Thus, Don at the age of twenty-two had responsibility for nine orphan children, a large house, his wife and a child of his own.

Wi Pātene, the Karanga family's karani (grand-uncle) living in Mangamuka was the elder of the family and regarded it as his right to decide the future of the children. Don Otene, although the same age (fifty-six) as Mr. Pātene, was teina (junior) to him and the Karanga family in genealogical terms. Notwithstanding the genealogical position, Don Otene regarded himself by virtue of age and experience as acting in loco-parentis to the family, especially in view of the fact that he lived in Otara. Wi Pātene on the other hand never married. He was a pensioner and lived in a two bedroomed house in Mangamuka. He had land rights but no issue to succeed to them.
Accordingly he came down from Mangamuka to Otara to claim the children and return them to their ancestral lands. However, being unmarried he would not have been able to care for the children himself. The old man tried to induce his nephew Don and his wife to return North with him to be the foster parents for the children by offering to make Don his legal heir to his lands. Mr. Otene tried to dissuade Mr. Pātene from acting hastily and pointed out that the State had taken an interest in the plight of the family and was likely to intervene and place the children under the care of the Child Welfare Department. Furthermore, the case had been placed in the hands of the Maori Committee which had the organisation and lawyers behind it to negotiate a satisfactory solution. Mr. Otene summed up the situation for the old man:

You have no money to meet the immediate needs of the family. You are a returned serviceman, and we will ask the Secretary of the Committee who is well informed to ask for a grant of money towards your needs from the R.S.A. You must not take the children on the strength of your ancestral claim alone. You can not win an argument with the Pakeha officers of the State. They would like to see those children in a home, with a mother and preferably together. You cannot provide any of these things.

In due course the Secretary got some financial assistance for Mr. Pātene from the R.S.A. As soon as the
old man received the money, he uplifted the children in a taxi and took them back up North with him. The 'kid-napping' of the children precipitated a special meeting of the Maori Committee with officers from the Child Welfare and Social Security Departments. Mr. Otene notified the siblings of the deceased of the meeting and the concern of the Maori Committee for the future of the children. He was disappointed that not one of them came forward to offer any suggestions or to help him and the youngest brother with the problem of the orphan children. Therefore, in order to avert the intervention of the State Mrs. Otene offered the family the use of her fully-furnished four bedroomed house in Mangamuka which was on neighbouring property adjoining Mr. Patene's land. Mrs. Otene also offered to return North and care for the children until Don Karanga and his wife could settle their affairs in Auckland before returning to Mangamuka to take up residence as the legal foster parents of the children. The solution was accepted by the officers of the State and the matter rested there.

The care of the Karanga family illustrates decision making in terms of kinship relations. The Karanga siblings had established their own families of procreation.
These were individual and independent of each other, having no family of orientation to draw them together. Only Don who had lived with his deceased brother's family for some time had any strong sense of obligation towards the orphan children. None of the others who were married and had small families of only three or four children came forward to offer to take some of the orphans and ameliorate the position of the younger brother. How much their withdrawal from the problem was caused by concern with their own affairs and how much by the actions of their elder, Mr. Pātene is difficult to determine. That they were not even present at the meeting to determine the future of the children is indicative of the effects of urban living on Maori life. Mr. Pātene on the other hand saw the situation as a chance to reverse the urban drift and settle the Karanga family as heirs on his ancestral land. Consequently he chose to exercise his rights as a kaumātua and senior male in the family to take the children into his custody. That the legal position did not sanction the stand that he had taken did not concern him. Mr. Pātene having acted by uplifting the children before the Maori Committee and the authorities had decided what to do, led Mr. and Mrs. Otene to follow up his action in a supportive role. Mr. Otene as teina
(junior) could not tell Mr. Patene what to do, he could only endorse what the other had decided. The gesture made by the Otenes in giving their home to the family and caring for the children until a more permanent arrangement could be made is indicative of their commitment to kinship obligations. Mr. Otene summed up his attitude and the reason for his actions as being because "we are all one bone."

**SUMMARY**

The basic core of the Maori household in the urban situation is the nuclear family. Although the family unit is often extended by the inclusion of one or two additional members, the extension of hospitality is seldom permanent and generally confined to close kin of one spouse or the other. Occasionally families will double up in a single dwelling but these are usually only temporary arrangements. The ease with which a house can be obtained by capitalising the family benefit or by renting from the State has led to widespread adoption of the norm of a single house to a single family unit.

With the individuation of the family, life has become
more centred on the family of procreation and less centred on the family of orientation. Each household is responsible for its own affairs under the direction of the husband as its recognised head. Because each household is contemporaneously concerned with the same problem of 'making ends meet' little help can be expected in the way of financial aid from kinsmen.

A solution to financial weakness is found by some families in the formation of benevolent societies and family organisations. These come into being where there are a sufficient number of kinsmen present to make such an institution viable. Many of these eventually founder because of non-payment of dues or because of withdrawal of contributions by one or two members which creates a 'run' on the funds. But when these organisations focalise on a single family of orientation, social cohesion is more durable. The Tate family cited here is an example of the continued viability of the kinship system in urban life. The case of the Karanga family also illustrates the continued working of the kinship system and its effect on decision making in the urban situation.
For families which are financially secure and independent however, (the Pāpu family represents the extreme of this kind), the tendency is to minimise kinship in social relations and exercise greater choice in friendship and social interaction.

The setting up of so many institutions concerned with welfare in the urban situation i.e. Maori Committees Welfare Leagues, and church groups underlines the social dislocation of the Maori and his feelings of insecurity. They meet the needs which could formerly be met by the kinship system in the rural situation. Few have their kinship system intact in the metropolis from which to draw strength. Consequently there is more reliance on non-kin institutions to give expression to the old values of sibling unity and mutual aid.
CHAPTER 11.

THE DEPRESSION OF URBAN LIFE

It is clear from the data presented so far, that the majority of Maoris living in Otara have come to the metropolis from impoverished rural circumstances. They have exchanged the simple life of the rural community for one of regular employment and higher material comfort. The transition from the country where needs were few and easily satisfied from the immediate environment to the complexities of urban living is not accomplished without difficulty. Few had been prepared by their previous lives and education to make the transition to urban living easily. The majority of people were readily beguiled by the ease with which a new house could be acquired and filled with furniture and home appliances on hire-purchase or time payment. The tendency in most cases was to over-commit the wage packet or to leave no margin of surplus to cope with emergencies such as ill-health, and death. In calculating weekly payments on home appliances many would forget to take into consideration long term accounts such as electricity (every
six weeks), telephone (every quarter), rates and water (every year). Because of their great number of kin an extra cost which Maoris have to meet is the death of kinsmen. A tangi costs money for travel if it is out of town, perhaps lost time at work and donation of money to the bereaved family. One family I dealt with for example was under budget advice with accounts totalling over $500. Within the space of six weeks the wife's brother and then the husband's father died. The cost to the family of both these deaths was over $80.

Besides their own ignorance in over-committing themselves financially, Maoris had also to contend with the cupidity of the business houses. One business house specialising in furniture and home appliances for example, allowed a housewife to run up an account of $1,322 and took a quarter of the family's pay packet ($50 per month) in repayments. The firm kept posting its brochures urging the housewife to buy its latest appliances. The same firm also specialised in a form of salesman-ship called an 'Add-To Account', the main clause of which is quoted here:

There is no need to finalise this account before
selecting new furnishings or home appliances. Under The Symonds 'Add-To Account' plan you can buy from any department and have your purchases added to your present account. You have the convenience of only one pass book and one instalment.

What is not made clear to the customer is the fact that the account for each separate item is not closed until the final instalment is made on the last purchase. If for example, the last item has to be repossessed and it happens to be a sitting-room suite which through being used or damaged has little resale value, then the firm can recover the loss by repossessing the next item down the list which might have been a fully paid up TV set.

Inability to comprehend fully the meaning of contractual obligations, is one of the main sources of financial embarrassment of many Maori families. One man whose affairs I studied closely held a car under a lease agreement of £30 per month. I asked him if he understood the meaning of the word 'lease' i.e. if it was clear to him that at the expiry of the lease the car would still not be his. He replied that he did not know this. After making enquiries of the lessor I explained to the lessee that at the end of the contract
he could purchase the car at market value from the lessor who would refund his money to him after the company had deducted the 'residual value' from the vehicle (i.e. money left owing to it on its original investment.)

In due course the vehicle was no longer road-worthy because of body rust. The lessor denied responsibility for repairs but expected the lease payments to continue under threat of legal action. Because of the unsatisfactory condition of the vehicle and the fact that the legality of the agreement was at the time under consideration, I advised the lessee to repudiate the contract and invited the lessor to repossess the vehicle for its scrap value. The lessor made no complaint about the abrogation of the lease nor did he recover the car, and it sits to this day mouldering away on the lessee's section. Without the advice given above, the lessee would have continued paying monthly instalments until $175 had been paid up for a vehicle that was worth only its scrap value of $50.

One family which had the brother of the husband living in, spoiled its credit rating through ignorance of contractual obligations. When the brother returned
North for an indefinite period, he made no arrangements for the payments of instalments on his TV set. In due course the vendor called to repossess the appliance. The householder, not wishing to lose the set paid the arrears and signed a bond as guarantor that payments would be maintained. The householder did not realise until afterwards that the TV would never be his because it was still legally his brother's. In due course he thought it folly to pay for something that would never be his so he ceased payments and the TV was repossessed. What he didn't realise was, that as guarantor he was still held responsible for the payments and his failure to honour the obligation was entered against his credit rating.

Three years later when the householder went back to the firm to purchase a TV set he was refused credit because his record was still on file there. His uncomprehending resentment was expressed in the statement "but the TV was not mine. It was my brother's". The best I could do for him was to explain the meaning of the word 'guarantor' and point out his error and how it came about through misunderstanding, but I think it did little to assuage his feelings.
THE NEED FOR BUDGET ADVICE

Those who fail to cope with their financial commitments for the reasons cited above are alerted to impending crisis by letters from their creditors asking for settlement of arrears in their accounts. These are usually ignored until repossession is threatened.

In order to avert repossession, quarterly and annual accounts and even rent are pushed to the background. But this is only a temporary expedient which does not really overcome the problem. In the end rent, rates, electricity and water payments fall into arrears.

The creditors in these cases cannot get satisfaction by repossession and so resort to cutting off the power and water supply. By non-payment of these accounts, discount is lost and a penalty of a reconnection fee is added. In the case of one family whose water supply had been disconnected the account was $9. The reconnection fee was $3, thus there was a 333% loading on an account in order to collect $9. Failure to pay accounts on time, ended in litigation and similarly resulted in additional cost to the debtor. For example a default summons claim of $16.48 with legal costs
added came to $19.48. Thus, one can see it is expensive to be poor or to neglect one’s obligations in the urban situation. These are the lessons that first generation migrants are learning in the metropolis.

When a family reached the extreme position of having water or power disconnected or was faced with an eviction order for arrears in rent, it came to the notice of one or other of the Maori associations such as the Maori Women’s Welfare Leagues, the Maori Committee, church groups or family organisations. Because the Maori Committee assumed the role of guarantor to the creditors, power and water would be re-connected within a matter of hours, and evictions or repossessions stayed. The Committee used its funds to pay the accounts, thus relieving the family of the pressure of harassment by creditors. Under these circumstances more people in trouble turned to the Maori Committee for aid. The Committee relied on the sense of obligation incurred by the debtors, that the money would be repaid in full. Thus the Committee manoeuvred itself into the position of being a buffer between the creditor and debtor. It acted as an intermediary under statutory authority towards the creditor on behalf of the debtor.
During the period when unemployment was at its highest in 1967, the number of cases handled by the Committee increased rapidly. That it was able to handle as many cases as it did was attributable to the fact that the Secretary had been on sick leave for several months. The Secretary working from his home, devoted day and night to the welfare problems confronting him. By June 1967 the Secretary was personally responsible for the budgeting of forty-five families. When the Secretary was declared medically fit to return to work, his social security benefit ceased and he was faced with the choice of abandoning the families he was helping or continuing to handle their affairs with the prospect of himself falling into financial difficulties. The Secretary arranged a meeting with his budgetees to consider the position. The budgetees asked the Secretary not to abandon them, and offered to support him if he continued to manage their affairs. A charge of 25 cents per week on each account was agreed to as expenses for the Secretary. The Secretary also arranged commission with various business houses for sales made to his budgetees on
such items as TV sets, motor-mowers, furniture etc.

As people began to hear of the budget service the Secretary was providing, more came to him with their problems, so that within a few weeks of deciding to work full time at budgeting his clientele had increased to sixty-seven families.

The Secretary's system of budgeting rested on control of the family's pay packet. Arrangements were made with employers to pay the money directly into a budget account from which weekly or monthly payments were made to creditors. The accounts were under two signatures, those of the budgetee and the Secretary. Thus, the wage earner could not withdraw money on his own behalf and went once a week to the Secretary to collect his 'pocket-money' of £1 for fares and £1 for cigarettes. For sundry payments the budgetee pre-signed withdrawal forms so as not to inconvenience the Secretary by having to visit him every time an account had to be paid. The Secretary was responsible for completing the withdrawal and paying the account. The number one priority in the Secretary's view was food for the family, and this was followed by rent, electricity, water and the business firms. The success of the Secretary lay in the loyalty he won from
his budgetees who looked upon him as a leader who had saved them from the intricacies of the Pakeha economic system. On their behalf, he was able to negotiate with the business firms repayments on hire purchase agreements which the budgetees could manage. In other words he was able to balance their budgets by promising the creditors smaller but regular weekly payments.

One of the weak points of the Secretary's budget service was his own shortage of money and the lack of a pool of capital on which to draw as 'bridging finance' for new clients whose affairs had reached breaking point through indebtedness. The Secretary broached the subject to some of his budgetees whose accounts were in credit of a hundred or more dollars and several agreed to the Secretary's taking money from their accounts to help new clients over the initial difficult period of stabilising their accounts.

THE MANUKAU ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT AND WELFARE SOCIETY

As the Secretary's clientele grew he realised that not only was he benefitting his people but he was also making it easier for the business houses to collect their
money, and so he decided to negotiate for their support:

I approached the business people, particularly the bigger firms which were our heaviest creditors and suggested a round-table conference with the Otara Maori Committee. The aim was to consider the work done and the procedures established by the Maori Committee in budgeting people and the benefit which accrued to the business community. There were six firms present at the meeting as well as the Social Services Officer from Manukau City and chairman of the Otara Unemployment Action Committee. I explained the pressure we were under and I proposed we join forces to establish a District Budgeting Service based on business-like lines. This would help in the social and economic advancement of our people. They also realised from their point of view it would be an advantage to them if our people were economically sound.

The outcome of the meeting was an election of a steering committee in June 1968. There were three representatives from the Maori Committee, Mr. Williams, Mr. Te Whata and the Secretary, and four representatives from the businessmen. The task of the Steering Committee was to propose a Board of Directors comprised of 'top men' in the community to consider the appointment of managers and to determine the extent to which welfare would be part of the programme. The name adopted for the scheme was the Manukau Economic Advancement and Welfare Society Incorporated.

The scheme was fine in conception, but failed because
of the withdrawal of the Secretary. The Maori Committee representative, Mr. Williams, outlined his view of the reasons for the failure of the scheme:

The Secretary was one hundred per cent behind it. But as soon as it veered slightly from what he thought it should be he backed off. I asked him to submit his expenses in setting up his budgeting system. He advanced a sum of 400. The Committee wasn't satisfied so further inquiries were made. It was also suggested that the post of manager would have to be advertised and suitable people would be retired business men and accountants. The Secretary said 'They can't do without me. I've got the hundred budgetees.' He expected me to fix it up and get him a good salary. He was talking in terms of 850 a week - that's what he got down the wharf. He wanted us to pay 4,000 or nothing. He backed off and the whole thing lapsed.

The Secretary continued to operate his budget service from his home. By July of 1958 he was coping with seventy-six budget accounts, with more and more people seeking him out for advice. He manned his telephone night and day helping people with their problems in welfare. In the evenings he was particularly busy with his budgetees who could see him only after their working hours.

THE NEW ZEALAND MAORI BUSINESS ADVANCEMENT SOCIETY

During 1958 Arthur Black, a debt collector, visited the Secretary to collect a debt from a budgetee. The
Secretary intimated to Mr. Black that his knowledge in business would be useful to his Maori people and invited him to attend meetings of the Maori Committee. From this relationship a new scheme to promote budgeting was evolved. I quote at length an interview with Mr. Black in which he outlines his connection with the Maori Committee, and the part he played in developing the new scheme:

MR. BLACK:

I went down (to a Committee meeting) at the Secretary's invitation and was quite impressed. I've been away from home fourteen years and had never been connected with community affairs before. I've only been interested in my own affairs. But having observed this Committee in action I became interested. I felt as though I could help the people. I knew the problem of indebtedness of the Maori. I was picking them up in my work repossessing some of their things. At that time I was thinking only of myself and my own commitments, either they eat or I eat. As far as I was concerned it was a job. Prior to meeting the Secretary I had thought of incorporating a budgeting service within my business. When the Secretary told me he was doing the budgeting for nothing I suggested putting his budgeting system on a business-like basis, but he hadn't thought of these things. As our association got a bit deeper, we started to see more of each other. I came to a decision. Rather than do it for myself I'd get better satisfaction if I could do it for the people. The outcome was the Advancement programme which we're starting on now. The Secretary through the Committee, elected me as convener. It can be done because Maoris are closer together. It won't work with Pakehas, they're too independent.
I've spoken to many people on this project, both prominent people and ordinary people. They give nothing but support for the idea. Mrs. West, the solicitor, was approached about the idea. She was impressed and gave us encouragement.

Arthur Black, the Secretary and Mrs. West drew up a constitution for a Maori Co-operative scheme to go into business with the intention of using the profits for welfare purposes and for financing a budget service. The rationale advanced by the Secretary for the success of the scheme was based on the Maori population of 12,000 in Manukau City. They would float the venture with $10 subscriptions thus providing an initial capital of $120,000 for investment. The Scheme was named The New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society and under its constitution, had wide ranging functions which are summarised below:

AIMS:

1. To provide a credit pool for investment on behalf of members.

2. To assist members in their financial affairs and provide a budget service if needed.

3. To open a store and trade in goods on behalf of members.

BENEFITS

1. Favourable discount rates on all goods purchased
through the Society and its store.

2. Help against repossession of goods by refinancing or budgeting a member.

3. Help against eviction or water and power disconnection.

4. A dividend from the declared annual profits of the Society once the business was soundly based.

The Society was to have a three tiered structure consisting of a Board of Directors elected at the annual general meeting of the Society to be responsible for investments and business transactions, an Advisory Board of Elders representing the main tribes, to be responsible for traditional matters, canvassing support and advising on the distribution of profits to Maori causes, and Management to deal with the day to day running of the business and welfare work.

The Secretary, supported by the Chairman, used the Maori Committee as the platform from which to launch the scheme. The following is quoted from a meeting of the Maori Committee in October 1968 which was attended by sixty people:

SOLICITOR: We hope to start the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society here in Otara and spread it to other parts of New Zealand.
It will be an all Maori organisation with Maoris running it for Maoris. However others, Pakehas, Islanders may join by application to the Board. It will be a business organisation using business methods to work for profits for members. It will enable you to fight sharks on their own ground. Any firms that treat you bluntly or harshly you can avoid dealing with them. Firms giving generous discounts become a trading partner. This represents a breakthrough in Maori relations where you come together and form your own co-operative business. You can fight back and once you can do this you will be a respected force backed by 12,000 Maoris in Manukau City alone. This represents considerable purchasing power and a potential force in the commerce of the City.

**YOUNG MAN:** What about the poor payers? Once a poor payer always a poor payer. What's in it for me? I don't want to come out on the losing end. I've come to investigate these minor points.

**SECRETARY:** The answer lies in budgeting people. We already have one hundred on budget who in the past were adjudged bad payers. Possession is nine-tenths of the law. We have control. Their money is already coming into the Society's Bank. Since our consultations with Mrs. West some firms have already offered us favourable discount terms of up to 30%.

**CHAIRMAN:** We have come here to look at this kaupapa. Perhaps it is a ngārara (reptile). Its potential is unknown. Perhaps it could bite. On the other hand if we take hold of it firmly it could be potentially good. I'd like to see everyone, Pakehas and Islanders assist us. This is the only way you can survive. Here you have a lawyer to talk to you, to teach you how to fight. You've got to take the challenge. I've got no respect for any man who lies down without a fight.
I've been kicked around all my life. I've been walked on. I've had debt collectors and repossession round my home in my time. I know what it is like. I could only swear at them, but they had the law on their side.

SECRETARY: The Chairman speaks in the Maori way from the heart. What you have heard is a vestige of colonialism, a man who has had little chance and had to struggle all his life. Now he sees an opportunity to throw off the yoke, he is keen to seize it. This is the Maori way, expression of opinion of the man in the street.

CRAIG: You asked for criticism and opinion. How can we give it freely when the Chairman is not impartial?

SECRETARY: (following the election of John Walters to the Chair). In the last eighteen months I've budgeted over eighty people and paid $5,000 into Home Appliances. When I met Mr. Black he opened my eyes. I was collecting this money for them and getting nothing for doing it. We have the strength now by controlling the purchasing power. I was collecting the money for nothing. My home became a collecting point for big firms as well as for Government and State services. Mr. Black pointed out he does this work for firms and gets paid 15% for doing it. We are not sharing in the wealth of the community. We are the vestiges of colonialism.

After lengthy discussion Mr. Walters called for a motion to accept in principle the proposed scheme.

The motion was carried unanimously.

BLACK: I'm gratified at this result. We can make a start now. It's no use expecting some-
thing perfect or fool-proof before you move. You've got to get on with it and learn by your mistakes. We are fortunate in being Maoris, we are closely knit as a people. I've put a great deal of thought and time into this venture, my own business has suffered - and I'm a hard man to get a dollar out of - that's how interested I am.

By this time the association between Black and the Secretary had developed to the extent that the latter accepted Black's invitation to move into his offices in Otahuhu. The Secretary's budget system though still firmly under his control, began to merge with Black's debt-collecting business. Although the number of people tramping through his house had been reduced, the Secretary continued to have financial worries so he called a meeting of his Budget Advisory Committee to discuss the position. There were seven members in this committee which was merely an ad-hoc group with no formal constitution or organisation. The Secretary discussed the recommendations from the group and the changes in the organisation:

It was pointed out there were 102 budgetees. In order to keep me it was necessary to raise the service charge to 50 cents per week, but I haven't taken a draw yet. Erratic accounts are being transferred from the Auckland Savings Bank to our cheque account at Bank of New South Wales. (These are the accounts for people who are always changing their jobs.) Debt collecting firms are willing to give us up to 20% on accounts we handle. I saw the advantage of amalgamating with Black in this new venture. We
could use his 'know how' get community backing and build a stronger organisation.

Although the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society was already in existence in the Secretary's budget system, backed by the Maori Committee and merged with Dominion Debt Collectors, an inaugural meeting was held early in November 1968 to elect a Board of Directors and an Elders Advisory Board. There were thirty people present at the meeting. Councillor Mark Jackson who had been newly elected to the City Council was elected chairman of the Society. Councillor Jackson during his election campaign had addressed Maori Committee meetings and expressed sympathy with Maori causes. He was introduced to the Maori Committee by the Secretary as a potential representative of the Maori people on the City Council being a half-caste member of the Ngaati-Hine tribe. Although he was a half-caste and could not speak Maori, Councillor Jackson identified himself as a Maori, donated generously to the multi-racial marae and wrote a cheque for $100 when he took out his $10 membership in the Advancement Society. His patronage ensured his nomination as chairman by the Secretary.
I was present at the meeting and was nominated and elected as secretary to the Society. I had little first-hand knowledge of the preliminary work which had gone into the development of the Society, consequently I was surprised at being nominated, but accepted the office so as to be a direct participant in the Society and to observe its working from the inside. The other directors elected were Mr. Brian Hughes, a business man who was introduced to the Committee by Mr. Black, Mr. Stuart McDonald, a Secondary School teacher who was related to Mr. Black, the Chairman of the Maori Committee, and Tame Thompson. Of the six directors on the Board, Thompson and the Chairman were over fifty years of age and the other four were in their early and mid-thirties. Each of the nominations to the Board of Directors was made by the Secretary. The Secretary and Black who were the primary instigators of the project, declined nomination to the Board on the grounds that as potential managers of the Society they should not sit on the Board and make policy which they then carried out themselves.

Three members were elected to the Advisory Board of elders, Mr. D. Tatana who was a budgetee to the Secretary, and acted in the role of elder for the Maori
Committee, Mr. J. Gould who acted as a proxy member of the Maori Committee, and Mr. A. Tainui who was a budge-tee to the Secretary.

At the next meeting of the Society, the Secretary and Mr. Black were interviewed by the Board for positions as managers for Society. Their submissions to the Board are quoted from the minutes:

The Secretary stated that his primary concern over the past two years had been with welfare in his role as Secretary of the Maori Committee. Since he had resigned from the Secretaryship of that Committee to help establish the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society he felt that this Board was really a re-creation of the Maori Committee with the difference that it had power behind it in the economic power of all its members. He felt the next step was for Dominion Debt Collections to be bought out by the Society and he and Mr. Black to continue as co-managers....

Mr. Black stated that he had been trained as a policeman and had resigned from the force on a matter of principle. He then went in to selling real estate and later speciality selling in home appliances. His experience in hire-purchase contracts led him into debt collection and the establishment of his present business. His skills and experience he now placed at the disposal of the Board.
Both Black and the Secretary were appointed as managers. The Chairman (of the Maori Committee) proposed a starting salary of $50 per week. This motion was passed although there was no indication as to where the money was going to come from.

When the Board came to consider the take-over of Dominion Debt Collection by the Society, Mr. Black's accountant revealed that $3,000 would have to be found to cover the liabilities of Mr. Black's business. Mrs. West, the Society's solicitor, advised against the purchase as a bad investment. The confidence of the Board was shaken at the turn taken by events. The Secretary and his budgetees had been in Dominion Debt Collections office for several months, and this had been the nucleus of the Society. The Secretary felt some moral obligation towards Black and had thus suggested the purchase of Dominion Debt Collections. The meetings of the Society had been held in Mr. Black's offices which were well appointed and it was assumed that Mr. Black's business was flourishing and would be phased out as the Society grew in strength. Although it was clear that Mr. Black hoped that the Society would rescue his business from
insolvency, the Board made no decision either way.

The next step the Board took was to appoint the Chairman, Mr. Gould and Mr. Thompson as field officers to collect the $10 subscriptions by which the Society was to finance its operations. Mr. Thompson stated that he could not work as a field officer for less than $50 per week and so he and the Chairman were appointed at this rate while Mr. Gould was paid by commission at a rate of 20% of the subscriptions collected. In the meantime Jackson the Chairman of the Society, paid the rent owing on the offices and paid a month's rent in advance, in order to keep the Society in operation until sufficient subscriptions were collected to make it a viable concern.

At the third meeting of the Board in November 1988 friction erupted between Jackson, and the older members of the Board. The proceedings of the meeting are quoted from the minutes:

In his opening remarks Jackson expressed his misgivings over the way the Society began its operations in its first week. He felt that the management and field staff were prepared to accept payment of their salaries without consideration as to where the money was to come from. The imputation was that some members were acting out of self-interest in readily accepting finance advanced to the Society.
by him, to pay wages which then became a debt to the Society. In view of this, he felt that the whole question of payment should be reopened notwithstanding the minutes of the previous meeting, and the constitution of the Board reconsidered from a realistic assessment of the actual financial situation of the Society.

The Chairman in reply to Jackson disclaimed self-interest as his motivation, saying he was prepared to withdraw from the Board. However, he felt that as a matter of principle what was minuted at the last meeting regarding payment of salaries of Management and field officers, should be adhered to.

The Secretary supported the Chairman that the Board should stand by its resolutions. He also advanced the view that staff and field officers should not be on the Board. With regard to the financial position of the Society no one from the Board had come to him to discuss the following:

1. Funds immediately in hand.

2. The return to the Society from its handling of £5,000 - £6,000 per week for budgetees.

3. The revenue-bearing transactions carried on by the Management at present.

Hughes expressed the view that it would be detrimental for the Society to commence operation on the capital of £5,000 that Mr. Jackson was prepared to advance. The Society would begin with a debt of £5,000 and be virtually owned by one individual. In order to avoid this situation operations should commence with money in hand so that if the Society failed it was debt free and no one individual would sustain a heavy loss. Mr. Hughes then proposed that the Chairman withdraw from the Board to become Chairman of the Elders Advisory Board.

The Chairman withdrew from the Board and shook hands with Mr. Jackson as an act of goodwill. Although he still stood on principle re payment of
field officers, in view of the re-statement of policy he was prepared to accept anything that the Board could offer even if it fell short of the original amounts passed last week.

Thompson spoke in support of the stand taken by the Chairman and of the need for the Board to stand by its decisions as recorded in the minutes. In spite of the new developments the Society still had his support and above all his services. He also shook hands with Jackson as a token of goodwill in spite of the heightened feelings engendered by the latter's opening remarks.

The outcome of the meeting was the withdrawal of Thompson and the Chairman from the Board and they then joined the Elders Advisory Board. Thus a division between the older and younger members was clearly defined. At the time, the Secretary and Black had banked £125 in subscriptions and this money was divided four ways, to pay the two managers and the two field-officers.

Although the Society had no funds left there was an air of confidence among members that success would be achieved through 'unity' of the Maori people. There was even a degree of infatuation among the elders over the affairs of the Society. The Chairman for example, terminated his employment on the strength of the motion passed at the first meeting that he would be paid £50
per week by the Society without giving consideration to the capacity of the Society to pay this money. The Elders who were also the field officers rushed around collecting subscriptions from their families in order to make them members of this good thing. The ease with which they collected these initial subscriptions beguiled them into thinking they could convince strangers with equal ease of the worthy nature of the project. A strong fellowship had also built up between the members which was given expression at the end of the day through the occasional 'session' at an hotel.

Sentiments of good fellowship and fictive kinship were expressed in the use of the term 'brother' instead of personal names. The group appeared to have great solidity which belied its true nature. Firstly Mr. Black was eased out of the managership with the realistic assessment of the Society's financial position that it could not afford to buy Dominion Debt Collections nor could it afford to pay him. Thus Mr. Black had to direct his attention away from the Society which he helped start, back to his own affairs. Secondly the Secretary as the sole manager had full financial control. He banked subscriptions and controlled the only revenue
bearing transactions of the Society in his group of budgetees. At no time did the Secretary reveal to the Board the income derived from his budgeting service which was the nucleus of the whole project.

SUMMARY

The difficulties encountered by migrant Maoris of adjusting to urban life in Otara particularly in financial and commercial transactions led to the development of a budgeting system to cater for their needs. The Secretary of the Maori Committee was in a key position to see the need and to provide the service. The feeling of alienation of the Maori people in an industrial economy is exacerbated by their own ignorance, the cupidity of some commercial enterprises and their harassment by debt collectors. The Maori Committee and ultimately the Secretary, became the buffer between the debtor and his creditor, this a human need generated its own solution. By going under a budget advisor a debtor is relieved of pressure from his creditors. The creditor in dealing with a budget advisor usually grants easy repayment terms on the promise of smaller but regular payments on
debts. The success of a budget system for Maori people during this period of transition to urban life is dependent on trust in their budget advisor and the extent to which the latter is prepared to do more than just balance a budget i.e. to see to the emotional needs and general welfare of a family under his care. The desire of the Maori people in need of budget advice for a service of this kind is measured by their willingness to support a man to provide that service.

The growth of his budget service and the combined economic strength of his budgetees led the Secretary to negotiate with the business houses for financial support. He bargained his budget service of nearly seventy people in return for office equipment, clerical assistance and a pool of capital. But the Secretary withdrew when terms were not in his favour and founded the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society in its stead. This latter project was a retreat from the Pakeha who was 'too business-like' and a return to the Maori people who were to find economic strength in kotahitanga (unity) of the 12,000 Maoris in the Manukau City.
The friction in the Board of Directors of the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society emphasised the generational differences among Maoris which resulted in a division between elders and the younger men. This generation difference parallels that which occurred in the Otara West Maori Women's Welfare League. The start of the Advancement's Society's operations brought out the cupidity in some of its members who expected personal gain or who voted themselves good salaries from the subscriptions collected to finance the venture. Although I was in a key position as Secretary of the Society I was in a sense an outsider, and there was nothing I could do to alter the course of events. It was their Society to do with as they wished and if they wanted to blight it at the start there was nothing I could do except view the situation as an interesting exercise in human relations.
CHAPTER 12

CONFLICT

CHANGING MEMBERSHIP OF THE MAORI COMMITTEE

By the time I had been in the field a year, I realised that one of the features of the Maori Committee was its turnover of members. At the first meeting \(^1\) I attended in June 1967 nine of the gazetted members were present. A year later there was only one of the original members present and seven proxy members. The Secretary was the one constant member from the original Committee. One of the gazetted members died and was replaced by Mr. Gould. Apart from this there was only one actual resignation, that of Mr. Hames who resigned because of his professional commitments. Meetings seldom finished before midnight and often went on till 1.00 a.m. On one occasion there was a marathon meeting at Flatbush School which went till 3.00 a.m. and the caretaker and the headmaster fell asleep in the staff-room waiting for the

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1. Meeting in this context refers to Maori courts.
meeting to end. This was one reason why there was a fall off in membership. Mr. Jones the headmaster of Clydmore School withdrew but didn't resign from the Committee for this reason. Only the Secretary could afford to keep such late hours since he was on sick-leave from his employment and was receiving a social security benefit at the time. Thus, the first to drop out were the two Pakeha members who felt that their work would suffer if they continued to keep such late hours. Although the Maori members did not blame them and were critical of the long-drawn out nature of the 'Maori meetings' they themselves stayed to the bitter end and did nothing to get the Secretary or the Chairman to improve the situation. There was a resigned attitude that 'Maori meetings' were always twice as long as 'Pakeha meetings'. During the early meetings their protracted nature was no doubt due to a search for consensus. Every member of the Committee was given a chance to have his say, and members of the public were often invited to speak from the floor. The people flocked to the meetings and stayed because they enjoyed them. They derived from the Committee a sense of belonging to a large corporate group, which enjoyed each other's company in the pursuit of the Maori value of
'unity' and giving 'help' to one's fellows. Eventually Pastor Terito withdrew from attending meetings and his reason for doing so is quoted here:

Because the meetings went into the early hours of the morning, I was finding myself too tired to cope with my Church work. Saturday meetings would start at 7.00 p.m. and go on till 2.00 a.m. I had to take Sunday School and services the next day. I mentioned this a number of times but got no response. This was my main reason for withdrawing.

One member never attended meetings at all while I was studying the Committee, so that left an effective membership of eight within a month of my arrival in the field. Although the Chairman was erratic in his attendance at the meetings because he worked at night, he was a constant member in the sense that he did not resign from the Committee. The Chairman's sporadic attendance was a contributing factor to the change in membership. When the Chairman was absent the chair was filled by the Secretary who passed his secretarial work of recording the meeting to the assistant secretary Sam Potae. Cyril James was critical of the Chairman's erratic attendance and the assumption of the chair by the Secretary, especially in view of the constitutional position that a chairman for a meeting should be elected from those present. James felt
he was silenced by the Secretary when he rose to points of order and when the latter told him not to argue because it presented a bad image of a lack of unity to the people. Consequently, in the interests of unity James stopped challenging the Secretary on points of order and the latter's power increased and he became more authoritarian. James eventually withdrew and stopped attending the Court sittings. Waaka and Thomas withdrew for much the same reason as did James. They found that as the Secretary began to dominate the Committee their opinions were asked for less and less and whenever they made suggestions they were ignored. Waaka expressed the feelings shared by the other three members which led to their withdrawal:

Towards the end of 1967 I realised that there was a change in the operation of the Maori Committee. Whenever I said anything or offered a suggestion I was over-ruled by the Secretary. I came to realise I was only filling up the ranks. The Secretary has taken more on himself but sooner or later it will get the better of him.

Although Terito, James, Waaka and Thomas disagreed with the way the Secretary was running the Committee, they did not combine to form a faction to oppose him and alter the situation. A solution was found in withdrawal rather than in fighting, because the latter course would have
disturbed the prevailing ideology of unity. They preferred to leave the field open to the autocratic leader and let events take their course. Another determinant in their action was the personal following of the Secretary who had behind him the forty wardens and his sixty-seven budgetees. The Secretary could elevate any one of these on to the Committee to act as a proxy for absent members and be assured of the controlling votes in any decision making. This was why James in particular, one of the few men in the Committee who could interpret the Act as well as the Secretary, felt he was powerless to ensure the Committee functioned in accordance with the regulations. Consequently he was reduced to denouncing the Secretary at meetings of the Marae Steering Committee and the Otara Wardens' Association, neither of which had any disciplinary powers over the Secretary. Te Whata, the other member who opposed the Secretary and has been quoted elsewhere as calling him a dictator, never challenged the Secretary openly because the Secretary knew he 'had a past' and had 'done time'. Te Whata was afraid that the Secretary would taunt him in public if he opposed him openly.
In January 1958 the Chairman sent in his letter of resignation to the Secretary giving as his reason for resigning his inability to attend meetings because of his being on permanent night shift. This letter was kept in the correspondence file and never tabled at meetings of the Committee. Thus the Chairman remained chairman of the Committee in absentia. James, who knew of the Chairman's intention to resign, would have offered himself for the vacant office had an election eventuated. I made several attempts to attend the monthly meetings of the Committee and on each occasion the Secretary was there with one or two others but there were never sufficient numbers for a quorum. On the other hand the Court sittings were always well attended. In this way Committee meetings were phased out and the weekly Court Sittings became the 'weekly Committee meeting'.

There was never an agenda for these meetings. The main business was Court cases and whatever other business the Secretary felt inclined to deal with. This gave the meetings flexibility, but at the same time absolute control was vested in the Secretary. No one except the Secretary knew what correspondence had been received, what accounts had come to hand and
which had been paid. Because accounts were not passed for payment in Committee, the Secretary was able to choose those which he wished to pay. These he passed on with the cheque book to the Chairman to be countersigned. The Chairman collaborated with the Secretary in passing accounts for payment out of Committee, but he rationalised his action that he 'assumed' that they had been passed for payment in Committee. The interview quoted below gives the Chairman's assessment of the situation at the time:

The problem is my Secretary who's trying to run everything in my absence. He's a good Secretary, one of the best, but he wants to be chairman, secretary and judge. The other problem is the mid-week Court sittings. We can get over it by having them at 10 o'clock on Saturday mornings and have the Committee meeting at 8 o'clock. This was passed in Committee, but since I changed jobs in the past nine months it has not been observed. Because the Courts are mid-week and go on to all hours, some of the best members we've had, the Pakeha school teachers have pulled out. They have to teach children the next day. Still the Secretary persists with these mid-week meetings. But if the Courts are on Saturday I'll be there and others will be there, because it will be Sunday the next day and we can have a rest. The people are losing confidence in the Secretary's running of the Committee. You see, the people already know my record, and Pastor Terito's and the other members of the Committee. I think they look towards this too. I don't profess to be better than the Secretary or any of the other members, but most of the things told me on the quiet show they've still got something against the Secretary for his past at Whangarei and with Maori Affairs. This, a Maori always keeps in mind.
Maoris are always suspicious about a man who's done wrong in the past. A lot came to see me about this. Even the Department takes the attitude that this will never succeed with a man of that record. But I'm always willing to give a man another chance. Christ came to preach and to save sinners not the righteous. That's my attitude.

I know the Committee hasn't had a monthly meeting for a long time. It's always 'we have some cases to deal with.' So the Committee is dealing only with Courts. Every third Saturday of the month should be notified as a Committee meeting and no other business held at that meeting. I sent in a resignation a couple of times to the Committee, but it wasn't put forward to the meeting, so nobody knew I sent these resignations in. People have asked 'Who is the Chairman of this Committee?' 'Why isn't he here?' This looks bad for me. Of course this is possibly one reason why these cases have been brought to mid-week - knowing I won't be there.

Last Saturday he (the Secretary) had a meeting with the business people. I didn't know anything about it. The more I'm not there the better to him. A lot of people know he's only after one thing. Well if he wants the Chairmanship I'll be happy to stand by. I'm sorry for him because he went so well from the start before he took up anything else budgeting, Court cases and things like that. It's hard to get a good Secretary, one who's good at paper work and so on. But when he started to take everything in his own hands it started to go back, no doubt about it. But I give him credit. We were left in the lurch when I got him. He has helped us and struggled for the welfare of the people. I must give him credit for it.

The absenteeism of the Chairman and the withdrawal of the remaining Committee members from the Maori Committee did not, however, mean complete withdrawal from
Maori interests. All of the members, with the exception of Thomas, remained firm supporters of the Marae Steering Committee. They were nearly always present at the monthly meetings and outwardly there was a show of friendliness towards the Secretary which belied the underlying disapproval of his control of the Maori Committee. Meetings were always characterised by shaking hands as an expression of goodwill, a call for unity of purpose in the preliminary prayer and a suppression of any feelings of hostility. Thus, there was no possibility of internal correction of the situation of the Maori Committee.

One of the features of the Maori Committee during the height of its power was the amorphous nature of its structure. Officially there were eleven officers, but in practice anyone who was regarded as being useful to the Committee or attended regularly was treated as a full member. At any time any such member could sit at the official bench as a proxy. One member in this category was the Reverend Gooch of the Methodist Maori Mission. He relates how he became associated with the Committee and the reasons for his withdrawal:

I went before the Maori Committee to speak on
behalf of one of our Church members who was in trouble. I was asked if I would become a member of the Committee, so I joined it. After a while I found myself defending those who came up because I was not very happy with the way cases were dealt with. I felt people should be given adequate means of defense and not stood up in front of everybody and asked 'What have you got to say for yourself?' There was one case of a chap they wanted to take out a wage order and he refused. I asked if he would like to speak to me privately first and he did. He didn't know what it was all about, He said 'I just got a message tonight from the warden to come up here. They want me to take a wage order out and go on budget.' His side of the story was that his wife had died and he lives here with his mother-in-law, who is fifty-eight. She is in arrears with the rent and stands to lose her house. He sends money up North to his parents who are looking after his two children. He was already paying his mother-in-law £5 (£10) a week and he couldn't afford another £5. When the position was explained to him he agreed to pay the rent by a wage order to State Advances, and it was all over. Yet prior to that, we (the Committee) must have spent three quarters of an hour roaring at him across the table what he should do.

I think the personal bias also comes into it, and I challenged the Committee over its handling of another case. In this case a young fellow had impregnated a girl. He was living with Mrs. Waitai, a Pakeha girl at the time. Mrs. Waitai claimed she was pregnant to him as well. But by this time he had gone back to live with the first girl. The Secretary got him to stand up and declare which one he wanted. 'I want you to make up your mind here and now which woman you are going to live with.' He pointed to the first one. He then said 'Now I want you to swear on the Bible.' I objected to this and said 'You're forming a kind of marriage and swearing on the Bible that this fellow is going to live de facto with so and so.' The Secretary went for me saying 'We're not here to moralise.' I didn't argue any further, knowing I was touching him on a sore point. He seemed to have a bias about this case. It seems to me he went out
of his way to consider only the first girl, the one with the baby. When someone reminded him that Mrs. Waitai was pregnant he said 'We're dealing with only one case at a time.' He didn't seem to care about her.

Then there was this Waihāhā field day which was held on a Sunday. He asked me what was the Church's attitude. I said that anything organised like this was a good thing provided it doesn't interfere with Church services. I said 'you can have a combined church service - that's all right, it won't offend our church, but I can't speak for other churches.' But the Secretary kept twisting this around. 'What you say is good enough for us.' I told him he had better go and talk it over with the other churches. I got the feeling I was used there as a lever for open slather1 on field days. Another thing I didn't like was the way the tree chopping incident was handled, especially the words that were used, 'We've been given this power, we've got to make an example.' They were playing more to the gallery at that stage rather than to justice. I wasn't happy with the attitudes. The Committee is not run on smooth ground. It's dependent on one man. It's all leaning on the Secretary.

Gooch, like the official members of the Committee eventually withdrew but continued to attend the Marae Steering Committee meetings. It was this process of withdrawal and turnover of membership which enabled the Secretary to maintain unchallenged control of the Committee for nearly two years. Few of the proxy members understood the origin of the Committee and were prepared to accept the status quo for a place of honour at the

1. Colloquialism for carte blanche.
official bench. Few stayed long enough with the Commit­
tee to understand its mal-functioning and utilise the 
established channels to correct the position i.e. the 
over-riding authority of the Manukau Executive and fail­
ing that the Auckland District Maori Council.

THE MANUKAU EXECUTIVE

The Manukau Executive consisted of two delegates 
from each of the five committee areas of Papakura, 
Onehunga-Mangere, Otara, Manurewa and Makau-rau. The 
Chairman of the Otara Maori Committee was also chairman 
of the Executive but as he was absent on more occasions 
than he was present, the vice-chairman, Rua Kakara was 
its effective leader. The Secretary was Stuart McDonald 
from the Manurewa Committee.

The first meeting of the Executive I attended was 
to have been held at Mangere marae. I arrived at the 
appointed time to find members assembled on the roadside 
outside the marae. One of the delegates, James, from 
the Otara Committee informed me that there was a tangi on 
at the marae. Although the kuia of the marae said the
meeting could proceed as planned in the dining hall, the members decided not to *takahi* (trample) on custom by holding a meeting while there was a *mate* (death) on the *marae*. Accordingly the meeting was postponed. This incident illustrates the persistence of custom in the urban situation and the precedence that a *tangi* takes over other Maori activities on a *marae*.

The *Executive* is third in the hierarchy of Maori associations under the Act, and functions as a clearing house for communications between the committees in its area and the Auckland District Council to which the Executive sends two delegates. Section 10 sub-clause 2 of the Act indicates the sub-ordinate position of Maori Committee to the Executive.

Each Maori Committee shall be subject in all things to the control of the Maori Executive Committee in whose area it operates and shall act in accordance with all directions, general or special given to it by the Maori Executive Committee.

Clearly, the Manukau Executive had power to exercise disciplinary control over the Otara Maori Committee and this it resolved to do at a meeting in June 1968 on the following matters:
1. Auckland District Maori Wardens' Association correspondence ignored.

2. Pukekohe correspondence requiring aid from Otara wardens ignored.

3. Complaints from Otara Wardens' Association over non-gazetting of members.

4. Meetings held with no agenda, minutes not read and no correspondence tabled.

5. Senior Warden Barton acting as a warden without authority.

A letter was sent by the Executive to the Secretary informing him of the resolution passed at the meeting which read:

That the Manukau Executive meet the Otara Maori Committee at its next meeting to try to iron out any difficulties which may exist and which have been brought to the notice of the Executive.

On the evening of the meeting, Kakara, McDonald and James were present from the Manukau Executive and Patara, the Chairman of the Auckland District Wardens' Association. But prior to the meeting an altercation developed when Kakara approached the Secretary and asked him why so many people, twenty-four, were present. The Secretary
replied that the Committee was going to conduct its normal cases. Kakara reminded the Secretary that the business in hand involved only the Executive and the Committee but the latter refused to alter the arrangements he had made. Kakara refused to sit in on the meeting while the cases were conducted so he and James left without waiting for their matter to be dealt with. Only McDonald from the Executive remained to see the affair through.

Proceedings began with the usual mihi from the Secretary. This was followed by four supporting elders who spoke in Maori paying tribute to the Secretary and the work of the Maori Committee. Since they all spoke in a similar vein I will quote only one of them, Mr. Tatana, who was himself in a client relationship to the Secretary:

I stand as a budgetee in support of the work of our Secretary. I also pay tribute to the Committee which has helped our people through their troubles. Many of our people in Otara have been helped by this Committee. I personally have lost face because many of those who have fallen into error have come from Ngāpuhi. It is because of this work that I feel honoured to be a member of this Committee.
This apparent spontaneous tribute from four elders was impressive and gave the impression that the Committee was solidly based and had the backing of the elders in the community. The presence of four elders was staged for the benefit of the Executive and was not a regular feature of Committee meetings. Tatana was the only one who attended the Court Sittings regularly and was occasionally called on to fill the role of elder to sum up a case and endorse a decision of the Committee. Two of the elders I had seen previously at meetings held by the Committee to deal with cases involving their families. Thus as direct beneficiaries of the work of the Secretary they could also be classed as being in a client relationship to him, and were merely taking the opportunity to reciprocate a service rendered by the Secretary on their behalf.

Thus, a strong advantage was created in traditional terms over the Manukau Executive which had come to exercise disciplinary action in constitutional terms under the Act. The position of the Executive was weakened by the departure of Kakara and James leaving only McDonald to challenge what appeared on the surface to be a strong united and operational Committee. McDonald being just past his middle thirties, was young as Maori leaders go. He was out-manoeuvred by the Secretary, but worse still had to
face the Committee alone.

The Committee proceeded with its cases and when these were concluded, almost as an after-thought the Secretary mentioned the presence of McDonald who on behalf of the Executive had come to air certain problems. In view of the presence of four elders and their tribute to the Committee McDonald could not stand up and censure the Committee, so he stood up and complimented it instead on its work. The Secretary immediately stood to congratulate McDonald and pay him a return compliment for speaking in Maori:

He tohunga tenei no tātou i roto i te mātauranga (This is one of our experts in education), and in view of what he has said I'd like to move a resolution of confidence in the Manukau Executive.

Thus did the Manukau Executive fail to exercise disciplinary control over the Otara Committee. The Secretary avoided a confrontation with the Executive by taking refuge in his strength in the minor system. He was on his own 'marae' supported by elders and a room full of people. Resort to argument based on constitutional grounds in the Act (derived from the major system) would have been futile. Failure to read minutes or to
table correspondence were irrelevant compared with real achievements in welfare and giving 'help' to needy families, especially when people were there to testify on behalf of the benefactor.

THE LEADERSHIP AND POWER OF THE SECRETARY

At this point it would be useful to analyse the leadership and power of the Secretary in order to understand the dynamics of the situation in Otara. The withdrawal of opponents from within the Committee and their inability to form an opposing faction to topple the Secretary suggests stable and powerful leadership on the part of the Secretary. The discomfiture of the Manukau Executive also indicates the autonomy of the Maori Committee and of the Secretary.

The Secretary derived his power from his position in the Maori Committee as its most articulate (two languages) and best educated member. His ability as an organiser was reflected in the remodelling of the Maori Committee and the institution of Maori Courts. Both these accomplishments marked him as the recognised leader of the Committee. In his negotiations with the Pakeha and
especially the business houses he always stressed that he was speaking on behalf of a statutory body with certain powers vested in it by Government. The Secretary's ability to gain a favourable hearing from the Pakeha put him in the role of intermediary between the minor and major systems. People sought him out for help, guidance and advice. Although the financial position of the Secretary was little better than those of the people he was helping he was thought to be a 'big man' because he could stay eviction orders from the State Advances and have water and power reconnected to a house. The Secretary also stressed his identification with the people he led. Because he had experienced hardship and domestic trouble he had "suffered as the people had suffered," he had insight into their needs. Perhaps this was a rationalisation of his past, but the Secretary's willingness to bring it out into the open showed he was not, by his position of leadership, exalting himself above his fellows.

The Secretary also enhanced the standing of the Maori Committee by borrowing on the prestige of others. He made a point of inviting civic dignitaries, officers of the State Departments, educationists and others to
the Maori Courts. These people were always given a special welcome in the *mihi*, mentioned by name and the organisation and Department they represented. This part of the proceedings was always a source of embarrassment to me. As a research-worker I wanted to appear as inconspicuous as possible, but the Secretary invariably mentioned me as "one of our *tohunga*" (experts) or "educated Maoris" from the University. This phenomenon is commonly known as 'name dropping' and certainly added to the success of the Maori Committee. For example two officers of a voluntary association known as Birthright became closely allied with the Committee and accepted official positions in it. As one of them put it:

> When the Secretary rings you up or comes round and sees you and tells you you're a 'great white chief' it makes you feel good inside. You can't resist joining when he tells you what a great person you are and how your experience and knowledge of business can benefit the Maori people.

Thus, the strength of Birthright was allied to that of the Maori Committee. The cases were initially brought to the Maori Committee and if it couldn't handle it, or had insufficient funds to rectify the situation then it was passed on to its Birthright ally.

One of the key factors in the success of the Secretary
in gaining a large following of people in Otara was his use of money. In respect of wealth, the Secretary paralleled the position of the chief in traditional times who acted as "a kind of channel through which wealth flowed, concentrating it only to pour it out freely again." (Firth 1959 : 133). The Secretary used the Maori Committee funds for welfare purposes. Help for the destitute and the needy was given first priority. Funds which came to hand from whatever source (e.g. money to pay for buses for the Committee picnic, or for accounts on a tangi) were all channelled towards welfare. Behind this use of money was the assumption that people who had become indebted to the Committee would repay. Because many chose to discharge their obligation by paying in instalments it was assumed that all would repay in this way. There was no strict account kept of who had been helped or whether debts had been fully discharged. Although in some cases there was no tangible return in money, in most cases there was the intangible return of loyalty to the Secretary and this is what made him such a formidable opponent to any who sought to challenge his leadership. Whenever the Committee's funds were low, the Secretary would use the wealth or influence of
other people to further his work in welfare. In October 1968 for example, the Secretary rang me late in the evening about a case which had been brought to his notice. It involved Peter Wallace who that afternoon, had been arrested at work by the Police and locked up for failing to pay a $21 fine. His wife was pregnant and was worried about him and wanted him to be with her. The Secretary asked me to pay the fine and stand surety that the young man would appear in the Magistrate's Court the next morning to answer a charge of driving without a license. I personally saw nothing to be gained by bailing the young man out seeing he had to appear in Court next day, but the Secretary was pressing. In view of the fact that he had given me a great deal of help with my research I could not refuse his request. I went down to the Police Station, paid the $21 fine on behalf of the Committee and stood surety of $50 that the prisoner would be in the Magistrate's Court in the morning. I also drove him home to his 'wife' whom I learned later was de facto. It was my money (eventually reimbursed from Committee Funds) my time and my car which had been used to get Peter Wallace out of goal and back to Otara, but it was the Secretary as the mediator of the whole operation who gained the credit. I was merely the instrument in
his hands. On another occasion the Secretary used Mr. Williams whom he had invited on to the Committee as Vice-Chairman to replace Evan Thomas. The following incident is quoted from an interview with Williams:

One time I paid $40 on behalf of a woman to stop her going to gaol on a charge of theft. The Police had the woman at the Secretary's place and were going to take her away. The Secretary said to me 'Look brother - this is the kind of case we have to deal with in the Committee. The police are going to take her if we don't pay $40. Our Chairman is not here so I can't sign the cheque'. So I took out my cheque book and made out a cheque for $40. The Secretary said the Committee would pay me back later. I chased the Committee up and was eventually reimbursed.

A third case occurred in November 1968 when Henry Te Whata was gaol for petty theft from his employers. The Secretary succeeded in having him released through the influence of Councillor Jackson who had just been elected on behalf of the Maori people to the Manukau City Council. The Secretary was in the strategic position to get the Maori people to support Jackson's candidacy and in due course a return for this support was exacted by using Councillor Jackson's influence to support the work of the Maori Committee. Finally there was the Secretary's group of seventy-six budgetees, forty 'wardens' and various 'elders' whom he had helped, who provided the
solid core of his support in the community. Their solidarity was based on his championship of their cause as a "depressed and downtrodden people" who were "persecuted" by avaricious Pakeha businessmen, whom he often referred to as the "enemy". Good Pakehas like Stern, Williams and Armitage from Birthright, Hames and Jones the school teachers and so on were "people of goodwill" in the community and had "Maori hearts". Although Maoris pay lip service to the concept of integration and believe in cooperating with the Pakeha by 'working together' it was easy for the Secretary to polarise their attitude by blaming the Pakeha for their difficulties in suburban life and saying:

Na te Pakeha tatou i mau mai ki konei noho pōhara ai, na runga i te raupatu i o tātou whenua. (It was the Pakeha who brought us here to live in poverty by confiscating our lands.)

The pool of money created by the budget accounts became in a sense a 'communal pool' when some of the budgetees gave instruction that the Secretary could borrow from their accounts, to help new accounts over the difficult period of being stabilised. This use of the accumulated credit of others further enhanced the role of the Secretary as a channel for wealth which helped to
increase and maintain his following. Internally, that is within the confines of the community of Otara the Secretary's position as the dominant Maori leader in Otara was secure and unassailable.

CONFLICT

Frank Williams became known in Auckland when he was selected as National Party candidate for Northern Maori in 1966. Although Williams failed to unseat the member the publicity he gained brought him to the attention of the Secretary who invited him to join the Otara Maori Committee. Williams tells how he came to the Committee:

The Secretary said to me 'You and I are from the same stock, the Ngāti-Hine tree. I feel there are not enough Ngāti-Hine on the Committee. But tribal differences had no significance whatever to me, all that belongs to the old world. We also belonged to the same church. This the Secretary called 'spiritual ties'. In March of 1967 I was appointed to the Committee. The Secretary nominated me and James seconded it. He classed me as an 'appointed member'. I paid my $2. However, I didn't attend meetings till September because of other commitments. When the Secretary asked me in he never checked up on me. He assumed that because he asked me in I was obliged to him. At the time I didn't know a thing about procedure. As a matter of fact I didn't know what procedure we were following. I didn't know much about the Welfare Act. He had a copy and I thought it was the only one available.

I was confused over what was Maori custom. I'd
never been in a Maori Court before so I actually thought this must be what they did. One of the first points of my disagreement with the Secretary was based on morals. He seemed to me to be favourably disposed towards these couples living together as man and wife 'Maori fashion' as he put it: 'He anuakanga no te Maori'. (It is Maori custom) when these people who were living in sin came up before the Committee and there were problems where Social Security (Department) was going to stop the widow's benefit and family allowance, he was always biased towards them. He would do his utmost to protect them and excuse their action by saying 'He tikanga tena no te Maori'. (that is Maori custom). I knew my stand from the Church's point of view. I didn't challenge him at the time because I found out that there were one or two others at the table with me living in the same condition and I didn't like to drag them into it.

My second concern was over money. I didn't know where the money was going to. So I rang Maori Affairs. They didn't know either. I asked the Secretary and he said it was going to pay the troubles associated with Welfare work such as getting people out of gaol.

The third reason, I objected to the way the Secretary ran things was when I paid $40 to stop a woman from going to gaol. He told me she was pregnant and had a family, so I wrote out a cheque. It wasn't till afterwards I found out she'd been pulled in for stealing, and this was her second offense. After the woman had gone I asked him why he didn't get a receipt from her and he said 'There's no need to, they pay, they never let me down.'

I also disagreed with the incest case which they covered up. They gave him twelve months, they banished him from the reservation as it were. That played on my mind for quite a bit. Yet five months later this big bad Maori rolled up there wanting his case reviewed, so his sentence could be halved and he could come back in.

Later on, the finances of the Committee came out
into the open. I didn't know about the Committee's contract with Passenger Transport Company for the picnic, or the two tangis the Committee was responsible for. We didn't know about these things because the Committee never had meetings to discuss them. These things happened at the beginning of the year (1968) but it wasn't till later in the year I found out about them. That's how successfully the Secretary shielded them from me. I wondered why there wasn't a general meeting and he'd say 'I called one for so-and-so brother but no one turned up.'

These matters were never discussed at Maori Court sittings, even when we finished early. It was one of the other members (Gould) who rang me up and told me about the Committee's debts. I checked the amounts with the business people concerned and confirmed the information.

The Secretary had the childish idea that because we were connected through Church work, politics and tribally that I was bound to support him. Anything other than that was a betrayal of trust. When the Chairman started to miss coming to meetings, he asked me, in fact he insisted, that I take the chair. He said 'The Chairman's resigned. I've got his resignation here. I want you to be in the chair. With the Chairman in front they (the people) can knock him down (reference to the Chairman's private life as an undischarged bankrupt). I can't sort of stand up myself. (reference to his own private life.) So I was made the Vice-Chairman. He said 'You stand out in front and I'll be the whip'. So it was put through the books. Little did I know there were no books being kept and that the other members were nothing'. (Not gazetted members).

As Williams clearly states, he had no particular allegiance to the Secretary. Furthermore he was an outsider to Otara in that he resided in Otahuhu.
Consequently when certain features of the Committee which he thought objectionable manifested themselves to him, he chose to try and alter them rather than withdraw from the Committee. He had held his ground long enough to gain a clear picture of the affairs of the Committee. He had seen the Manukau Executive fail to exercise control over the Committee, so he chose to appeal to the Department of Maori and Island Affairs. A letter was sent to the Department signed by Williams as acting Chairman of the Committee and Mrs. Craig an honorary Welfare Officer, making the following points:

1. A change of the control of the budget system of the Maori Committee to a separate organisation, the Maori Advancement Society.

2. The Secretary of the Maori Committee and Mr. Black, a member, were also officers of the Maori Advancement Society and used the Maori Committee to promote their scheme.

3. Failure to keep true records of minutes.

4. Failure to read minutes at meetings.

5. Withholding correspondence and financial statements.

6. Failure to hold monthly meetings.

7. Approaches to outside organisations made without sanction from the Committee.

8. Lack of representation and reports to and from the Auckland District Maori Council.

9. The need for the District Council to look into the matter fully with the view to having the Committee function properly.
Neither the Department nor the District Council took any action over the letter. Instead, the welfare officer for the Otara Area referred the matter back to the Secretary who gave assurance that the matters complained of would be dealt with by the Committee at the next meeting. This meeting took place early in November 1968. The Chairman was present to support the Secretary against the allegations made in the letter. Hitherto, the Chairman had been absent from meetings and had earlier tendered his resignation. But with the challenge issued by Williams over the mis-management of the Committee, the Chairman returned to resume office and close ranks with the Secretary against the Committee's opponents. The handling of the situation by the Chairman and Secretary is recorded from the proceedings of the meeting:

**CHAIRMAN:** I am ready to vacate the chair any time for anyone who wants to come forward and offer himself for service to the Maori people. But if we have this spirit of unity and faith in one another we can move mountains.

**SECRETARY:** You people don't realise the extent of my activities, it's twenty-four hours a day. I've had to handle tangis. You don't realise the trouble I had to get those paid. I make the arrangements, order everything then chase the money. There's the funeral director to pay, the freezing works for meat, the supermarket for groceries.
Other things we have to do is to salvage people from gaol, pay money and act as guarantors for power and other things necessary for the living of the people. You can realise the extent of the correspondence and work involved. I'm staving off creditors and making promises that we still will pay. Our people promise they will pay tomorrow, and tomorrow never comes. This is a Committee with no real funds, no financial backing. Because of complaints circulating concerning my running of the Committee, I am resigning unless we can work out a satisfactory arrangement for improvement in procedure. This complaint was a letter to the District Council.

CRAIG: Mr. Chairman, it is out of order to discuss that letter in open Committee. It was sent to a higher District Council and until such time as it can be discussed at that level it cannot be discussed here.

SECRETARY: This is Committee business. I don't see why you are not prepared to discuss this matter. You sign yourselves as members of the Committee. The future of the Committee depends on what the Committee says about the complaints. The District Council will get an answer point by point as set out in the letter.

CHAIRMAN: The matter is to be dealt with here. This is the place for you to cut me to pieces, where we're going wrong. We thrash it out here.

SECRETARY: You as Committee members instead of airing your grievance here, go behind our backs. It's undermining. I welcome criticism in open. Where you have criticism you have progress. If everybody sits dumbly you're dead. This is the democratic way. Never mind the stones that are thrown at us, we're taking it every day. But when you go to another Council it's undermining.
When it comes down to tintacks it is you and I. We are the ones who are going to put people's power on and feed them, not Maori Affairs, not the District Council. The power is within ourselves.

FENUA: I stand to support the Secretary. Who would do the work he has done of arranging tangis and bailing people out of gaol. It won't work without him.

WALMSLEY: Look at the budgeting service the Secretary runs. The Pakeha business interests tried to take control, but it wouldn't have succeeded without the Secretary.

HUGHES: The budgeting in this Committee is done by one person and he does it for nothing. It's about time someone helped him instead of back-biting. Mr. Black invited the Secretary to take his budgeting from his house to his office. Who is paying the rent? What financial gain are they making out of it? That letter should contain praise not blame.

The return of the Chairman to present a united front with the Secretary in the face of opponents together with the District Council and the Department of Maori and Island Affairs's decision not to become involved meant the continuance of the status quo. Neither the Department nor the District Council wanted to put out the 'fire in the fern'. Local politics was held to be strictly an affair of the local people who were expected to handle their own 'dirty washing.' There was no attempt by either the District Council or the Department to make a
first hand investigation of the complaints against the Committee. The Chairman and Secretary were ostensibly in full control. But instead of repairing their fences more of their time and energy were being directed into the Maori Advancement Society.

THE DECLINE

The Maori Advancement Society which still occupied the offices of Dominion Debt Collections was faced with weekly overheads of £95 for salaries of the manager and his secretary and rent for offices, phones and power. Membership sales had slowed once the field officers had exhausted their supply of relatives, and the money they brought in could not keep pace with the salaries that were being paid out to them. Mr. Black had been forced to withdraw temporarily to attend to his own business affairs. The Society needed to make money quickly or go into liquidation. The Secretary who was now the sole manager of the Society suggested to Jackson the Chairman, that the Society could have £6,000 working capital within a week if the Board of Directors brought down the decision at its next meeting to "freeze the budget accounts." This meant suspending the payment
of all accounts for one week. The Board would make the decision and the Secretary would implement it, as its servant. Jackson opposed the suggestion and an argument ensued in which Jackson pointed out to the Secretary that the money in the budget accounts belonged to the people and it was his duty to use that money to pay their bills. The Secretary retaliated by saying he had lost confidence in Jackson from the time he decided to alter financial arrangements he had proposed at the first Board meeting. His insinuation that Jackson did not have the finance to back his word created a rift between the Secretary and Jackson which led to a split in the Society. Hughes sided with Jackson because he regarded the Secretary's proposal as unacceptable. In his view the Secretary's intention was to gain his ends by using the Board to make decisions which he carried out. Repercussions from any such decisions would be blamed on the Board.

At this time the field officers were encountering resistance to the sale of memberships. Gould reported that in one week alone twenty-four people refused to take out memberships in the Society because the Secretary was connected with it. Hughes and Jackson decided to attack the Secretary at the next meeting and force his
resignation. Black had been forced out of the Society for attempting to use it for his own gain, and now the Secretary was identified as an impediment to the Society and was also suspected of duplicity. The meeting at which the Secretary was forced to resign occurred at the end of November 1968. The following passages extracted from the minutes of the Society outlines the dispute and the fragmentation of the Society:

Hughes called on the Secretary to answer insinuations made against him by people outside the Society. Firstly by recognised Maori leaders and officers of the Maori Affairs Department and secondly by people interviewed by the field staff. Gould as the field-officer concerned indicated that the objections he encountered pointed directly at the Secretary. Jackson also mentioned several prominent Maori leaders who stated that they would not sanction the Society because of its manager. Hughes reminded the meeting of its stand at the previous meeting that the primary loyalty was to the Society. If an obstruction to progress was encountered in any one of its members, then that individual would have to be removed. Since Mr. Gould had shown that in the previous week he had been refused twenty-four memberships because of the Secretary then there was sufficient ground for his removal. In reply, the Secretary stated that he could double any number of members Mr. Gould could get. Following Saturday's meeting of his budgetee committee, he could guarantee £350 to the Society. Jackson suggested that a committee could not dictate that an individual enter into a contract in this manner. Black reminded the Board that when he was thought to be an obstruction to the Society, he stepped down so that it would progress. He stepped down despite the vast amount of time he had spent in developing the Society to its present stage. The Secretary in reply stated that the dispute
should be taken back to his elders to 'mana Maori'. Let his elders judge him, not a half Pakeha and young people who had done nothing for the area, (a reference to the Board which he himself had promoted into office). At this point of the meeting the Secretary left saying: 'I'll tender my resignation and take all my budgetees. I'm showing my lack of confidence in the Board.'

The outcome of the meeting was the withdrawal of the Secretary with all his budget files. The Chairman who had had a long association with the Secretary sided with him and also withdrew. Tatana who was under budget to the Secretary withdrew from the Elders' Advisory Board as well. Black was reappointed as manager to replace the Secretary. During this dispute, I had attempted to maintain a neutral stance, but with the fragmentation of the group I was left in the Society and thereafter identified with Jackson and Hughes on the Board of a Society which had its sub-structure removed by the withdrawal of the Secretary and his followers.

THE OTARA MAORI BUDGET CONTROL BOARD

The Secretary rented new offices in Otahuhu and set up another organisation to replace that which he had left. This new group he designated the Otara Maori Budget Control
Board. Six budgetees were elevated to the Board.

Finance was to be raised by £10 subscriptions, and the Board passed a resolution that the budgetees be levied for their subscriptions. The Secretary used his charisma to create enthusiasm for the new venture amongst his budgetees. One of the Secretary's clerical staff outlined the excitement generated by the Secretary:

He could make them (the Board) see things his way. They just stare and take it in. They get so pepped up they couldn't wait to see the thing move. They also passed a motion to pay our wages. Where it was to come from I don't know. I think it was coming from subscription money. People were so pepped up about it just before Christmas. They wanted new offices and new desks. 'We've got the money, you get it.' That's what they were saying. 'Have so much out of my budget to pay the wages'. The chairman of the Board paid out £91 in wages from his account alone.

The minutes of the first meeting of the Board in December 1968 record a motion to the effect that the Secretary was to be paid £45 and his male and female assistants £30 and £20 per week respectively.

The constitution of the Board was similar in its main provisions to those of the Advancement Society. There was however, one important difference regarding the position of management on the Board:
The Board of Directors shall appoint a Secretary-Manager from one of their number at such a salary or remuneration as they shall think fit and the acceptance of such a position shall not disqualify such a person from still acting as a director.

By this clause the Secretary ensured that the mistake of erecting a Board above him as occurred in the Advancement Society would not be repeated. There the Board had made it clear that he had no power to move resolutions, only to make recommendations. Thus, he ensured that he would be in a position of control in the new organisation.

While the Otara Maori Budget Control Board appeared to flourish, the Advancement Society had come to a halt. It was faced with the decision of quitting its premises in Otahuhu when Councillor Jackson the chairman approached Councillor Parker to support the Society. Councillor Parker offered the Society the use of her office in Otara rent free as long as it took on the responsibility of cleaning the building and keeping the grass cut. Councillor Parker also gave the Society a verbal promise to build a store on the front of her property on behalf of the Society. The store was to be a cooperative
dealing in food and clothing. The Society was given a good deal of publicity at this time and much was made of Mrs. Parker's offer in the South Auckland Courier.

After the Secretary broke away from the Advancement Society and opened an office, correspondence and creditors kept arriving at the offices of the Society demanding immediate payment by the Maori Committee of overdue accounts. One debt collector for an Auckland meat company wanted an immediate settlement of $217 and was threatening legal action because the Secretary had signed a cheque for that amount which was not honoured by the bank on two counts. Firstly the cheque should have had the Chairman's signature as well and secondly there was only $45 in the account. This was the first real evidence disclosed to so-called members of the Committee such as Jackson, Hughes, Williams, Black and Mrs. Craig that the finances of the Committee were in a perilous state. Accordingly Williams as the 'Vice-Chairman' of the Committee called a meeting early in December asking for a financial statement from the Secretary. There were eighteen people present, including the Chairman but not the Secretary. There were also three officers from the Department of Maori and Island Affairs present, but
they took little part in the proceedings. Williams opened the meeting by disclosing the facts cited above. This was followed up by a vote of no confidence in the Secretary, moved by Hughes and seconded by Jackson. The verbal exchanges quoted below from the meeting show the complexities of the situation and illustrate to a large extent the reasons why the Committee's affairs were so muddled.

**CHAIRMAN:** You must be careful. It might be the people who are at fault because they haven't paid the money in (for tangi expenses guaranteed by the Committee). There are no minutes to show that accounts were opened and approved. That's the trouble, people come up to sign the cheques at work, I didn't know how much money was there.

**PARKER:** This case will go to the Pakeha Court. They won't be satisfied unless there are minutes, otherwise the responsibility will go to the individual concerned.

**CHAIRMAN:** It's the Maori Committee that's responsible. People, they use us. They should be here. People, they come to your house, only the Maori understands these things. I don't care if they sue us or we go to gaol.

**TERITO:** There is only £45 in the bank, yet a cheque for £217 was written out. The Committee is now liable. I'm not here to gun the Secretary although he's been a dictator.

**CHAIRMAN'S WIFE:** My husband guarantees things for people. They take advantage of him. I feel sorry the Committee has got to do these things. They ring up at five in the morning. They want a taxi to go to their children
(a reference to four victims killed in an accident in January 1968). The taxis won't go as far as Mt. Maunganui without a guarantee, so my husband gives it. If all Maoris pay the Maori Committee back we wouldn't have all this trouble. It breaks my heart to see the good things he (the Secretary) has done, yet here we are talking of police and judges. Let us try to get the Committee out of this.

BLACK:
I was present when people came to ask for help and the Secretary guaranteed accounts at Nathan's and Prime Meats. I've attended meetings and I don't remember accounts being presented and passed for payment. The Secretary should know the bank balance yet he wrote a cheque for $217. I believe Mr. Tukunoa paid over $200 towards her share of the tangi.

CHAIRMAN'S WIFE:
We raised over $300 to help pay Passenger Transport Company for the buses (for the Committee picnic). The Otara West Sports Club also donated $54 towards the buses. I would have preferred to pay it direct to Passenger Transport Company but instead we handed it over to the Committee. (The Passenger Transport Company account was still unpaid.)

TERITO:
Let us approach this matter in a spirit of love. I remind you, judge not lest you be judged.

HUGHES:
Another question I want to raise is the first week's rent of $27 for the budgetee offices in Otara. Did this money come from the Otara Maori Committee funds?

The Chairman admitted that the Maori Committee paid the rent. The position now was that the Chairman, the
Secretary and his followers were promoting the Control Budget Board and using Maori Committee funds to do so. Members of the Advancement Society, Hughes, Jackson, Black, and Craig who were also 'members' of the Maori Committee had now sided with Williams who was Vice-Chairman of the Committee, but not a member of either of the other two organisations, to try to stabilise the Maori Committee and clarify its financial position. Because the meeting had insufficient facts it was resolved to write a letter to the Secretary appraising him of the Committee's vote of no confidence and asking him to return the Committee records. The letter was presented by the Vice-Chairman to the Secretary on the afternoon of December 6th 1968. Unfortunately, that night the offices of the Budget Control Board were destroyed by fire, and the Committee records were badly damaged. At the extraordinary general meeting on the Sunday, to which representatives of the Manukau Executive and the District Council were invited, over fifty people were present. The Chairman of the District Council did not attend, while the Manukau Executive was represented by Mr. Kakara. The main proceedings of the meeting reported below supplement those of the previous meeting and gives an insight
into Maori thought processes and their method of handling the situation:

WILLIAMS: (chairman of the meeting):
At the last meeting there was a vote of no confidence in the Secretary. I don't wish trouble stirred up by those of you who came to this meeting to attack the Secretary. Let us speak with truth and compassion. I ask you to address your remarks to the chair.

SECRETARY: I know how the hearts are thinking, that I am a thief and an embezzler. Who of you have come in and helped me bear the burdens, most have fallen by the wayside and left me to chair the meetings and act as Secretary. If the books are audited who can throw the first stone? You new members only came in yesterday. You know nothing of burdens. I wasn't going to come because this is the Sabbath. Only because the kaumātua came did I consent to come. Who are you to judge me on the Sabbath? I have suffered for my people. What have you done? I'm pleased to have this investigation. The accounts are in order. People I have guaranteed have failed to honour their pledge. It is the aroha that counts. If this was so then the accounts would have been paid. Now we have this fire. Even the devil is working against me. I only hope the records are not destroyed. Truth will prevail. The accounts will show step by step how everything can be justified. Hei aha tō tātou tū ki roto i te Pakeha. E mana tonu ana tātou. (Let us not be concerned with our position amongst the Pakeha. We still have mana.) But if we put money ahead of Maoritanga we will fall.

WALMSLEY: The Secretary has done good work in staying evictions, in getting water and power reconnected and helping with the employment problem.

SECRETARY: I had pressure on myself when the Chairman
was away. Now we have this mysterious fire to throw things in the public eye. It undermines. In the middle of the night I get a ring, a person is in prison. I go in and pay the fine. I haven't time to ring up the creditors. I make out cheques, often the funds haven't come in. But to have meetings just to find the nigger in the wood-pile breeds suspicion.

WILLIAMS: It is the individual's democratic right to question and criticise, no matter how long or short a term they have been associated with this Committee.

PITAMA: The books are out of order.

SECRETARY: I was originally appointed to put the books in order, but the Committee was changing weekly. Pressure was on me.

HUGHES: The Secretary signed a cheque for $217 when he should have known that there was only $45 in the bank. He also knew that there should have been two signatures. This was why I moved the vote of no confidence.

JACKSON: The Secretary invited me to join the Committee seven weeks ago. In all that time he never asked for help to collect money from those he guaranteed. The supermarket alone is owed $8,000. Mr. Wilson, a Pakeha came to this Committee for information on his account and was thrown out. Is this Maoritanga to incur debts and act like this? The Committee should examine its finances every month.

SECRETARY: Mr. Jackson talks behind my back, but he should come to a meeting of the Budget Control Board, they're paying me. Work with the budgetees then you will know. Pay your own bills Mark.

TERITO: Remember my prayer at the start. Let us not throw stones. If a person is guilty of a
crime we must have facts. We haven't got these facts today. Our meeting is not worthwhile, without the facts we cannot judge. The Secretary has done good and wrong. When a brother has fallen remember our Maoritanga. I must stand alongside the Secretary until he is rightly judged.

HUGHES: The Secretary did not see fit to attend the meeting asking for a financial report. Nor did he send an apology.

SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, I apologise now. I was caught up on Thursday night with a police matter. It was raining and I had no transport.

CRAIG: The facts are now available. I have the Committee books in my possession. The police handed them to my wife after the fire.

SECRETARY: This is the undermining point, when people trespass my office. Mr. Black was in my office with the police. This is a miscarriage of justice. Any document removed from my office should be done so in my presence.

CRAIG: Point of order Mr. Chairman. These were delivered into our hands by the police because of the letter giving my wife authority to have them as she was acting Secretary at the last meeting.

SECRETARY: An audit will show.

WILLIAMS: What about the rent on your offices?

SECRETARY: Yes, we paid the rental. The Chairman signed the cheque.

HUGHES: I suggest you place the books in the hands of the police accountant and explanations can follow.

SECRETARY: As I say, whatever it is, The Budget Control Board will pay it. I have their Authority.
TERITO: I don't think we should seek other men outside our circle. I don't think we should bring others into this. I suggest our own lawyer and accountant look into it.

WALTERS: I agree with Pastor Terito. We as Maoris shouldn't throw Maoris around.

HUGHES: I move the books go to an independent accountant.

SECRETARY: I agree to the books going to an independent accountant, if some of our people can look through them before they go to the auditor. The budgetees are behind me. They will make good any deficiencies.

BLACK: The Committee is financially weak. A police auditor will do it for nothing.

MRS. TAUA: Gee they're a hard lot.

WALTERS: I move an amendment that the books be inspected by members of our Committee before they go to an accountant.

HUGHES: The time to inspect books was months ago. Why didn't the Committee ask for them then?

WILLIAMS: (who had vacated the chair): The trouble facing this Committee is the result of having no standing orders, no agenda and procedure, and no minutes. We are all to blame for not keeping to procedure. The Chairman and Secretary pass things for payment out of Committee. What have we done about it? Next the Secretary has run a dictatorship. He acts as both Secretary and Chairman when the Chairman is absent. He puts his own interpretation on the Act and uses Maoritanga to suit his argument. Is it Maoritanga to have debts? People ring me up asking for payment. The Maori Committee is down because of debts. We owe the supermarket $2,000 please don't mention
Maoritanga to justify the situation.
Of the tangi run by the Committee, we owe £400 to the undertaker. Then there is the bill of £200 still owing on the wardens' uniforms.

SECRETARY: It's easy for you to throw stones, was the pressure ever on you?

PITAMA: Point of order Mr. Chairman, the no confidence motion has been passed and carried, and today it is being justified.

RAY:

HUGHES: These mistakes are all thrown at one man, yet you are all responsible.

TERITO: The reason why this man has not been brought to task is because there hasn't been anyone strong enough to stand up to him and speak against him.

TERITO: Be sure your sins will find you out.

The meeting lasted four hours. People were now informed of the situation of the Committee and matters were left in abeyance pending the audit of the books. After this meeting several complaints were lodged with Black and Jackson of the Advancement Society by budgetees who wanted to withdraw from the Budget Control Board. They had gone to the Secretary to ask for the return of their files and he had dissuaded them from withdrawing. Accordingly they turned to the Advancement Society for help. Hughes accompanied one couple to the Control Board's new office which they had taken up since the fire,
and when the Secretary refused to part with the files he had the couple lodge a complaint with the police. They returned immediately and were given the files. Other budgetees got to hear of this and sought out the Advancement Society to help them as well, because they were not satisfied with the way their accounts were being handled.

In view of the many rumours and complaints from budgetees Hughes suggested that all budget files be uplifted from the Secretary. Accordingly an extraordinary meeting of the so-called Maori Committee was called on the 19th December 1968 and was attended by Williams, Jackson, Hughes, Craig, and Pitama. The following resolution was passed at the meeting:

That the Committee, in view of the many complaints by budgetees placed by the Committee under the care of the Secretary, ask the police to confiscate all budget files on behalf of the Committee and subject them to audit.

A letter was sent to the police stating the Committees' resolution and a warrant was issued to implement it the same day. All the files of the seventy-six budgetees were confiscated and held by the police. Thus, in the space of a fortnight the Secretary had been expelled
from the Advancement Society which he had started, toppled in the Maori Committee which he formerly controlled, and had the economic power of his budgetees removed from him.

The Secretary partially retrieved his position by holding a meeting of his budgetees, and getting them to march en masse to the Police Station to ask for the return of their personal property. Forty people recovered their files the next day, but less than that number from the original seventy-six returned to the Budget Control Board. However, there were sufficient budgetees who maintained their allegiance to the Budget Control Board for it to remain in operation. In mid-January 1969, the Board held a meeting to elect an Elders' Advisory Board. The elders wanted to effect a reconciliation with the Advancement Society, but this failed to eventuate because invitations to the meeting didn't reach the Society, members. The elders advised the Chairman and the Secretary that the first thing they had to attend to was the financial affairs of the Maori Committee. The Chairman in particular was happy with this directive and he assumed that the Control Board's
efforts would be directed to that end. The Secretary on the other hand raised the possibility of the Control Board starting its own cooperative shop. One elder stood up and supported the idea by suggesting that ten people put up $100 each to launch the project. The proposal was converted in the minds of the people into reality. When it became obvious to the Chairman that the Secretary was promoting the shop and forgetting about the Committee's debts he lost faith in him and withdrew from the Budget Control Board and the Maori Committee. He was prepared to work, supported by his wife to clear the Committee, but with diversion of effort into the shop he resigned from the Committee. His sense of shame at his failure to honour the Committee's debts was so great that he left Otara to live in another part of Auckland.

Rumours reached the members of the Advancement Society that the Budget Control Board already had $1,000 to start its shop. The Advancement Society on the other hand had suspended operations and stopped taking subscriptions because it was decided to wait for Mrs. Parker's promise of a shop to become a reality before
In view of the vote of no confidence in the Secretary, and the muddled state of the affairs of the Maori Committee, the de facto Vice-Chairman, Mr. Williams, called a special meeting to re-elect the Committee on January 18th 1969. The meeting was attended by eighty people and presided over by the Maori Welfare Officer for the district. The Chairman was the first to address the meeting and gave an outline of the problems he had to face in welfare which led to the Committee using its money to help people. The Secretary spoke in support of the Chairman and stated that if what they had done in helping people was considered dereliction of duty then they would be prepared to stand down. The rest of the meeting is quoted from the Welfare Officer's report:

WILLIAMS: I do not doubt what the Secretary and the Chairman have said and do not doubt also the good work that they have done, but our main point is that the money went 'cock-eyed'. A lot of money has been raised in the district and a lot of money has been paid out. But when we ask for statements of accounts we can't get them. Our Committee work must be run on business lines... We have heard there are hundreds of dollars owing, who is going to pay this? I would like this meeting to decide the future of the Otara Committee.
George: (in Maori);
In this district we really have two committees - the Otara Committee under discussion, and the Elders' Committee. In our opinion, and despite the allegations made, the present Committee should continue in its present functions.

Other speakers, including Mrs. Parker who when she referred to a cheque which bounced was cried down by a faction of the meeting which did not want to hear about it.

Mrs. Ball made an impassioned appeal as a long standing member of the Women's Welfare League Executive for the Committee to abide by the regulations. She did not receive a sympathetic hearing. An elder, Mr. Pitama, was somewhat aggressive, and said that the Committee by its actions had proved itself incompetent.

The Welfare Officer submitted a proposal to the vote that the existing Committee be revoked and a new Committee elected. Twenty-three people present voted in the affirmative and the proposal was lost. The Welfare Officer asked for a list of the official members of the Committee which the Chairman supplied, he read out the names and ruled that these people were to remain in office till the end of the triennial period.

The twenty-three dissidents left the meeting in disgust, and there was some discussion about forming a new Committee. Mrs. Parker who had been a strong opponent
to the Secretary when she was first associated with the Committee favoured and promoted the idea of a new committee. Accordingly a meeting was convened to discuss the idea at which eleven people were present. Mrs. Wilson who had her own branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League and was closely associated with Mrs. Parker spoke strongly in support of forming a new committee. Mr. Gould also favoured the move to found a new committee.

Although the group was prompted by disaffection with the Secretary and the failure of the Otara Committee, Mrs. Fenua urged that the group set itself up, not in opposition to the Secretary as this would only cause friction. Instead she urged that the group work in harmony to help the people. Because of the strong support for a new committee, among those present, it was decided to hold a public meeting for the purposes of electing officers.

In the meantime the Budget Control Board had succeeded in gaining the support of a large chain-store company to sponsor it into its own cooperative store. Two youths were selected to undergo training as managers. The Budget Control Board's share to finance the operation was to be $4,000. The company was convinced that
the idea of a cooperative supported by the 12,000 Maoris in Manukau City would be a viable proposition and an additional outlet for its products. Because the Advancement Society had suspended taking memberships it had no income. By contrast, it was failing and the Control Board succeeding. Black accordingly switched his allegiance to the Control Board. He was welcomed back in the interest of unity and employed as assistant manager to the Secretary, the positions they had both held formerly in the Advancement Society. The promise of sponsorship generated new enthusiasm amongst members and led to a promotion of a drive for membership in Otara and the other parts of Manukau City. The activities of the Board in certain aspects resembled a latter-day cargo cult. One member of the Board for example borrowed $37 as soon as he was elected and wasn't seen again for some time. The Offices of the Board were furnished with the latest desks and wall-to-wall carpets. It had in its employ a manager, assistant manager and two clerical assistants. The latter eventually left because there was no money to pay their salaries and they were replaced by an assistant secretary. The agenda for one meeting early in February 1939 included, besides a consideration of the financial position,
appointment of an accountant, appointment of a typist and the purchase of office equipment from Mr. Black.

At a meeting in mid-February two youths were appointed as assistant managers to the Board's shop. The sponsoring firm heralded the approach of the millennium at a meeting in March when one of its representatives addressed the group:

There is no limit to what this thing can become. In Jones and Jones at the beginning, the turnover was $4,000,000 now it is $50,000,000. You must be firm in business. We are very impressed with your manager, Mr. Davis. We are ready to assist you now.

At a subsequent meeting in March, the Control Board nominated and appointed twelve of its members to the Board for the Cooperative Store. The whole Control Board together with its overheads rested on the economic power of a group of fifty or so people under budget. Inevitably the burden became too much and so the following motion was passed at the same meeting, thus repeating a cycle started in the Advancement Society:

That $2 from all membership fees collected be put aside for staff salaries and office maintenance. Also the rebates from power payments and gas payments be utilised for the same purpose.

At the first meeting in April, nine of the twelve
members nominated to the Board for the shop were confirmed and a Mr. Ropata nominated as director of the shop. The name adopted was the 'B.M.E. Kotahitanga Superette' which symbolised the partnership with the sponsoring firm and the 'unity' of the Maori people.

In the Advancement Society, Mark Jackson as its Chairman and as a councillor on the Town Planning Committee was placed in an invidious position by Mrs. Parker, who wanted him to promote the application for a change of zoning on the use of her property from residential to commercial. Mrs. Parker wanted it stressed that the Advancement Society was a welfare cooperative for the benefit of the Maori People. Jackson refused because he felt that if the Society collapsed, then Mrs. Parker would benefit by the increase in the value on her property. Jackson at this time had begun to oppose Mrs. Parker in Council affairs and he resigned from the Society because he no longer wanted her patronage. Hughes who took over the chairmanship of the Society urged Mrs. Parker to sponsor the Society into an existing property in the commercial centre of Otara, but Mrs. Parker refused to do so because the rent
was too high. Hughes advanced an alternative suggestion and asked if Mrs. Parker would see her way to sponsoring the Society into a mobile shop. Mrs. Parker agreed to bear half the cost of the purchase of a mobile van. The Society was to find the rest of the money.

Towards the end of February, a meeting to elect a new Maori Committee in Otara was held and a full complement of eleven officers was elected. The chairman was Williams from the old committee. When Mrs. Parker heard from Mrs. Wilson who had been elected on to the committee, that the meeting was successful and had been attended by thirty people, she telephoned Hughes and asked to be put on the Committee as a gazetted member. Hughes told her that it was an impossibility because eleven members were elected and there was no vacancy. If she was desirous of being on the committee then she should have been present at the election.

Mrs. Parker attended the first official meeting of the new committee the following week and was nominated to the Committee by Mrs. Wilson. When Hughes arrived

1. Mrs. Parker was associated with Mrs. Wilson on her Branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League. The telephone from Mrs. Parker's office was switched after hours to the residence of Mrs. Wilson for her convenience as well as that of Mrs. Parker.
at the meeting Mrs. Parker was speaking to her nomination. Hughes did not stand up and support the nomination because he felt that this was the price that Mrs. Parker was exacting for her patronage of the Advancement Society. I took a neutral stand, waiting for the decision of the other members. The Chairman ruled that the nomination was out of order and the matter was closed. Later in the meeting I suggested to the Committee that the Otara Maori Committee's idea of an Advisory Board of Elders had some merit. Mrs. Parker opposed this saying she hoped the new committee would not take up the suggestion. She felt that the Committee had to be young and progressive and not dominated by old ideas.

Mrs. Parker's attack on the position of elders alienated her from the Committee and ended any possibility of her being elected. After the meeting Mrs. Parker took Hughes aside and accused him of using her. She felt she had been let down and that the Advancement Society was only making use of her, therefore she withdrew all offers of supporting the Society. The Advancement Society vacated Mrs. Parker's premises and disengaged itself from her. One of its members put up the finance for a refrigerated truck and it commenced its mobile shop oper-
ations in May, 1969. The intention was to produce something that was tangible, that was operating successfully, then offer shares to the people to convert it into a full cooperative. The procedure adopted by the Society was the reverse of the procedure being followed by the Budget Control Board.

By July, The Budget Control Board had taken $1,000 in memberships, a long way short of the target of $4,000. The grand opening of the Kotahitanga Superette which had been promised from week to week had been put off indefinitely. People began to tire of attending meetings where patronage was to be offered by prominent businessmen. Some were confused when they were told the mobile shop belonged to the Advancement Society and not to them. Some lost heart and asked for the refund of their money. Eventually the Control Board collapsed in mid-July 1969 because it was based on forty-four budgetees who were levied fifty cents per week on their accounts. Thus, the income was only $22 per week. Over a period of six months the Board had expended $2,577 of which $2,000 had gone in wages, $580 in rent, and the rest in offices expenses. It had unpaid accounts for power, stationery
and office equipment amounting to $450. The Board's trading account had no funds and it could no longer pay the accounts of its budgetees. The $1,000 memberships held in trust for the purpose of opening a cooperative store was the only money the Board had access to and this was used to honour its debts and wind up its affairs.

The Advancement Society than made its offer to amalgamate with the Budget Control Board. The former had succeeded whereas the latter had failed. The Secretary was enthusiastic over this turn of events. Three meetings were arranged to meet the Society's terms that the people of Otara whether from the Maori Committee or the Budget Control Board, pay $1,450 to purchase the mobile shop from the Society and thus convert it into a full cooperative. But the people of Otara had lost confidence in the Maori Committee, the Budget Control Board and the Secretary and did not attend the meetings. The cycle was complete. The Secretary had taken the Maori Committee over a period of two and a half years from financial failure, to the heights of power and back again to financial chaos. The minority chose to close ranks behind the Secretary rather than to punish him by bringing charges and throwing him to the impartial Pakeha law of
the major system. It did for the Secretary what it had
done for his predecessor. The widespread knowledge of
the Secretary's failures, the gossip, the half-truths and
above all the loss of mana were punishment enough.
Some of the original gazetted members of the Committee
returned to resume office and help heal the wounded pride
of the Maori. The Marae Steering Committee which had
gone into recess during the period of the Maori Committee's
uncertainty revived itself after a year to carry the aims
of the people forward another step. Whatever future the
urban way of life holds for the Maori, one thing is
certain of the experience in Otara, that the social milieu
of the minor system will have a continued and viable iden-
tity in the metropolis for a long time to come.

SUMMARY

The charismatic leadership of the Secretary, together
with his support from budgetees and the wardens made him
the dominating figure in the Otara Maori Committee. But
his domination of the Committee caused a high turnover in
membership. Members chose to withdraw rather than to
challenge his leadership.
The Secretary drew his power and inspiration from the Maori Welfare Act and explored its possibilities for economic advancement of what he termed "a depressed people". This led to his budgeting system out of which grew the New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society and the Otara Maori Budget Control Board.

Although Otara in this study has been treated as a community with definable boundaries it is not insulated and self-contained. The Secretary's penchant for drawing people to him and using them to promote his schemes led him to bring into Otara outsiders such as Williams, Hughes and Black who had no connection with Otara and no special allegiance to the Secretary. The inclusion of Councillor Jackson in the Committee after the Municipal elections was also a step outside the ranks of the Secretary's immediate followers. These men were of a different calibre from the original Committee members in that they did not withdraw from the authority of the Secretary but were prepared to challenge it. Williams revealed the Secretary's mismanagement of the Committee affairs to the people of Otara. Hughes and Jackson challenged the Secretary's management in the Advancement
Society. This time it was the Secretary who was forced to withdraw and avoid conflict which he couldn't resolve. His solution was to found a parallel organisation, the Budget Control Board where he maintained control by filling the offices from the ranks of his followers and budgetees. Members were kept in a turmoil by promises of a shop which ensured a fever of activity and large attendances at meetings. Members were made to feel important by being elected to Boards, passing resolutions and making decisions about employees and salaries for the Board and the shop. The Budget Control Board was a fantasy built without reference to the true economic position of the group which rested on the budget accounts of forty-four budgetees. The willingness of the B.M.E. Company of chain stores to sponsor the Control Board shop is another illustration of the embeddedness of the minor system in the major system. The company was attracted by the possibility offered to it by the Secretary of an additional outlet for its produce, the 12,000 Maoris in Manukau City. The reappearance of Mrs. Parker in the arena of local Maori politics also illustrates the same point. Her patronage of a Maori Cooperative Society would have ensured her of a large following
had the venture succeeded. Her desire to become an
official member of the new Maori committee shows the
awareness of the local body politician of the presence
of the Maori in the urban milieu. Mrs. Parker as a
Councillor and a member of the Auckland Regional
Authority was a person of considerable influence, yet
she was actively engaged in the 'grass roots' politics
of the minor system. Her withdrawal of patronage and
promises to build a cooperative store on behalf of the
Advancement Society was in the opinion of Hughes attri-
butable to his non-support of her nomination to the new
committee.

The defeat of the Secretary within the Advancement
Society helped to promote his defeat in the Maori Commit-
tee. Members of the Society were also de facto members
of the Maori Committee, and it was their vote of no con-
fidence in the Secretary which brought mis-management of
the Committee's affairs out into the open.

The District Council knew of the rumblings in
Otara but remained aloof. Thus, appeal was made to
the Maori Affairs to arbitrate in the dispute. The
Welfare Officer, not knowing the complexities of the
local situation, instead of upholding the vote of no confidence, took his guidance from the meeting which was packed with budgetees, wardens, and other supporters of the Secretary and the Chairman, to rule that the old Committee was to remain in office. The call for audit of the Committee's books revealed the deep-seated attitude of the Maori as a minority towards possible litigation against one of its members. The minority closed ranks behind the Secretary to avoid intrusion by Pakehas from the major system in what after all was the affair of the minor system. Its own internal corrections were applied, of loss of confidence in the Secretary and the attachment of additional doubt to his name, with a chance given by the elders to the Committee to 'clear up its own mess' before relinquishing office.

The diversion of the Secretary's energy from the allotted task of honouring the Committee's debts into the affairs of the Budget Control Board and a cooperative shop as a means of salvation, led to the withdrawal of the Chairman from his close association with the Secretary. The shame felt by the Chairman at the failure to meet the obligations of the Committee led to his
resignation from the Committee and shift out of Otara.

The eventual collapse of the Budget Control Board vindicated the stand taken by the Secretary's opponents and brought about the final dissipation of his personal support in the community. The Committee continues to function in order to see out its term of office. Meanwhile, the people's needs remain the same. Because I have been connected with the Advancement Society several former budgetees of the Secretary have asked me if I would care to take over their budgeting for them. The wardens and welfare officers continue to take cases to the Committee. The Committee has nearly run its term and the new triennial period will undoubtedly bring forth new leaders to replace the old. The lessons learned from the old Committee will provide the new generation with an invaluable store of knowledge on which to build their future.
CHAPTER 13.

CONCLUSION

The majority of Maoris in Otara are migrants to the metropolis of Auckland from rural tribal hinterlands. The primary adjustments the people of this study have had to make are to the heterogeneity of the population in the urban milieu, the demands of the industrial economy and the need to assure a continuity of life-style that is distinctly Maori.

Proximity to the dominant Pakeha majority sharpens minority group identity. Maoris in the metropolis as first generation migrants from rural communities in tribal territories are conscious of themselves as a minority group. Ethnic traits, intermarriage between the tribes, and common language and culture in contrast to the Pakeha majority facilitates association across tribal divisions. A pan-Maori identity is emerging from the experience of urbanisation in Otara. This identity is a constellation of such factors as ethnic features, early socialisation in predominantly rural Maori Commun—
ties, affiliation with marae and tribal territory, economic depression, a wide ranging network of bilateral kinship ties and familiarity with Maori customs. These customs stem from traditional Maori society and include tangi, hui, marae etiquette, respect for elders and belief in tapu and spiritual phenomena such as second sight, premonitions and guardian spirits.

Maoris in the metropolis, particularly where there is a sufficient density of numbers as in Otara (6,000) have a positive identification with their membership group. The Maori in Otara is unequivocally Maori. He is in no sense a divided person who is whakama (ashamed) of his identity as Ritchie (1963: 178) suggests was the case with the Rakau Maori. Maoris in Otara are committed to their identity as Maoris. As Foote (1951: 17) has observed, they know that "every man must categorize his fellows in order to interact with them. We never approach another person purely as a human being or purely as an individual." The categories they perceive in the urban milieu are Pakeha, Maori and Islander.¹ It is on these categories that they establish regularities

¹. This term is applied to a Polynesian migrant from any one of the Pacific Islands.
of behaviour towards each other. The pan-Maori identity which is emerging out of the Otara experience has arisen "through a limiting and discovering process of acquiring conceptions of self, which are confirmed, revised or elaborated partly by instruction from significant others and partly through direct experience." (Foote op cit p. 21).

The Social universe of the Maori in the urban situation of Otara I have called the minor system to distinguish it from the major system of the Pakeha. It is characterised by fragmentation into social groupings which exhibit a common concern with ethnic identity and Maori values. Although the minor system is based on the ideology of kotahitanga (unity) there is no one group in Otara which encapsulated all groups in a single coherent structure. As Nadel (1965 : 153) has observed "There are always cleavages, dissociations, enclaves," which preclude a monistic structuralist conception of the social field. There is an apparent paradox in conceptualising the field as a system composed of discrete dissociated groups which I will have to put aside for the time being and return to later.
The key to the understanding of the process of urban adjustment of the Maori is voluntary association. Maoris come together in groups to meet their needs for fellowship, mutual aid, the assertion of group norms and the expression of Maori values. These needs were formerly met by the kinship system, by membership in a hapu and a close-knit face-to-face community. Migration to the metropolis leads to dispersal of kin. Some are left behind in the rural hinterland while others are scattered in different towns or across the suburbs of metropolitan Auckland. The data shows that where the kinship system is intact, especially where the family of orientation is domiciled in the same area as the family of procreation, kinship is still a meaningful factor in the organisation of social relations. Thus, family clubs come into being. In the city, these are formalised by the adoption of offices and a constitution. Those who have sufficient kin in the metropolis rely on the family organisation for mutual aid. For the majority however, whose kinsmen are widely scattered, kinship is being increasingly replaced by Maori welfare committees, Maori Women's Welfare Leagues and church groups. These are situational changes rather than processive changes as discussed by Mitchell (1938 pp. 43-48).
The lack of a *marae* in Otara as a focus for community sentiment emphasises the cleavages between the various Maori groups in Otara. As the data shows, members of the Maori Committee, the Maori Catholic Society and the Rātana Church share in a sub-culture which they hold in common with members of other Maori associations in Otara. In spite of this commonality each group pursues separately the aim of a community centre for the use of all Maoris as well as for members. The underlying philosophy of each of these projects reflects another situational adjustment to urbanism. The Rātana and the Catholic groups plan community centres with religion replacing the kinship unit of the *hapu* as a means of recruiting members. Although their projects might be loosely termed *marae*, what is really envisaged is a general purpose building as a focus for community activities. The Maori Committee was even more radical in its thinking and planned a multi-racial *marae* for the fictitious tribe of Ngāti-Otara. The multi-racial concept was a direct response to the juxtaposition of Maoris, Pakehas and Island people in the common social space of the modern housing estate.

One of the primary concerns of voluntary Maori
associations is the assertion of social control over members. This is done by means of the *kaupapa* which sets out members' rights and obligations and frequent exhortations in meetings. The Maori Committee, the Maori Women's Welfare Leagues, the Maori Wardens and church groups through their handling of welfare cases, assert and promulgate amongst members what are considered to be the norms of good conduct, home management and family responsibility. The Maori values of *kotahitanga*, *aroha* and generosity are also promulgated in Maori associations. The ideal is to extend goodwill and a helping hand not only to Maoris but to Pakehas and Island people as well. Adherence to these norms, values and ideals puts a positive valuation on one's identity as a Maori. One does not have to strive for individualistic independence. Security lies in one's membership in a group which proposes to help the needy or people who have through no fault of their own fallen into difficult circumstances. The positive valuation of one's identity is one of the potent means used by wardens, welfare leagues and Maori committees to assert social control over wayward Maoris. This is when *whakama* is used effectively against offenders. Any action of the individual which affects Maori identity adversely in the
eyes of the Pakeha brings a feeling of collective shame to their group. It is this feeling of collective responsibility which asserts a binding moral force over the individual. He is reminded that however anonymous life might be in the metropolis, none of his actions occur in a vacuum. Whatever he does for good or ill impinges on his social group.

One of the unanticipated findings of this study has been the extent of conflict generated by the contest for positions of leadership in Maori associations. In the urban situation traditional criteria for leadership such as age, descent, and skill in Maori oratory are not the primary determinants of leadership. There is a trend towards a more democratic type of leadership which takes into account education, administrative skill, and ability to negotiate with Pakehas. In the urban situation where face-to-face relationships are less intense, people are not always well known to each other. The wrong leaders are sometimes elected by the democratic process. Faulty leadership then becomes the target for gossip, backbiting and intrigue. In the situation of an inter-tribal context where every man is equal and has to prove his worth, the patron-client relationship
becomes one of the important ways in which the emerging leader can strengthen his position and counteract intrigue.

In Otara, the most powerful Maori leader was the Secretary of the Maori Committee. The primary source of his power was the Maori Welfare Act. Through his deft manipulation of the power and the financial resources of the Committee he was able to increase his capital with his followers. People who were helped by the Committee felt indebted to the Secretary. The Secretary's budgetees who at the height of his power numbered over seventy, provided the core of his following which put him ahead of his opponents in any challenge to his leadership. To this group could be added the Maori Wardens whom the Secretary promoted into office. But perhaps the most deft use of the patron-client relationship by the Secretary was in relation to the elders who sanctioned the work of the Committee and supported the Secretary in particular. There are few kaumātua in the urban situation of Otara who would meet the criteria of the role as defined by Winiata (1967: 87). Indeed, anyone who is old (over fifty) and who attends meetings is pressed into service as an elder. Thus, people who probably would not have
been elders in the tribal situation can be promoted to this role as long as they can speak Maori and follow the general format of the etiquette of the mihi. Beyond this, their only function at meetings is to sit until the end when they are required to close proceedings and sanction the decisions of the leaders. Several of the elders who supported the Committee had been direct beneficiaries of its work. Two in particular as budgetees were actual clients of the Secretary. Elders of this kind are not independent and can not act out their role fully, for example by castigating faulty leadership when it manifests itself. For all that, there is emerging out of the urban experience of Otara a different kind of elder. He is younger than this traditional counterpart and not necessarily versed in the skills of Maori oratory, genealogy, waiata and pātere (traditional songs) and karakia (incantations). But he does show a concern for the problems of his people facing the urban way of life. Although power is at present effectively in the hands of the middle-aged group who are active and can bear up under the constant pressure of attendance at meetings, the emerging elders who can avoid the patron-client tie are potential guardians against the abuse of power by the leaders.
The shift down the age scale of Maori leadership is also manifested among the rangatahi (Maori youth). The increased density of Maori population in the urban milieu allows for the proliferation of Maori associations to meet the needs of youth. Thus, sports clubs, work associations, bands, social clubs and play centres give youth its opportunity to assume leadership.

The demands of the industrial economy and the urban way of life underlie the most pervasive situational changes made by the migrant Maoris of this study. All Maoris, whether they belong to Maori associations or not are subject to these demands. The norm of a single nuclear family unit to a single dwelling has been widely adopted. The scattering of one's kin puts greater emphasis on individualism, and life of necessity becomes more home and family centred. However, the ease with which the material transformation is made, belies the difficulties of the necessary social changes which accompanies individual home ownership and family responsibility. Many are beguiled by the ease with which a house can be obtained by capitalisation of the family benefit or by renting from the State. The result is that many people have attained a higher standard of material comfort than
they knew in the country. The price of this comfort is the discomfort of coping with mortgage repayments, rates, rent, water and electricity charges and the high-pressure salesmanship of an industrial economy. Inevitably for some, over-commitment to hire-purchase and time-payment exposes the vulnerability of the ignorant uneducated Maori to the individualism and anonymity of urban existence. His failure to comprehend the major system fully, is exacerbated by his membership in the minor system which places extra demands on him. Maori mortuary customs together with the higher number of kin which Maoris have, puts an extra financial loading on the Maori which his Pakeha counterpart does not have to bear. Maoris have more kinsmen than Pakehas and more of them seem to die, consequently the Maori has a preoccupation with death. The family club or benevolent society is a response to the need to meet the costs of a tangi, but not all Maoris have these clubs so there is a greater emphasis put on non-kin institutions such as Welfare Leagues and the Maori Committee. Three of the League branches I contacted and certainly the Maori Committee assumed sharing in the cost of the tangi as one of their functions.
The financial weakness of the Maori, his feelings of alienation in urban society together with his feelings of insecurity engendered by indebtedness, led to the ready acceptance of the leadership of the Maori Committee and of the Secretary in particular. The Committee provided a reference group for the promulgation of social norms, community solidarity and a sense of mastery within the minor system vis-a-vis the Pakeha and the major system. The Committee through its Maori Courts and wardens gave respectability to minority status.

The establishing of a budgeting scheme within the Maori Committee was a creative response to the problem of financial insecurity. People who felt insecure and threatened by the intricacies of the industrial economy needed and accepted the protective leadership of the Secretary. The Secretary acted as a buffer between the debtor and creditor and in this respect his leadership filled a real human need.

The move to establish a cooperative society to enter business and compete on an equal footing with the Pakeha was another creative response to the problems of economic
insecurity. Through this venture the Secretary and his followers expressed their desire to share in the fruits of the industrial economy.

The failure of the cooperative venture is linked with the failure of the Maori Committee because they both failed for the same reasons. The people were prepared to follow the charisma of their leader without ensuring sound administrative and accounting procedures. Herein lies a fundamental weakness in the structure of Maori associations under the Maori Welfare Act. It rests on the assumption that there are a sufficient number of potential leaders amongst the Maori to assume power under the Act and administer its provisions in a democratic and responsible manner without being corrupted by that power. As Wheare (1955: 6) states:

The notion of a committee carries with it the idea of a body being in some manner or degree, responsible or subordinate in the last resort to the body or person who set it up or committed a power or duty to it....

There is inherent in the notion of a committee some idea of a derived or secondary or dependent status, in form at least it lacks original jurisdiction. It acts on behalf of or with responsibility to another body.

The Maori Committee in Otara through its turnover in
membership and the withdrawal of those who should have challenged its actions, was not answerable to the people who elected it. The failure of the Executive and District Council to exercise jurisdiction over the Committee indicated that the Committee had become autonomous under the control of a satrap. The fall of the Committee was inevitable; that this was hastened by outsiders to the community of Otara was fortuitous, and reliance should not be placed on this kind of check against the emergence of satrapy elsewhere or in the future. As long as the Maori Welfare Act remains as provision for an elementary form of self-government, then there is in the absence of sufficient educated Maoris to implement its functions, a need to return to the status quo prior to 1962 when Maori Welfare Officers were ex officio members of Maori committees. The people need to be trained in committee procedure, financial accounting, budgeting, and role performance as leaders, committee members, wardens and honorary welfare officers.

The proliferation of Maori associations in the metropolis together with their common concern with ethnic identity and the sub-culture of the Maori point
to the continued viability of the minor system within the major system. The social space it occupies is interstitial to the major system rather than separatist. This means that the Maoris of this study are bi-cultural rather than acculturated. The experience of urbanisation makes them socially more complex persons in their ability to alternate their behaviour between two systems according to the situation. Situational change or selection of behaviour as discussed by Mayer (1962: pp. 579-580), Epstein (1968: pp. 235-240), and Mitchell (1968: pp. 43-48), is central to the understanding of the behaviour of the people of this study. Situational selection of behaviour for Maori and Pakeha situations parallels "role segregation" mentioned by Berreman (1964: 234) amongst the Aleuts. Role segregation occurs among the Maori not because they disparage the Pakeha as the Aleuts did the whites, but because the Pakeha has in the early history of New Zealand denigrated Maori culture. (Even today the majority of middle-aged Maoris will assert that they were punished during their school years for speaking the Maori language). Role segregation and situational selection are means of accommodating the minor to the major system, and helps to ensure continuity of the minor system by minimising
conflict between them.

Now to return to the theoretical problem of reconciling the paradox of a social system being comprised of a number of discrete, dissociated groups. This investigation began with a hypothetical structural model of a neo-urban Maori community. The model had low predictive value. The purpose of such a model as Duverger (1964 : 244) clearly states "is not prediction but enquiry." Having used the model to focus on the elements to be found in the social field, I am now in a better position to construct a model which reflects the field more accurately.

The institutions and social groupings of the Maori I have examined in Otara exhibit characteristics of three classes which I have designated as structural, functional and network relationships. Groups and institutions link up, cohere, interact or dissociate on the basis of this triad of relationships.

A structural relationship between two or more institutions or social groupings is one in which there is
FIGURE 8

INSTITUTIONS IN STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL RELATIONS

KEY

Structural link

Functional link

BMECS
MCC
EMPL
SCH
SAC
CR
ADMC
ME
OMC
OMWA
OMSC
OMBCB
DMIA
SSD
PD
JD
CW
HD

Manukau City Council
Employers
School
State Advances Corporation
Creditors
Auckland District Maori Council
Manukau Executive
Otara Maori Wardens' Association
Otara Marae Steering Committee
Otara Maori Budget Control Board
Department of Maori and Island Affairs
Social Security Department
Police Department
Justice Department
Child Welfare
Health Department
B.M.E.C.S. Chain Stores
little or no element of choice in the existence of that relationship. By this definition the Otara Maori Committee is in a structural relationship with the Manukau Executive and the Auckland District Maori Council. It has no option but to accept a relationship of super-ordination and sub-ordination. (See figure 8).

A functional relationship is one which arises between two or more institutions or social groups out of their functions. The utility, purposes or functions of institutions are defined internally and it is this internal definition of functions which creates overlap with the functions of other institutions and the possibility of a relationship on the basis of common functions between them. Thus, the Otara Maori Committee with its functions in welfare was by those functions brought into functional relationships with institutions belonging to the major system e.g. the police, Child Welfare and Social Security Departments. A functional relationship can be either optional or obligatory depending on the situation. If the situation is internal (e.g. the case of incest brought before the Maori Committee) then an option can be exercised whether to handle the case or to hand it over
to the police. But in the reverse position when the police bring a case to the Maori Committee (and this did occur in a case of car conversion by adolescents) then the relationship is more obligatory than optional.

It is a truism that "groups are linked by persons who play roles in each of them." Southall (1959: 22). The idea of linkage between groups has now been taken a step further by the concept of social network. Southall (1961: 27) also says:

In some cases informal networks of social relations form the interstitial links between families, kin groups, neighbourhoods, factories and local authorities. They provide contexts for the induction of strangers into new communities.

The personal network of an individual links him with other individuals in groups of which he is not a member. It is the personal networks of individuals which enables discrete groups to combine to their mutual advantage. That is to say, it is the collective personal networks of the members of a society which is the mediating force bridging the cleavages and dissociations to link discrete social groups, thus enabling us to conceive of the whole as a system. To take the analysis further, I propose to borrow the concept of social network from the field of
inter-personal relations and apply it to institutional and inter-group relations.

Firth (1954: 12), has stated that studies in social organisation should attend to "the alternatives open for choice or decision." It is the optative element stressed by Firth which is the essence of network relationships. At the group or institutional levels, a network relationship unlike a structural relationship as defined above, exists by virtue of the exercise of options. When two or more institutions or social groupings with no structural or functional connections enter into a relationship with one another, they do so from choice rather than necessity.

Nadel (1965: 17) has commented on Barnes' conception of the network that for Barnes "the important thing is the dispersal of the relationships and the open ended character of the network; for me, its coherence and closure that is, its equivalence with a system." In my view, a network exhibits both characteristics of system and open endedness and these two properties are inherent in the exercise of options. The option to
## FIGURE 9

### INSTITUTIONS IN STRUCTURAL AND NETWORK RELATIONS

#### KEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.F.L.S.</td>
<td>Aotearoa Folk Lore Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.R.S.</td>
<td>Marae Restoration Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.C.</td>
<td>Family Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.M.C.</td>
<td>Tautoko Maori Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.M.C.S.</td>
<td>Otara Maori Catholic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.R.</td>
<td>Birthright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>Ratana Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.M.M.C.</td>
<td>Otara Maori Methodist Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.F.</td>
<td>Maori Evangelical Fellowship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Z.M.B.A.S.</td>
<td>New Zealand Maori Business Advancement Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.L.C.</td>
<td>Otara Lions Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Manukau Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.M.C.</td>
<td>Otara Maori Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.W.A.</td>
<td>Otara Maori Wardens' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.M.S.C.</td>
<td>Otara Marae Steering Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.M.B.C.L.</td>
<td>Otara Maori Budget Control Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.T.M.W.W.L.</td>
<td>East Tamaki Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.F.C.</td>
<td>Play Centre Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.W.C.P.</td>
<td>Otara West Play Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.W.M.W.W.L.</td>
<td>Otara West Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.W.P.G.</td>
<td>Otara West Pop Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.W.S.C.</td>
<td>Otara West Sports Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.S.C.</td>
<td>Waihaha Sports Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P.S.C.</td>
<td>Peach Products Sports Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.R.M.W.W.L.</td>
<td>Te Rongopai Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.M.W.W.L.</td>
<td>Waimirirangi Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE 9

INSTITUTIONS IN STRUCTURAL AND NETWORK RELATIONS
associate or dissociate exists between persons or groups and is used when deemed necessary or expedient. Thus, a network system unlike a structural system is impermanent and will exist only so long as it is mutually beneficial or rewarding to the participants. The open endedness of a network represents potential or alternative options which an individual or group can exercise to maximise opportunities and facilitate the carrying out of its functions. The Waihaha Sports Club is a case in point. (See figure 9). The Club was neither structurally nor functionally connected with the Maori Committee, and it could carry out its functions without reference to the Maori Committee. But members of the Club whose personal network included members of the Committee chose to activate a relationship with the Committee in order to maximise the promotion of the Club's functions. The success of the Waihaha field day, instead of promoting the relationship brought about dissociation because of the politicking of another sports club which sought to wrest the patronage of the Committee from the Waihaha group.

This scheme of structural, functional and network relationships, appears to provide an explanation for the
articulation of the institutions and social groupings of the Maori within both the minor and the major systems. It enables the minor system to interlock with the major system of the Pakeha and yet at the same time maintain a discrete identity. The optative element contained in the concept of network allows for greater flexibility and variability in human behaviour, elements difficult to reconcile with a strictly structural-functional model of society.

Finally, the urban experience of the Maori in the housing estate of Otara indicates the emergence of a neo-urban Maori community which will continue as a minor system within the major system of the Pakeha long into the foreseeable future.

The Pakeha majority on the other hand is largely unaware of the continued existence and ethos of the minor system. A few people such as local politicians and business-men are aware of the presence of the Maori and are prepared to take cognisance of it, but it was various religious sects which were the first to give the Maori full cultural recognition. As Schwimmer (1969: 52)
has observed, some religious groups instead of following the official Government policy of integration, have offered "inclusion" while at the same time recognising the "bi-culturalism" of the Maori. The ready acceptance by the Maori of inclusion in the major system under this concession by the Pakeha to bi-culturalism is an indicator for the future. Administrators, educators and social planners should beware of attempting to homogenise society in the interest of integration. Recognition must also be given to the right of the individual and his social group to be different.
Glossary

Aroha, compassion, sympathy, love
Hangi, earth oven
Hapu, sub-tribe
Hui, gathering, assembly
Kainga, village
Kaumātua, elder, head of a descent group
Kaupapa, constitution, plan, rule
Kihau, (Kēhua), ghost
Kotahitanga, unity
Kuia, old woman
Mana, authority, personal prestige
Maoritanga, Maoriness, pride in being Maori
Matakite, second sight, premonition
Mate, death
Mihi, welcome, greet
Pā, fortified village, used colloquially today for any Maori settlement or village
Patupaiārehe, fairy
Rōpū, group, organisation
Tangata whenua, people of the land, original inhabitants
Tangi, lament, mourn
Taniwha, monster
Tapu, prohibition, sacred or unclean depending on context
Tohunga, expert in priestly arts, divination, genealogy, healing, wizardry, healer or any skilled person
Turangawaewae, literally standing place for the feet, used to describe the marae and by extension Maori land shares.
APPENDIX

TABLE 11

INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE TYPES
(100 Households surveyed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maori husband / Pakeha wife</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori wife / Pakeha husband</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori wife / Samoan husband</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori wife / Cook Is. husband</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori wife / Tongan husband</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori wife / Chinese husband</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 12.

AGES OF COUPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Couples</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 13**

**FAMILY TYPES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex family</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 14.**

**MARRIAGE TYPES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intra-tribal</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-tribal</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-racial</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 15

**INTRA-TRIBAL MARRIAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Puhi</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakatōhea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Whātua</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Rarawa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūwharetoa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ati Awa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Paoa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ao Pouri</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 16

**INTER-RACIAL SPOUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Puhi</td>
<td>Waikato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga Kahungunu</td>
<td>Ngā Puhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Arawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngāti Porou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngāti Paoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Ati Awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maniapoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 17

**INTER-TRIBAL SPOUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nga Puhi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ati Awa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Porou</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Aopouri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Whatua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūwharetoa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Paoa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūhoe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakatōhea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniapoto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngai Terangi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Arawa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Maru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Rārawa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Haua</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 18

**COMPLEX HOUSEHOLDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal Adoptions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Adoptions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchildren</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter-in-law</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister-in-law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother-in-law</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De facto wife</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niece</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild's husband</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 19

**EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS**

#### SECONDARY-EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Certificate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Entrance</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{2} )</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 20

WAGES PER WEEK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$10 - $20</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20 - $30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30 - $40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40 - $50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50 - $60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60 - $70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$70 - $80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not earning</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100

TABLE 21

FAMILY BENEFIT SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capitalised</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 children</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncapitalised</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100
### TABLE 22

**HOUSING SUMMARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Dwelling</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Advances Flat</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Advances House</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Affairs House</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group House</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private House</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Flat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 23

**SUMMARY OF CONSUMERS GOODS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>Paid</th>
<th>T.P. or H.P.</th>
<th>Hire</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing machine</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mower</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacuum cleaner</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>363</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td>448</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 24

### MAORI ASSOCIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Knowledge of Existence</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maori Committee</strong></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maori Wardens</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marae Project</strong></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M.W.W.L.</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FAMILY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

BACKGROUND:

1. Tell me about the place where you were born.
2. What were the important events you remember about growing up there?
3. What do you remember from your school days?
4. What contact did you have with the marae?
5. What Maori customs were observed where you lived?
6. Tell me about how you earned your living.
7. What were the events leading up to your marriage?
8. Tell me about your children.

MIGRATION TO AUCKLAND:

1. When did you come to Auckland? Why?
2. What job(s) did you hold?
3. Describe the places you lived in in Auckland.
4. How did you manage to meet your rent and living expenses?
5. When did you move to Otara? Why?
FAMILY ROUTINES:

1. Tell me how you organise your family life.
2. Describe your weekly routine.
3. What do you do in your leisure time?

RELATING TO OTHER PEOPLE:

1. Which relations are important to you? Why?
2. How often do you see them?
3. Tell me about your friends.
4. Who do you think are the most important people in your life? Why?
5. What organisations do you belong to? Tell me about them.
**SOCIAL SURVEY SCHEDULE**

Street ____________________________

House No. __________________________

1(a) **HOUSEHOLD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>SPouse</th>
<th>UNION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>De facto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yrs. High Sch.</td>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>1st spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>2nd spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly wage</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2. **DOMICILE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Householder</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in Auckland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in Otara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons for settling in Otara

1.  
2.  
3.  

Would you prefer to live elsewhere? Reasons.

1.  
2.  
3.  
3. **EMPLOYMENT:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Householder</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Additional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place of Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting Time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finishing Time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling Time One Way</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **HOUSE:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Flat</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>No. Bed</th>
<th>Weekly Rent</th>
<th>Weekly Mortgage Repaymt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Adv.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Aff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. **MAJOR CONSUMERS GOODS:**

   (tick) paid off  (x) hire-purchase/time payment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Car</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Fridge</th>
<th>Washing Machine</th>
<th>Motor Mower</th>
<th>Vacuum Cleaner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Goods Purchased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **MAORI ASSOCIATIONS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of Existence</th>
<th>Tick</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maori Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Wardens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae Project</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons for attitude:

1.

2.

3.
(b) **CHILDREN**

*Note: Family benefit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Family Benefit</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Weekly Wage</th>
<th>Board</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2nd</td>
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<td>3rd</td>
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<td>5th</td>
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<td>6th</td>
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<td>7th</td>
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<td>8th</td>
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<td>9th</td>
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<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS:

List in order of priority organisations in which householder and spouse are members, i.e. Sports clubs, 'family' clubs, school committees, Parent-Teacher Associations etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Householder</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBOURS.

Reasons for friendliness with neighbours.

1.
2.
3.

Reasons for dislike of neighbours.

1.
2.
3.

Did you vote in the last City Council elections?

Yes/No
INTEGRATION IN WIDER COMMUNITY

Put tick or cross.

1. Can you read and write? ( )

2. Do you get a daily newspaper? ( )

3. Do you belong to a library? ( )

4. Do you belong to a political party? ( )

5. Do you have (a) a savings account? ( ) (b) a budget account? ( ) (c) a bank account? ( )

6. If you had an unexpected expense of $30, say tomorrow, would you be able to meet it? ( )

7. Have you in the last 12 months had (a) your water disconnected? ( ) (b) your power cut off? ( ) (c) your gas cut off? ( )

8. Have you ever been (a) to the Museum? ( ) (b) to the Art Gallery? ( ) (c) to the Airport? ( ) (d) to the Town Hall? ( )

9. Do you think Otara needs (a) a library? ( ) (b) a Community Centre? ( ) (c) an Hotel? ( )
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bott, Elizabeth</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Family and Social Network. London, Tavistock Publications Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Bogue, D.J.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Firth, Raymond,</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td><em>Social Organisation and Social Change</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959</td>
<td><em>Economics of the New Zealand Maori</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Frankenberg, R.</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Village on the Border</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Communities in Britain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harre, J.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Maori and Pakeha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hohepa, P. W.</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>A Maori Community in Northland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lewis, O.</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Pedro Martinez</td>
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<td>Linton, Ralph</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>The Study of Man</td>
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<td>Little, K.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Structural Change in the Sierra Leone Protectorate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>The Role Set Problems in Sociological Theory.</td>
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<td>Metge, Joan</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>A New Maori Migration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piddington, Ralph</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td><em>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</em>. Vol. 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Winiata, M.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society</td>
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