NGAI TAHU DEVELOPMENT

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Geography in the University of Canterbury 1991

by James W. Swindells

University of Canterbury
1991
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After six years at University it all came down to one final hectic week in October of 1991. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to those who made it possible. My parents, who have stood by me and offered support beyond their ability to give. Mum and Dad it is only because of your support that I have continued. My grandmother, who has always watched over me, thankyou nan. My fiancee who has waited so patiently and our daughter who has waited with equal patience for dad to finish his schooling.

To my friends and fellow thesis students we shall probably wonder for ever how much quicker we would have completed if we hadn't have had such a good time together. To all my friends in Te Aka Toki me Te Roopu, e hoa ma nga mihi nui. To my supervisor, thankyou John for bringing out the good points and being so darned positive about this piece. Your energy and enthusiasm has been an inspiration to all.

I would also like to thank those I interviewed and those who provided information. The Ngai Tahu Trust Board, the Community Development Unit in the Department of Internal Affairs, T.O'Regan, B.Solomon, Mrs. J.Swindells, thankyou all.

Lastly, toku poua haere ki te po nui, ki te po roa, ki te po marie e, haere, haere, haere. Moe mai e ta.

For my grandfather Lou Watene.
ABSTRACT

Marxian mode of production analysis is a way of examining the composition of a society. Using this methodology an analysis of Maori society focussing on the Ngai Tahu tribe has demonstrated inconsistencies in the model but also provided a coherent structure for historical analysis of European-Maori relations.

The direct relationship of the ideological structure with the forces of production was found to be a feature of the pre-capitalist mode of production (PCMP). This represents a departure from the ideal model. It was also found that the relationship between capitalism and the pre-capitalist mode has varied through five distinct periods. The spatial economy of Ngai Tahu has changed accordingly. The pre-capitalist ideological structure endured assimilation and has been crucial in leading modern Maori development.

Consequentially the contemporary articulation of the PCMP and the capitalist mode of production has led to the development of an emerging mode of production-Communal Capitalism. This mode is characterised by local development articulated with pre-capitalist relations and represents a spatial expansion of the Ngai Tahu economy.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Thesis topic

For the past six years a primary source of my intellectual exposure has been the Geography Department of the University of Canterbury. Secondly I am of Ngai Tahu Maori descent, on my mother's side from a small settlement called Raraki. From the combination of these two elements I have derived my thesis topic: Ngai Tahu Development. I have determined my compulsion to write on this topic and interpret it in a certain way because of those elements already identified above and others (Fig. 1). It is my experience that Maori societies have maintained substantial differences in ideology, social relations and even economic production, what this work represents to me, and hopefully the reader, is an attempt to identify systematically the historical geography and contemporary economic development, in a structural sense, of Ngai Tahu. I must add that it has been difficult throughout to attempt to explain what is only too familiar and assume the audience to have no prior knowledge of Te Ao Maori (the Maori World). Most people regard Maori society as a singular entity. They reject tribalism as retrograde in preference to the simple, broad, racial identification of Maori. I posit a better scale the tribal sample, being smaller, more coherent with greater political and social cohesion, and able to adopt regional growth strategies based on tribal resources. Tribalism was, after all, the social denominator of pre-capitalist society. Hence my interest in Ngai Tahu is both personal and scholarly.

Part of the interest in this topic arose during an honours paper dealing with Third World development. Intuitively I began to notice certain historical and contemporary similarities between Maori and Third World development and I began to wonder how best to understand such likenesses.

The logic and historical aspect of the Marxist approach greatly appealed and seemed to offer the most logical explanation regarding the inception of capitalism into non-capitalist societies. Therefore the main objective of the thesis is to examine, using the Marxist modes of production model (Fig. 2), the interaction, or articulation of the capitalist mode of production (CMP) with the mode of production familiar to the Maori, commonly referred to as either a Primitive Mode or simply a pre-Capitalist Mode of Production, PCMP.
*Figure 1. Influential factors in choosing thesis topic

*A self analysis. Acknowledgement of the forces at play, intellectual, material, and socially related in choosing my thesis topic, a complex of determinants modified by individual decision.
Figure 2. The Mode of production

- Ideological Superstructure
  - Ideology
  - Religion
  - Education
  - Law

- Relations of production
  - Expropriation
  - Control
  - Exchange
  - Distribution

- Forces of production
  - Capital
  - Labour
  - Land
  - Technology

Source: Overton 1988
A structuralist framework of enquiry, like modes of production, facilitates substantial understanding not merely of the chronology of development but also of the economic, social and ideological determinants of development. The social and economic position of a significant number of Maori is unequal in comparison with the European population of New Zealand. What caused the underdevelopment of a large proportion of the Maori population? The articulation of modes of production is one way to examine this regrettable phenomenon. A fortunate coincidence as the consequence of unfortunate events, the presentation of the Ngai Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal (WAI27), has allowed me to better illustrate my thesis with this example and to demonstrate one contemporary response to the problem of underdevelopment, an emerging mode of production termed "Communal Capitalism" (O'Regan, 1991b). Ngai Tahu have a lengthy history of claims against the Crown (Table 1). Fundamentally Ngai Tahu assert that the Crown reneged on its contract with Maori and Ngai Tahu. The Treaty of Waitangi - the economic effect of which was foregoing adequate protection of Ngai Tahu resources. Misconduct is also alleged against the Crown. Ngai Tahu are not alone in their claim against the Crown and it appears that a substantial part of the underdevelopment of Maori is attributable to the alienation of their resources. Mode of production analysis is one methodology for arriving at a formal and ordered understanding of such a contention.

There are two main objectives that will hopefully answer some questions relating to the development of Ngai Tahu since 1769:

1. To describe, using a Ngai Tahu example, the Pre-Capitalist Mode of Production (PCMP) and articulation with the Capitalist Mode of Production.

2. Describe the emerging Ngai Tahu mode of production.
Table 1  A chronology of Ngai Tahu Appeals

1868- Native Land Court appeal to have mahinga kai returned. Appeal
denied based on the European interpretation of mahinga kai as
cultivations not places where food gathered.

1872- H.K Taieroa motions to parliament to have Ngai Tahu
  grievances attended to. Continues to lobby parliament for 35 years.

1874- Mackay Report on Ngai Tahu poverty. Cites reasons as (i)
inadequate reserves; (ii) removal of access to mahinga kai; (iii)
encroachment of settlers onto mahinga kai.

1879- Smith-Nairn Royal Commission finds in favour of Ngai Tahu
regarding the Otago Tenths. Native Minister Bryee cuts Commission’s
funds.

1886- Mackay Royal Commission recommends further land reserves.

1888/9- Joint Committees of Parliament find due merit in Ngai Tahu
  claims against Crown.

1890- Mackay Second Royal Commission affirms previous findings
  and those of Joint Committees of Parliament.

1892/3- Native Affairs Minister tours South Island. Proposes
  40,000 ha of vacant Crown land to be returned.

1906- After 13 year delay the 1892/3 recommendations are
  enacted by Seddon but...
  (i) poor quality land and remote i.e. Stewart Island
  (ii) high development cost
  (iii) 20 ha per head awarded but 200 ha more suitable for
development.

1907- Ngai Tahu hui-a-iwi at Temuka to formulate response to
  1906 award.

1914- Government investigation reveals significant portion of 1906
  award unoccupied.

1921- Jones, Strauchon, Ormsby Royal Commission, the third such
  Commission recommend cash settlement.

1944- First Labour Government passed Ngai Tahu Claim Settlements
  Act as the final solution

1946- Ngai Tahu Trust Board established to administer funds, but
  land central to any settlement such is the Maori ideological connection
to land.

1986- Ngai Tahu lodge THE CLAIM with Waitangi Tribunal over
disputed land and mahinga kai.
My premise is that articulation of the PCMP with CMP led to the development of several typologies of economy. The first was a mode of exchange and represented a precursor to a mode of production, which but for the competing demands of settler capitalism would have eventuated. The second stage is the subordination of this mode of production (the mode of exchange) by settler capitalism and the subsequent pursuit of Eurocentric nation forming. The third and present stage I propose is an emerging mode of production, "Communal Capitalism" (O'Regan 1991b).

1.1 Theoretical approach

A Marxist approach...

"...opens the way to a recovery of history. It shows capital's apparently natural and eternal forms to rest on relations that are social and historical; relations, in other words, which have been constructed by human beings and are thus capable of being changed by human beings." (Sayer 1978, p149)

The fundamental tenet of historical materialism, "the application of dialectical materialism to the study of society and its history- the historical world outlook of Marxism " (Winchester, 1947, p3), is that the basis of human society rests upon the material production of human life. History is viewed as the inheritance of productive forces by succeeding generations and the social relations that must be entered into in order to produce and reproduce life. It is the "...created relation to nature and of individuals to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor: a mass of productive forces, capital funds and circumstances, which on the one hand is indeed modified by the new generation, but on the other also prescribes for it its conditions of life and gives it a definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances" (Marx and Engels 1976, in Peet, 1980, p14).

Mode of production analysis (see Fig. 2), seeks to analyse how different economies and societies are organised. It suggests a three tier structure. The first tier consists of the forces of production: labour, technology, capital and land. The second tier represents the necessary social relations that people must enter into in order to produce. These are classified as expropriation, exchange, distribution, and control. The final uppermost structure is the ideological superstructure which
contains all facets of intellect expressed as ideologies. For example law, politics, religion, and education (Overton 1988).

Marxism is inherent a structuralist in its analysis. The nature an purpose of structural analysis is to uncover those enduring forces or mechanisms which mould the world around us and which simultaneously shape our thoughts. It is a deconstructive process.

Within the structuralist modes of production theory economies and societies are not divorced from each other. The ideological structure reflects the interrelationship of ideas and production. If there is a dominant group or class that controls production their ideas also dominate. The leading material interests provide the leading intellectualism. Intellectual expressions would be, of course, nothing more than a reflection of the dominant relations of production.

The resources (forces of production) a society possesses forms the basis of the model. From this people must enter into certain relationships in order to produce the material means of life. Law, education, religion, and politics, all facets of the ideological structure, may change in response to changes in the the relations of production or the forces of production. New technologies, like the telephone, or new production relations, such as the organisation of labour, can cause changes in the ideological structure. Conversely the ideological structure has a history which is in part its own. It too can bring about change.

The mode of production model is held together by a tension in which all three structures, the forces of production, relations of production and the ideological structure have the potential to effect change. Modes of production are forever dynamic and for the geographer the analysis of spatial change ought to be a correlation of modes of production studies. Marx never provided a full or consistent description of the relationship between a capitalist mode of production (CMP) and a pre-capitalist mode (PCMP). What he did offer were two possible outcomes which result from the interaction, or articulation of a CMP and a PCMP. In one scenario he predicted the "more or less inevitable disintergration of pre-capitalist modes of production and the subsumption of the agents of these modes under capitalist relations of production" (Wolpe 1980, p2). In the other the PCMP is preserved in the interests of capital, serving to subsidise the cost of reproduction and therefore conserving capital. Dissolution or conservation of the PCMP can be regarded as an outcome of the articulation of modes of production.
The articulation of modes of production is a central Marxist theory of change (Fig. 3). The contact between different modes of production may occur at any level of the mode of production. Articulation results in a hierarchy of modes developing to form the social formation. One mode will be dominant, another emerging from the contradictions of articulation, whilst another will be decaying. Perhaps another mode will be of secondary importance to the dominant mode as in the conservation of the PCMP.

Marxism is a critique of capitalism. The primary concern of Marx was to demonstrate that capitalism was an historically specific economic system. Unfortunately because he did not elaborate well upon pre-capitalist formations, there have been a myriad of re-interpretations of his and Engel's original critique dealing with pre-capitalist formation (Meillassoux, in Wolpe 1980, p193). Many Marxist anthropologies, Meillassoux states, have been preoccupied with the weakest of Marx's analysis; the hypothetical reconstruction of pre-capitalist social formations. Rather, as this work attempts, the evolution and functioning of each specific mode of production ought to be the focus.

1.2 Ngai Tahu Mode of Production

This thesis uses the mode of production model to illustrate the historical geography and contemporary position of Ngai Tahu development. Maori settlement of New Zealand began with the migration of Eastern Polynesian people to a new environment featuring new resource possibilities. Social relations were predominantly kinship based. Groupings of people gradually settled New Zealand, each maintaining a specific territory matched by specific rights to resources. Kinship groups of iwi (tribe), hapu (sub-tribe) and whanau (extended family) are the typical if somewhat oversimplified social groups upon which Maori society was based. Settlement patterns varied according to the incidence of new arrivals, conflict over resources and resource depletion, and seasonal production. The diffusion of Ngai Tahu throughout the South Island and their appropriation and authority over the same occurred as part of the ongoing realignment of tribes. A series of migrations brought Ngai Tahu south from the lower eastern half of the North Island. Already closely related to the Ngati Mamoe (an iwi that had already absorbed those thought to be the original inhabitants of the South Island, the Waitaha) Ngai Tahu began the slow process of asserting their tribal authority.
Figure 3  Articulation of modes of production

Dominant Mode

Secondary Mode

Emergent Mode

Decaying Mode

Source: Overton 1988
Ngai Tahu assumed authority over most of the South Island in stages and in accordance with commonly accepted laws regarding the appropriation of land, inland water bodies and stretches of ocean. Strategic marriage, and general intermingling with Ngati Mamoe and Waitaha helped secure possession. In doing so Ngai Tahu also came to possess a unique and extensive environment, exhibiting strong regional variations. In a Marxist sense, the resultant economy was a primitive mode of production, characterised by hunting and gathering strategies adopted by kinship based goups. What this thesis attempts to do is examine specifically the internal dynamic of a Maori mode of production illustrated by a special case study of the Ngai Tahu iwi.

1.3 Research methodology

The research of this thesis is divided in two parts. Firstly the construction of the PCMP and the historical articulation of the PCMP with settler capitalism was drawn from published sources. Secondly, construction of the modern Ngai Tahu economy was conducted from field research, involving interviews and unpublished minutes, memos and directives from within the modern Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority.

1.4 Summary

The author has a personal interest in Ngai Tahu some experience of the tribe. The study aims to examine the historical and contemporary development of Ngai Tahu whilst at the same time looking at the larger context of Maori development. For this purpose the Marxist theory of modes of production and the articulation of modes has been adopted as a conceptual framework.
CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS A NGAI TAHU MODE OF PRODUCTION

2.0 Introduction

Using the structures and facets from modes of production theory I propose to develop an integrated understanding of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu society. In this chapter we will briefly examine the social order of pre-capitalist Maori. As a subset of this we will also summarise the physical economy of Ngai Tahu and their consequential political and social arrangements. In some instances examples other than Ngai Tahu have been used though all effort has been made to emphasise those aspects of mode of production unique to Ngai Tahu. The use of examples outside of Ngai Tahu is the result of two factors. Ngai Tahu followed the normal Maori patterns in most things; and there is a dearth of information relating to the social, political and economic life of pre-capitalist Maori, let alone Ngai Tahu. In fact there is probably more said on what information modern ethnologists, archaeologists and sociologists do not have than on what they do!

Ward (1973, p3) warns that any attempt to reconstruct or describe traditional Maori life before the arrival of Europeans is hazardous. The sources of evidence he identifies are the written observations of early European settlers and visitors and the recorded oral traditions of Maori informants (Shortland 1851; Beattie 1990; Taylor 1950) the reliability and accuracy of both Ward puts in doubt. The archaeological record and tribal traditions complement these other sources, (Simmons 1969; Anderson 1982,1988; Pickett (ed) 1982; Davidson 1982; Ngai Tahu Report 1991; Brailsford 1984; Firth 1959; O'Regan 1991a). However when combined there is not enough adequate material to reconstruct an accurate picture of the detailed organisation of the Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist economy. Modes of production is an abstract means of analysing a society. Combined with the problems outlined, the construction of a Ngai Tahu mode of production is inevitably a simplistic and difficult task. Even so the mode of production approach does provide a logical framework within which to highlight crucial aspects of social and spatial organisation.

It makes sense that if we are to understand the impact of capitalism upon the Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist mode of production and arrive at some understanding of their development since, then we must, in the first instance, account not only for the
dynamic of expanded reproduction of capital but also the internal structural characteristics of the Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist mode (after Bradby, in Wolpe 1980, p93). This chapter examines the PCMP forces of production and the ideological structure. We are introduced to characteristics found throughout pre-capitalist Maori social formation.

2.1 Ngai Tahu settlement

"The first premise of human history is thus the existence of living human individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature. The physical nature of humans, and the natural conditions in which they find themselves, are the natural bases of human life, modified in the course of history through human action." (Peet 1980, p12) Ngai Tahu have their origins, as Maori, in the distant islands of Hawaiki, probably in Eastern Polynesia. Migration to New Zealand brought the ancestors of Ngai Tahu. The tribe, as was the common pattern, crystallised out of a social formation that was ever changing and today is reflective of the same sort of dynamism, the amalgam of three streams of descent. Sometime during the seventeenth century a steady migration of groups began from the East Coast of the North Island. These groups, seeking solidarity, linked themselves through genealogy, a concept which gained the power of an ideology in pre-capitalist Maori social formation, to the tipuna Tahupotiki, from whence the iwi derived its name, Ngai Tahu, or "of Tahu". After building a pa at Haitaitai near Wellington, Ngai Tahu embarked on a series of sporadic migrations into the South Island. Ngai Tahu brought to the South Island the classic Maori culture and a new tribal order that remains today. "As Ngai Tahu moved south they sometimes fought and defeated, and sometimes intermingled with other tribes. In doing so they absorbed these peoples' older knowledge and experience of the land and its resources. This process of fusing the land with earlier communities was still continuing when the first Europeans arrived on the islands in the eighteenth century." (Ngai Tahu Report, 1990 p175)

The reasons for migration are often attributed to apparently isolated events such as the killing of an individual, the continuance of feuding, or the shaming of chief which would compel him and his followers to leave the area. Thus the Ngai Tahu traditions which record the movements of the tribe southward (Fig. 4) are told as a story of jealousy and quarrelling among Ngai Tahu.
**NGA TAHU MOVEMENT into the South**

### TRADITIONS

- **HATAITAI**
  - At Hataitai Tu te kawa killed Tuahuriri's wives and fled to Kaiapoi; Rakaitauwhake started a war then led the Nga Tahu south. After victories Maru and Waitai quarrelled. Waitai went to Otakou, Purahu was killed on Moiho Island. The Nga Tahu built a pa in the Wairau.

- **WAIPAPA**
  - In time Nga Tahu influence extended south to Waipapa and Kaikoura despite Ngati Mamoe resistance at Waipapa, Rakautara, Peketa and Pari Whakatau where Manawa was killed. Some Ngati Mamoe inter-married with Nga Tahu but the bulk of them retreated under Tukiaua to Kaiapoi.

- **KAPOHIA**
  - The Ngai Tahu at Wairau heard of Waitai's defeat and of Tu te kawa at Waikakahi, Moki I led a war party to Kaiapoi and Tu te kawa died for his crime against Tuahuriri. His son made peace with Moki I and helped bring the Poutini coast under Nga Tahu control. Nga Tahu influence now extended to Kaiapoi and Turakautahi established the Kaipohia fortress and Ruahikihiki built his Taumutu pa.

- **OTAKOU**
  - Ngai Tahu forces under Kaweriri invaded the interior of Murihiku. Taoka and Te Wera pushed down the Coast to Otakou and fell out and fought each other. Ngai Tahu dominance reached to all corners of Te Wai Pounamu by 1800. Ngati Mamoe elements survived through inter-marriage. In 1825-28 the kai huanga feud erupted in Kaiapoi and drew Murihiki forces north. Te Rauparaha's Ngati Toa invasion ended the internal strife but brought sheltering Ngai Tahu defeated in Wakaatū, Kaikoura and Kaiapoi. Nga Tahu power shifted to Murihiku and Ruapuke Island. From here they launched successful attacks on Rauparaha at Lake Grassmere and Anapua Beach and continued to dispute Ngati Toa control in the Wairau. The Ruapuke forces defeated Te Puho at Matarua in 1837.

### WARRIORS at

- **HATAITAI-WAIPAPA**
  - Tuahuriri, Tu te kawa, Manawa, Maru, Waitai, Kaue, Rakaitauwhake.

- **PARI WHAKATAU**
  - Manawa, Maru, Kaue, Rakaitauwhake, Ruahikihiki Turakautahi, Moki I, Taoka, Te Rangiwhakaputa.

- **KAPOHIA**
  - Te te kawa, Te Rangiwhakaputa, Ruahikihiki, Turakautahi, Moki I, Te Rangitama, Taoka, Te Wera, Moki II, Kaweriri.

- **MURIHUKI**
  - Taoka, Te Wera, Moki II, Kaweriri, Matalura.
However the jealousies and quarrels, the traditions and personal accounts recorded (Shortland 1851; Taylor 1950) are not isolated events but manifestations of political, ideological and economic determinants. In the first instance we can attribute actions to the individual, but those actions were determined within lawful institutions and by the struggle to establish tribal order and pre-eminence. Ngai Tahu had Ngati Mamoe to overcome. They were the formerly dominant iwi of the South Island, to whom, through genealogy, Ngai Tahu were closely related, Ngati Mamoe had already been through the process outlined above of fusing with the land and the prior occupants, the Waitaha. As a consequence of Ngai Tahu absorbing Ngati Mamoe they also absorbed Waitaha and it is by this means that Ngai Tahu today represent "three broad streams of descent".

Having now a brief outline as to the origins of Ngai Tahu we shall investigate the Ngai Tahu PCMP by first examining the structures of production, "the totality of the operations aimed at procuring for a society its material means of existence", (Godlier 1978 in Seddon, p60). Here the interaction of ideology and production is particularly important. Then the essential relations of production, appropriation, distribution, exchange and control shall be the focus of our attention.

2.2 Forces of production

Following the conventions of Godlier (in Seddon 1978) this examination of Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist mode of production will be broken into several structures each looking at the different aspects of production. The structure of production is deemed to a combination of technical instruments and knowledge (T), resources (R), and labour (L) aimed at satisfying certain objectives, the first of which is the reproduction of life.

The Ngai Tahu structure of production was based primarily upon hunting, fishing, and gathering supplemented by some agriculture and industry. Technical innovations of resource management were employed in the propagation and conservation of selected food resources as well as storage innovations to overcome seasonal shortages and provide neat units of surplus exchange. Production exhibited spatial and temporal variation, the determinants of resource endowment and seasonal change exerting a considerable degree of influence. Labour was divided on the basis of kinship, the individual and whanau the most
effective grouping (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p3-12; Anderson 1988, p67). The effective labour units were whanau. Whanau cooperated according to the size of the task before them. Large scale fishing is one such activity recorded as requiring whanau cooperation (Chouvet 1855; Mair 1923; Matthews 1910: cited by Awatere 1991).

An overwhelming majority of production was organised about food. Te Waipounamu (South Island) was regarded as one mahinga kai, or place where food is gathered. Wiremu Te Uki explained to the Smith-Nairn Commission in 1879, "We used to get food from all over the island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Waipounamu, the greenstone island, the fame therefore reaches all." (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p4-22)

Industry contributed tools, weapons, garments, devices for the procurement of food, ranging from hooks through to large eel weirs. Greenstone was also manufactured into exchange items. Agriculture was spatially limited by the climatic tolerance of the crops available to Ngai Tahu. We will now proceed to examine briefly the factors of production, technical instruments and knowledge (T), labour (L) and resources (R) characteristic of the Ngai Tahu mode of production. We will inquire as to the characteristic of each factor of production where possible as it pertains to Ngai Tahu. The factor of production most interesting for the geographer is undoubtedly the resource (R) foundation, especially its distribution and how that correlates to the settlement and exchange patterns of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu. I do not intend to labour individually through the various implements, or methods that constituted the sum of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu technical ability, nor to describe the content of technical knowledge pertaining to the environment, that would be difficult enough a subject for lengthy dissertation.

Ngai Tahu production was based on hunting, fishing and gathering supplemented by some agriculture and industry. Most production therefore centered around food. The Ngai Tahu technical relationship with nature was characterised by an immense knowledge of the time and place foodstuffs could be appropriated. Timing was important because of the strong seasonal fluctuation in the abundance of food stocks. Place was important because of the varied distribution of food stocks and industrial raw materials. Firth (1929), Beattie (1954), Best (1942),
have written of the extensive environmental knowledge possessed by pre-capitalist Maori. The development of an extensive technical knowledge would have been a necessary function for a society that depended largely on the provision of foodstuffs and other raw materials by nature. A hunter-gatherer economy does not transform its environment as an agrarian or industrial economy, but is apt to explore and exploit its habitat to the limit of ideological constraints. For example rahui (a form of tapu) prevented overexploitation of resources and encouraged husbandry. It can be argued that the rahui as a conservation device was a ideologic response to environmental pressure, a construct of religion that was applied only after a significant adaptation period and the extinction of many species of avifauna in particular.

Anderson (1988, p82) states that the pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu society was operating at its economic maximum, exploiting some 200 different species of foodplants and animals. It is suggested however that this indicates only a fragment of what resources were possibly exploited. Some indication of the range of foodstuffs exploited by Ngai Tahu can is shown in Table 3. The economy was heavily regionally biased (Fig. 5) with extensive foraging strategies adopted to combat climatic strictures on agriculture, the absence of large terrestrial mammals or easily aquired tubers, nuts and berries (Anderson 1988). Knowledge was held not only of the foodstocks available in the immediate vicinity but over an vast area, including deep sea fishing. It would be difficult to compile a complete list of the technical methods and relations pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu exercised with their environment. Access to this knowledge was and is restricted, guarded with a zeal the industrialist or inventor might hold over their patented production technique or method. The locations of many mahinga kai are secret, known only to members of the relevant sub-tribe. Firth (1929, p43) makes the point that accumulation of knowledge may not have been exclusively for economic purposes. Inquiry and curiosity are universal human traits. Yet all knowledge was interpreted within the context of the supernatural: in the Maori conception of the world a teleology explicitly interrelated with the environment. Knowledge was not held equally, it was vested with the specialist and it is suggested (Firth 1929, p210) they were important in the organisation of work. There were a variety of specialists grouped under the generic term tohunga. The tohunga is narrowly conceived of as only a religious person. In fact there was the tohunga ta moko (tattooist), the tohunga tarai waka (canoe builder), the tohunga
Figure 5  Regional variation in food resources

TUAKATIVI

Eels
Fernroot

Ducks
Weka
Kloer
Pukeko

Blue Cod
Potatoes
Seals
Barracouta
Ducks
Shellfish
Albatross
Fernroot

Kakapo
Pigeon

Eel

Muttonbirds

Tui
Weka

Lamprey

preserved food

preserved food

WAIKOUAITI

Potatoes
Eels
Cod
Barracouta
Ducks
Groper
Ti root
Fernroot

Estuarine fish
Kaka
Tui
Muttonbirds
Pigeon

Weka


*This figure by no means is representative of the full range of food resources that may have been exploited at each site but an indicator as to the different food resources available
whakairo (carver and artist) and the atarangahu, the expert in snares, traps and procuring food. The suggested role of the specialist in the organisation of labour will be explored later.

Archaeological evidence regarding the experimentation with, and evolution of, material technology is regarded with more scientific credibility than social reconstructions because there is tangible physical evidence. A case in point is the variation of adze styles as Maori became more familiar with the working of various types of stone (Davidson 1984, p93; Jones, in Wilson 1987, p61). Often we can only infer social and economic behaviour from physical evidence and early ethnographic accounts. The material technology of Maori and Ngai Tahu was based on stone, the foremost material, and also wood, vegetable and animal fibre, and bone. Ngai Tahu made particular use the stone materials silcrete, porcellenite, and of course nephrite and bowenite. The deposit of the latter is restricted to the West coast of the South Island. Ngai Tahu graded nephrite and bowenite by appearance, and usage varied accordingly.

2.3 Ideology and production

Ideology was a prime influence in the operation of production in Ngai Tahu PCMP. Pre-capitalist Maori society shared common religious beliefs which helped them to interpret the world about them. These beliefs were a sort of supra religion which pervaded each and every aspect of peoples lives. This is a characteristic of most pre-capitalist modes of production.

The supra-religion of Maori people derived from traditions common to East Polynesian societies but changed and adapted to the new environment of New Zealand as much as the Polynesian immigrants themselves changed. The world view of the Polynesian immigrant became the Maori world view, this process of ideological change a concomitant of physiological, and economic change.

Mythology regarding the creation of the physical world and of people is one starting point of Maori and Ngai Tahu supra-religion characteristic of the PCMP.

"The outlook of the Maori, as in connection with natural phenomena and nature generally, often differed widely from our own; thus he looked upon the far spread forests of his island home as being necessary to his welfare, and also being of allied origin.
This peculiar belief was based upon the strange belief that man, birds, and trees are descended from a common source; their ultimate origin lay with the primal pair, Rangi the Sky parent and Papa the Earth Mother, though they were actually brought into being by Tane the Fertilizer, one of seventy offspring of the above mentioned primal parents." (Best 1942, p1)

Although creation mythology has an ultimate beginning with Io the supreme being followed by several stages of creation, a better demonstration of the Maori supra-religious world view is to be found in quotations like the above which feature Tane-mahuta, Rangi and Papa. The effect of Maori adherence to religious belief was profound,

"Magic, in fact, in one shape or another, permeates all the economic life of the native. Every craft has its spells and incantations, its rites and omens, its regulations of supernatural import. Magical ideas seem ubiquitous in their pervasiveness." (Firth 1929, p234)

The manifestation of religion as it reflected and reinforced social relations and productive forces can be shown by examining the significant religious value mana. On the origin of mana Barlow (1991, p61) writes:

"Mana is the enduring power of the gods. It is the sacred fire that is without beginning and end. Taane ascended by the sacred vine in order that he might retrieve the mana or sacred power of the gods which was known to the ancestors as the ahi koomau."

Pursuit and possession of mana helped determine social relations. rank was attained by birthright. This was known as mana tupuna. This mana could be enhanced, or reduced, by the demonstration of abilities as warrior, politician, provider, or through generosity, and general demeanour. The degree of mana an individual had was determined by and indicative of the social class he or she occupied. When a person of lesser status and mana put a cloak belonging to the mana tangata and prominent Ngai Tahu chief Te Maiharanui about her shoulders this was taken as an obscene and gross insult to the mana of Te Maiharanui and his immediate hapu. This incident unleashed the devastating and hitherto unheard
of Kaihuaka (eat relation) feud (Traditional account pers. comm). Thus was the power of mana to influence social relations and order.

Mana was also bound with the productive forces. After childbirth the placenta was often placed in the earth as an indication of mana whenua. In this way the individual was, in an obvious fashion connected both with the land his or her family occupied and the earth mother Papa.

Supernatural belief was a prime determinant in the relationship between people and the factors of production and in social relations of production. However the primacy of a supra-religion cannot be confirmed. Rather, "The Maori system of traditional rights to, and attitudes towards land, water and natural resources evolved over time to incorporate a unique blend of religious beliefs, societal structure, the nature of the surrounding environment and peoples reliance on that environment."(Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p3-15)

Although "magic" was all pervasive its effectiveness as sole determinant in the economic structure of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu, society was mitigated by kinship alliances and the interdependence of those kin groups with the varied regional environments presented by the South Island.

In Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist society food production was not merely for subsistence but for the satisfaction of certain ideologic laws. In this regard the Ngai Tahu mode of production can be viewed as the articulated combination of economic and ideological levels. Anderson (1988, p80) attributes the erosion of Ngai Tahu ideology as having more influence than any other factor in subverting the traditional economy. The importance of some key PCMP non-economic concepts to production cannot be underestimated. Anderson concludes that Ngai Tahu trade was based not on units of exchange but rather on a set of continual social obligations that were never quite fulfilled. Thus the economy reproduced itself partially on the basis of non-economic ideology. The introduction of units of exchange and private ownership of forces of production previously held to be communal possessions, were anathema to the persistence of the Ngai Tahu traditional foraging and trade economy. Capitalist economic motives replaced the non-economic social obligations and other key concepts creating ideological conditions unfavourable to the maintenance of traditional ideology which was so important to the reproduction of the economy. An attempt has been made here to recognise the extent of resources Ngai Tahu utilised (Table 2). However by
simply providing a list of resources we still have no idea as to the proportions or importance of each item. Nor can we truly claim to possess full knowledge of all pre-capitalist resources. Records of resource usage provided by Beattie and other European observers are likely to reflect modifications. Ngai Tahu knowledge regarding resource usage was maintained through actual continued usage of the resource in question. Knowledge was not only distributed unevenly among the social classes but prone to loss through changes in production. Articulation was to have a significant effect in this regard.

In this section we shall examine some of the key aspects of ideology that interacted with production in the PCMP. When we look at the articulation of the PCMP with the capitalist mode of production we shall begin to see precisely how the subversion of the PCMP occurred at two levels, the ideologic and material. We shall restrict our discussion to ideology as it applies to hapu, however we must remember that levels above and below hapu were affected as well. Non-economic Ngai Tahu PCMP ideology that articulated with production can be divided into two categories, motivational and regulatory. Production, besides satisfying the reproduction of Ngai Tahu society was motivated to fulfil certain non-economic goals. Mana, a concept I regard as having no adequate English translation, was eagerly sought by all Maori being directly related to the production capacity of tribe, hapu, whanau and individual. "The abundance, or lack of resources directly determines the welfare of every tribal group, and so affects their mana (prestige). Traditionally, the acquisition of and maintenance of the exclusive right to those resources was central to the core of Maori society." (Te Whakatu Kaupapa 1990, p 3-1)

The pursuit of mana was an occupation of the most constant nature. The display of exccisive generosity at feasts was one directly economic outcome. Feasts were important social occasions held to secure kinship bonds and demonstrate solidarity at marriages, funerals, births or the command and satisfaction of chiefly rank. Tika or etiquette demanded:
### Table 2. Some resources used by Ngai Tahu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plants</th>
<th>Fish</th>
<th>Birds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flax</td>
<td>river/estuary</td>
<td>grey duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flax honey</td>
<td>waharoa</td>
<td>brown duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain flax</td>
<td>pipiki</td>
<td>black duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raupo root</td>
<td>grayling</td>
<td>grey teal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raupo pollen</td>
<td>minnow</td>
<td>paradise duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speargrass root</td>
<td>panako</td>
<td>shag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutu</td>
<td>mountain trout</td>
<td>swampheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild cabbage</td>
<td>native trout</td>
<td>tut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild turnip</td>
<td>whitebait</td>
<td>pigeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikumu</td>
<td>mullet</td>
<td>parrots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>flounder</td>
<td>kakapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fernroot</td>
<td>smelt</td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea-nut</td>
<td>freshwater cray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelp</td>
<td>kahawai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lamprey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marine fish</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shellfish</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mammal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barracouta</td>
<td>paua</td>
<td>seals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groper</td>
<td>pipi</td>
<td>rats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shark</td>
<td>pupu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frostfish</td>
<td>tuaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kingfish</td>
<td>kakahi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ling</td>
<td>kina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelpfish</td>
<td>crab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*After Anderson 1988*
"... a lavish, super-abundant supply of food at such events, even though future welfare might be seriously threatened. At times, then, the compulsion of these social sentiments was stronger than the restraints of economic prudence. Insufficient provision even for unexpected visitors would lay the hosts open to sneer and innuendo, and severely damage their reputation." (Firth, R. 1929, p 323-24)

Food production was not an endeavour always suited to the individual. Sometimes cooperation was necessary to secure the material means of reproduction. In this event kinship facilitated production and production reinforced kinship bonds. When the entire hapu was required for some endeavour kinship ties would be called upon to appropriate the necessary labour. It was an essential characteristic of the Ngai Tahu mode of production to utilise kinship and so production became an ideological as well as an economic exercise. Production then becomes... "both external and internal to the other structures of social life, and is thus the origin and basis of the different meanings assumed by exchanges, investments, money, consumption, etc., that they assume in a capitalist commodity society and that economic science analyses." (Godlier in Seddon 1978, p63). Kinship bound the production unit but depended more on the power of an ideology rather than the genetic relationship of one individual or group with another. The Ngai Tahu population of Te Wai Pounamu was characterised by conflict between closely related individuals and hapu. Kinship could not be relied upon as a continually stable political and military bond as allegiances shifted from time to time in the Ngai Tahu PCMP. The allegiance could destabilise because of some slight to the mana of a chief, jealousy of another group’s or individuals possessions or reputation, or the extension of one groups pre-eminence over another. The Kai Huaka (eat relation) feud (1820s) which debilitated Ngai Tahu before the onslaught of Te Rauparaha resulted from a slight to the mana of a leading Ngai Tahu chief Te Maiharanui (Traditional account pers. comm).

A third concept called ahi kaa (literally, keeping the fires burning) established simultaneously a property right and rangatiratanga, the command of chiefly persons over their domain. As long as the land and resources were occupied and utilised so the right of the occupants to the land was maintained. "Resource usage was determined by whakapapa and occupation, and traditional boundaries were
jealously guarded by the individual hapu. The actual usage itself reinforced users manawhenua rights. These rights also carried with them the responsibility to manage the resources so that it would be available for future generations." (Te Whakatu Kaupapa 1990, p4-23)

Mana and kinship were the two fundamental components of Ngai Tahu PCMP ideology that articulated most closely with production. These established user rights to resources followed by the subsidiary obligations and implied right of occupation, then usage and proper management. Conservation of resources can be looked on as a social investment for an economic system tied closely to the fluctuations of environment. This regulation of production was accomplished by the use of other controls, most notably rahui, a form of tapu. The power of this control to modify production rested with metaphysical belief. The rahui had a dual function. It could be deployed as a practical conservation and resource management technique, but could also be deployed because of religious belief. For example if a fisherman died at sea the vicinity would be declared 'out of bounds' and no food taken there until it was deemed an appropriate time. The sanctity of the fisherman's body could not be desecrated by eating kai ika or kai moana that had possibly absorbed the remains. Alternatively if it was noted that certain food resources were becoming scarce in a region a rahui would be imposed to allow the resource to recover.

Rahui were imposed to cover both long term and short term requirements. Usually a tohunga would set aside burial sites or areas where the resource was of restricted use, say water for use in embalming, preventing the conflict of tapu and production needs (Barlow 1990, p105; Firth 1929, p247-52). A production site would be rendered out of bounds more by chance misfortune. Ngai Tahu avoid a site on the Puharakeke (Styx) River (near Christchurch) because of its use by tohunga. Likewise an area near Sumner, Ihutai, is avoided by Ngai Tahu fishermen because a hapu, the Ngati Pohoareare were killed there by makutu (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p4-15).

As a set of non-economic relations ideology in production played two important roles. Firstly it provided motivation: production occurred to satisfy mana and kinship. As well, it served biological reproduction. Rahui controlled production where production contravened the religious status quo and as a practical management and conservation technique. The environmentally determined
production foundation of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu is reflected in the settlement and exchange/communication patterns identified by Brailsford (1984) and Anderson (1988). Seven coastal clusters of settlements are discernible (Fig. 6), the interior was ranged into only for seasonal gathering purposes, transit and seasonal settlements dispersed throughout the whole territory Anderson (1982;1988). Outside of these regional clusters only thirteen non-seasonal settlements were identified (Anderson 1988). Ngai Tahu traditions recall that leading ancestors were attracted to certain regions on the basis of the foodstuffs that could be aquired there:

"... Te Ruahikihiki asked about Waihora, and finding it was full of inaka, patiki and tuna he said, "Taku kaika ko Orariki" (Orariki is my place) and so put a tapatapa on it. Mako asked what was at Wairewa (Lake Forsyth), and being answered, "Tuna, inaka, paraki and excellent aruhe" (Eels, minnows, silveries and good fernroot), he exclaimed, "Taku kaika, ko Otawiri". (Beattie 1990, p129-30)

Akaroa held a similar attraction for the tipuna Te Ake, and Lyttelton Harbour for Wheke. This illustrates the importance of food resources as a determinant of Ngai Tahu settlement. Individual settlements also adjusted location because of conflict (internally and externally imposed), environmental depletion (i.e. lack of firewood), and continual migration from the North Island, (Anderson 1988). Kinship facilitated relocation of groups from family to hapu size.

The hunter-gatherer dependence on environment must be acknowledged as a primary determinant in the distribution of pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu. Ngai Tahu spread by kinship groups over seven regions attracted by the resource endowment of each region, and the variations therein. Exchanging what products were especially abundant or available only in their separate hapu areas gave rise to a series of foraging trails, settlements and trade routes (Fig. 7). The relationship between Ngai Tahu settlements was not however purely economic. Exchange and foraging were features, but so too was ordinary socialising to maintain kinship bonds. Kaihaukai, the reciprocal feasting practice of Ngai Tahu, fulfilled economic as well as non-economic aims. On the one hand it can be viewed as a form of saving; lean times in one's own settlement could be relieved through a reciprocation of previous generosity, and on the other as a manifestation of
FIGURE 6. Areas of pre-capitalist settlement as identified by Anderson 1988
necessary social obligation; kinship must be fulfilled for fear of retribution either physical or psychological (e.g. shame, dishonour, humiliation). "It was apparent that each particular community had its own special areas for collecting different foods throughout their region in various seasons. The foods available in each region differed in abundance and ease of acquisition. Regions had their specialities." (NTR 1990, p194)

Certainly Ngai Tahu PCMP featured different regional specialities in the way of resources and even different technical means employed to exploit such resources. Regional and seasonal variance provided the differential incentive for exchange to occur between settlements. When allied to the ideological construct of kinship, and no doubt some epicurean desire, it is little wonder that Ngai Tahu exercised an effective and knowledgable command of South Island geography.

2.4 Summary

Pre-capitalist Maori society was based on kinship. In a simplified form three units are determinable; the whanau (extended family), hapu (collection of related extended families) and the iwi (tribe). The whanau is the basic economic unit.

During the course of Ngai Tahu migration to the South Island the control of other tribes over the forces of production had to be overcome. The pre-capitalist economy that developed was predominantly based on hunting, gathering, and fishing. Much of the environmental knowledge regarding the South Island was absorbed by Ngai Tahu from the formerly dominant tribes. In the mode of production ideology and production are explicitly related. Production is both an economic and ideological exercise. Settlement was based on the distribution of resources. The relationship between settlements was economic (trade) and ideologic (to maintain kinship bonds).
CHAPTER THREE
PCMP RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

3.0 Introduction

"Economic science is neither ecology nor technology, nor is it dissolved in the study of kinship, religion etc. It begins with study of the social relations that operate in production and also, as we shall see, in distribution and consumption." (Godlier in Seddon 1978, p63)

Pre-capitalist Maori social relations were kinship based, generally matrilocal, and pervaded by supernatural belief and ideological constructs. Conflict between tribes was common as each asserted territorial claims or sought vengeance for transgressions of protocol or previous attack. Peace was usually achieved through intermarriage or open acknowledgement of subordination. Maori society was dynamic, inspired by aggression ideological or economic desire. The population of the South Island by Ngai Tahu was an outcome of such events.

In the discussion of PCMP economic relations several points must first be made. The factors of production could never be owned by people in the sense of property, but they could be controlled. Individual rights existed in the PCMP, the supposed communism of Maori may have been pure hyperbole. "The relation of Maori people to their material wealth was not one of undiluted communism; on the contrary, a system of very definite individual rights obtained." (Firth 1929, p342)

Individual rights were accorded on the basis of rank, amount of socially necessary labour expended on an endeavour i.e. clearing a patch of land, and to the type of factor of production a different right might apply. The productive capacity of technological items, "determined the propietal relation between various social groups " (Firth 1929, p350). The social kingroups of whanau, hapu, and iwi exercised different rights to the factors of production. This aspect was highlighted particularly in the Ngai Tahu control of factors of production. The whanau was the effective daily economic unit in whose affairs no one else would interfere unless it was of the utmost import, for example military ventures. The Ngai Tahu tribal entity was comprised of many hapu led by chiefs of different
rank. They combined as a corporate unit when their resources were threatened. This was especially evident in the raids of Te Rauparaha and other invaders in the 19th Century (NTR 1991, p189)

3.1 Expropriation

Expropriation is defined as the deprivation of an owner of property for especially public use. Since Maori never had property in the factors of production only control, a discussion of expropriation may appear superfluous. However the laws which determined control may be regarded as laws of expropriation. Expropriation in this instance refers not to property but to rights of control. The rights of control are established as a consequence of the expropriation of rights from previous users.

Ngai Tahu came to control the majority of the South Island through intermarriage, conquest, and exchange. By conquest Ngai Tahu were able to enforce laws of control, manawhenua, manamoana, turangawaewae, and other related laws such as arikitanga. Acknowledgement of defeat and a symbolic exchange featured in the Ngai Tahu expropriation of land near Kaikoura,

"Within the same generation Kati Kuri (a hapu of Ngai Tahu) under the leadership of Marukaikatea pushed southwards from Waipapa to Kaikoura and Kati Mamoe edged southwards before them. There was no fighting at Kaikoura itself because Mamoe ceded the land to Maru (Ngai Tahu ariki) with the poha, Tohu Raumati, on the marae of Takahanga. Kati Kuri have been the manawhenua in that area ever since." (O'Regan 1987, p11)

The expropriation of user rights to the factors of production ought to be viewed as a process combining intermarriage, take raupatu (conquest) and exchange.

"Regarding the purchase of lands Ngai Tahu traditions recall the land was sometimes traded for valuable taonga such as mere pounamu and elaborate cloaks. The Rakaia inland for example was paid for by two greenstone mere and Omihhi was purchased from a local chief for a canoe. In these purchases boundaries were established between the buyers and sellers and they were kept to. If any intrusion was made onto other lands fighting usually followed." (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p3-8)
Although the authors of this extract use the terms "purchase", "sellers", "buyers", and "paid for" the sense these statements are made should not be as they read. Purchase, buy and sell, and payment are relations of expropriation pertaining to a money economy. Their use ought to be regarded as an analogy to trade and exchange.

It cannot be said that the expropriation of user rights by Ngai Tahu was not to the complete exclusion of Ngati Mamoe.

"When Kai-Tahu invaded the South Island they fought the Kati-Mamoe for four generations, and then all were fused into one race through killings and by intermarriage. The war began in Marlborough and ended up down in Southland. When it all began all the prominent fighters of Kai-Tahu had been born in the North Island, but as the time went on the leaders had all been born in the South Island." (Beattie 1990, p125)

What Ngati Mamoe and Waitaha surrendered was manawhenua or authority over the land, water and resources of territories previously commanded by them. Their absorption by Ngai Tahu did not extinguish their nor Waitaha's identity. A separate class of law existed for the expropriation of the factors of production and social product within the tribal structure. Tapatapa and taunaha were conventions by which the factors production and social product could be set aside for the use of the those of high rank, usually on their demand or suggestion. A common person would not deny their ariki, a share of their goods, without risking severe retribution. This law drew on the importance of tapu associated with rank, for the person so demanding a proportion of goods needed the mana to reinforce the claim. Tapatapa was the naming of a place or things after a high ranking individual, the tapu inherent in that individual rendered those things so named as tapu as well. Some North Island traditions recall how, even by accident the property of others could become the property one or of his or her whanau or hapu. "A young chief at Whangaroa quarrelled with his father and called the pigs of the village by Hongi's name. No sooner did Hongi hear this than he gathered together his people and killed and carried away seventy pigs from the place." (Firth 1929, p338) An example of tapatapa appropriate to Ngai Tahu has already been discussed (Beattie 1990, pp129-30). Tapatapa could also be used as a relation of distribution. Typically a tohunga during the course of a marriage feast would
divide gifts of food naming the divisions after those people for whom they were intended. Muru was a convention where the property of one group usually the whanau, would be plundered as a punishment against some offence, for instance a breach of tapu, or infidelity. Some European observers found difficulty with the practice of muru as the guilty and the innocent were punished, the person who had committed an offence as well as his or her extended family (Firth 1929, pp121,123).

"The custom of muru (plunder by force) was not common in some parts of the South Island, but we had it in Banks Peninsula. Tapui, a son of Whiuia, was taken prisoner by Rauparaha to the North Island, where he married a Ngati-Awa woman. They came down to Akaroa at the time of rongopai (when peace was made and Christianity came in). He died, and a North Island man took her to wife. She was putoa [widowed but with the deceased man's family having authority over her in matters of marriage] and this was not custom, so the relatives felt they must muru him or else kill someone." (Beattie 1990, p153-4)

Utu was a similar law but usually carried out between hapu and tribal groups rather than within. Utu would secure compensation in the form of property, land, or the death of whoever committed the offence. Both muru and utu were methods of expropriation common throughout Maori exercised against breaches of law.

3.2 Control

"Traditional Maori rights to resources were founded on the manawhenua of a particular Tribe which was based on the land, waterways and all resources controlled by the Tribe." (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p3-9)

Tribal control of factors of production was expressed as manawhenua, the authority held over an area of land and all resources contained therein; manamoana, authority over water and all resources contained therein; and turangawae, the right to claim a settlement as one’s place of origin and have a political input into decisions affecting it. Reference to topographic features defined tribal, hapu, whanau and individual manawhenua. Mana over land or water was attained by the laws mentioned above for expropriation. However
once authority had been established it had to be sustained through actual usage and occupation. One method of establishing and retaining control (manawhenua) was to place the placenta of a newborn in the earth, and hiding the pito (birthcord) about the same area as an indication of belonging. This practice still continues and has affected the writer and his daughter. Usually there was no such thing as absentee manawhenua or manamoana. The hapu, whanau or individual in occupation of a place exercised control over that place. Of course if a hapu or whanau did not practice ahi kaa, (occupation and use, or literally burning fires), then all rights, turangawaewae, manawhenua/moana were relinquished. This relinquishment was called maataotao (literally fires gone cold).

Ngai Tahu, because of their constant but gradual migration pattern and the subsequent failure to establish a generally agreed chiefly precedence, evolved a unique control relation regarding the factors of production (Anderson 1988). Ngai Tahu's widely dispersed multi-hapu settlement meant individual communities could not claim sole mana over resources. What evolved was a system of rights where manawhenua/moana was not congruent with effective daily management, use and occupation (Fig. 8). Conceptually the tribe maintained mana over the land and sea, but each hapu had user rights to some resources not in their region, whilst it was up to the local communities in situ to assure the conservation and availability of resources.

Ngai Tahu therefore exercised a system of absentee rights and this is evident in the distribution of resources among Ngai Tahu hapu. Manawhenua/moana stemmed from the tribal expropriation, and passed through the social stratum to the individual, who could exercise political opinion based on their right of turangawaewae (the right to speak and act on matters affecting the local community). The variation occurred in that whilst hapu had rights to resources in other hapu areas they did not have turangawaewae. The geography of resource use and political determination was therefore at odds. The implication for the Ngai Tahu economy meant it was wide ranging and interconnected and featured a much greater resource base than the geographically restricted economies of the North.
Figure 8  Ngai Tahu management and control of resources

From Anderson 1988
"Such a system offered several advantages to a population substantially reliant upon the produce of hunting, fishing and gathering. Marked differences in the quality of resource patches, or in long-term fluctuations of productivity, could be ameliorated by residential mobility, within hapu, and across community lines. This in turn would decrease the need for exchange of staple products, except where convenience or the need for social contact intervened." (Anderson 1988, p74)

Social contact would have accompanied the wide ranging gathering strategies of Ngai Tahu hapu, but contact would also have been sought as a matter of kinship obligation. Kaihaukai was one deliberate class of socially obliged contact and this will be explored under section 3.4.

Control of the forces of production was asserted through political, spiritual and foremost, military means. Metaphysical control was expressed as tapu, the mechanism of rahui the most notable control based on tapu. Such control was usually vested in a specialist tohunga but other individuals also possessed unique influence. Rangatiratanga was the embodiment of political, spiritual and military authority in the leader of a community. The rangatira had to respond to the demands of his community and could not act autonomously without risking chastisement and possible humiliation from the community. Nevertheless the rangatira of a place carried a great deal of political authority over that place. Their authority was manifest in extraordinary tapu and mana which in turn was dependent upon their individual abilities, personality and genealogy. Primogeniture differentiated an ariki from a rangatira. Also there were various sub-classes of rangatira and eventually a social stratum which ran from Ariki-nui (paramount chief) to tangata-haere (outcast).

3.3 Distribution

Before discussing the division of the total social product among the members of a community we shall first discuss the division of resources among Ngai Tahu hapu. The spatial distribution of resources were called wakawaka. These pertained to fernroot, cabbage tree, eel, and rats. Fowlers would have their own trees but there was no division of wakawaka among forest birds. However special divisions of space existed for the titi. Families could go to their specific site in
another region and as long as they stayed within their wakawaka they could gather what they needed.

"Bird preserves were kept in families and trespassing was a grievous offence. Boundaries were called wakawaka and preserves rauiri, as were also eel reserves in the rivers. There were no boundaries for woodhens nor ordinary bush birds." (Beattie 1990, p136)

Titi (Sooty Shearwater or mutton bird) were a sought after resource and provide the most effective demonstration of the extent of Ngai Tahu migration to procure food and the distribution of rights. The Titi islands are a small group of Islands off the coast of Rakiura (Stewart Island). Heke (working parties) came from as far as Kaikoura to participate in the annual gathering (they still do). Titi were distributed only among proper geneologic claimants by wakawaka, rights would pass only from parent to child. (NTR 1990, p856) Kiore, the native rat, kauru (cabbage tree) and aruhe (ferncroot) were also maintained in wakawaka, "Rats were strictly divided into wakawaka among different whanau and hapu and their ownership was fiercely defended against poaching." (NTR 1990, p198)

"Care was taken not to trespass on the lands of other families or groups when actually procuring the kauru, each party would go direct to their own land, and their work; the Maori folk were very careful in such matters...Aruhe, or edible fernroot, was prized, and the principal hapu (families) had wakawaka (sections) of it." (Beattie 1990, p139)

Between whanau and hapu the principles of distribution are quite clear, but within each social unit the order of distribution is not:

"...despite the detailed accounts of the production side of industry, especially technology, the barest mention is given to the apportionment of the product once it has been completed or obtained." (Firth 1929, p272)

Firth faced this problem some sixty-two years ago and little has changed since. In fact his criticism can be levelled at all areas that explore the social relations of production. In the relation of distribution what is determinable is the existence of
different principles of distribution according to the number of labourers involved, and the social context of the distribution.

Production corresponded most commonly with the whanau and it was at the whanau social group level that most accounts of distribution begin. However the individual was not excluded from securing the product of his or her own labour, nor was individual exchange between members of the same or related whanau unknown. Ownership not so much of the forces of production but of the rights of use (usufructuary rights) were distributed equally among members of the iwi.

Individual right usually pertained to personal use items tools, clothing and ornaments. Occasionally an individual might also be allocated a small plot of land, an area for fishing or fowling trees. The most common form of distribution obtained to a group such as the whanau. To this group "belonged" the dwellings, stored food, small eel weirs on branch streams, some fishing grounds and shellfish beds. The whanau exercised usufructuary rights but not ownership (Waitangi Tribunal Muriwhenua Fishing Claim 1988).

What the whanau produced from its own endeavours would be consumed by them in situ, or brought back and divided equally amongst other whanau. In very basic form the members of a whanau contributed to the family store and this was drawn upon as occasion required. The product of the limited Ngai Tahu agriculture would have been divided by garden area into family plots. When production required the cooperative labour of many whanau or even hapu the product would be divided by a trusted and fair individual among all whanau, with the proviso that those whanau contributing labour to the endeavour were favoured. Otherwise if not divided immediately the product of communal labour would, as per the whanau principle, be placed in a communal store and drawn upon as required.

Produce gathered for some special occasion such as a marriage, was distributed amongst those in attendance as determined by a tohunga. A tohunga might divide the pile of foodstuffs gathered for the marriage feast into smaller piles so naming each portion after the intended beneficiary. This practice was also known as rahui.
3.4 Exchange

The motivation for exchange in the Maori PCMP was two-fold: economic and ideological. Large scale exchange was a formal event that reinforced kinship and was no doubt generally enjoyed as a social occasion. It enabled Ngai Tahu communities to share in resources otherwise not available in their locale. Although this may seem contradictory in light of the reference to wakawaka and absentee rights, exchange for purely economic reasons was necessary as access rights were exercised seasonally and were generally restricted to a few resources. A particularly strong exchange tradition existed between coastal and inland communities, as well as between Poutini Ngai Tahu who controlled the supplies of greenstone, other Ngai Tahu hapu and other Maori iwi.

"The Southern Maori likewise did not rest content with the somewhat meagre products of his own territory. One old man stated to a collector of ethnographical data that by the system of kaihaukai ("reciprocal gifts" is probably meant) they could exchange titi (petrels) and other things for kumura from Canterbury, and could even get taro and hue from the North Island", (Firth 1929, pp397-8). Kaihaukai was definitely an institution of exchange. Its operation appears to be both inter and intra tribal and not necessarily restricted to foodstuffs as the name suggests.

The whanau social group (as the effective economic unit) would specialise in production according to the resources available in their area. These would be transported to a central point (ie. Kaiapoi Pa near Christchurch) and traded with groups who specialised in other products. This was known as kaihaukai and was extended between tribes also. Ngai Tahu Pounamu (greenstone), taramea (scented resin from the Wild Spaniard), and kotuku feathers (White Heron) were exchanged for canoes, cloaks, cutting stones and other products from North Island tribes (Te Whakatau Kaupapa 1990, p3-12)

Food preservation was an essential element in the exchange of foodstuffs. Preservation allowed exchange to occur out of season. Ngai Tahu developed a kelp container called a poha which would usually contain fowl, rat, or smoked seal, all secured by fat. Drying was another important preserving technique and applied generally to fish and eel. The taha was the North Island equivalent, constructed not from kelp but from gourds. The taha was not unknown to Ngai
Tahu but the poha was the most common and unique to Ngai Tahu. Preservation of surplus was also helpful in coping with short term deficits in food supply.

As mentioned, kaihaukai would operate particularly well between inland and coastal communities. Between Rapaki and Kaiapoi for example a well developed exchange pattern existed. Rapaki also served as a stop over point for other Banks Peninsula Ngai Tahu who wished to exchange articles with Kaiapoi Ngai Tahu especially.

"The people would send word of a proposed kaihaukai some weeks beforehand. The people from Kaiapoi might go to Rapaki carrying tuna (eel), kiori (rat), kauru (cabbage tree), kuri (dog), aruhe (ferngroot), kumura (sweet potato), and so on while the home people would prepare pipi or kauku (shellfish), shark, marahi (dried fish), and other sea products as a return gift." (Beattie 1990, p130)

Kaihaukai was not a spontaneous event. Time would have been necessary to allow the preparation of substantial items. All the time a competitiveness surrounded hospitality as previously discussed, and this too would have provided motivation in the provision of exchange items.

Anderson (1988, p80) concludes that equivalent barter did not exist, but in my opinion equivalent exchange was certainly a reality. He also states that the exchange of goods coincided with a "system of continual social obligation", a common feature throughout Polynesian and other pre-capitalist modes of production. Whilst Firth (1929) warns that one should not to seek in primitive economic relations "the convenient prototype of the modern business man", social obligation and utility in exchange were the motivators. Anderson is quite correct to assert that equivalent barter did not exist, this implies common units of exchange in place of money, and is based on an analysis of utility only.

Equivalent exchange, as I propose, requires comparability not in utility alone but also in value. Value is at the dictate of ideology and in the pre-capitalist Maori ideology derived, again, from the pursuit of mana.

"In the matter of the article given in return, convenience was secured and appropriate gifts avoided by a tacit understanding
between the two parties as to the goods which would be most acceptable." (Firth 1929, p405)

The common denominator in regard to exchange relations among Ngai Tahu and Maori was value, determined according to constructs of ideology. Value could be measured in as much as if the items exchanged were not deemed to be of equivalent value future exchanges by the group so impinged could reflect their disapproval. For example less or not so good kumura would be exchanged the year following an inequivalent exchange. The tacit understanding between parties would appear subtle to those familiar with open agreements, contracts, haggling and barter but would register very clearly in pre-capitalist Maori society.

Whilst items possessed utility based on utility, value was dependent on the ability of the object to enhance personal or group mana. Utility and value were not immutable, hence greenstone could be both economic tool and adored ornament or both. Stone implements could possess mana if maintained throughout generations or owned by a great rangatira. Value was the overriding consideration in pre-capitalist exchange relations.

"The fundamental economic situation in a native community is of apolaustic rather than chresmatistic kind, i.e the values attached to objects turn on the use and enjoyment which they provide rather than on the gain which may be had by disposing of them to other people. But though the value of a thing is not constantly expressed or thought of by the native in terms of other things, these may be given for it if the occasion arises." (Firth 1929, p272)

Another notable feature of exchange is the futurity of "continual social obligation". In monied economies exchange transactions are instantaneous. The economic equilibrium is disturbed at each exchange. The Maori process of exchange relied on a much longer term equilibrium where an exchange generated a debt that would be repaid perhaps months or years in advance.

3.5 A PCMP model

The direct articulation of the ideological structure with the forces of production is the single most important point to emerge from our model (Fig. 9). The Ngai
Tahu relationship with the forces of production is best characterised by their relationship with the land,

"Land to the ancient Maori in either island meant very much the same; the turangawaewae, the foothold which gripped with great power the very soles of his feet, on which rested the survival, the sustenance, the ORANGA, the power, the MANA of Man's authority." (Kareta 1980, p1)

No more clearly is the relationship of Maori society with the forces of production demonstrated than in the situation described above. This environmental ethic is characteristic of pre-capitalist modes of production. Capitalism is characterised by the separation of society from the forces of production, the desanctifying and rationalisation of nature. The human relationship with the forces of production, land, sea and raw materials contained therein is evident through the relations of production. The mode of production is characterised as a hunting-gathering mode in which the social organisation is based on genetic and social kinship. Spatially the Ngai Tahu were widely dispersed by kingroup but maintained a degree of connectivity related directly to ideology (social exchange) and production and economic exchange (Fig. 10). Ideology determined social class but this was modified by the practical abilities and attributes of an individual. The material technology of Ngai Tahu was restricted to tools and forces of production, but technical knowledge and ideological knowledge (oral transmission of genealogical data) must have been overwhelming in comparison. Generosity made a compelling social challenge in the pursuit of the ideological power of mana, conversely an insult to mana could create terrible havoc.

3.6 Summary

The examination of pre-capitalist relations of production has revealed an ordered matrix of production relations. Expropriation equated with the right to control the forces of production. Ngai Tahu expropriated this right through the law of take raupatu (conquest), intermarriage (which established a kin relation), and exchange. Expropriation conferred a specific set of control rights; manawhenua, manamoana, and turangawaewae. However use and occupation (ahi kaa) qualified these prior rights. Religion played an important part in controlling production through the institute of rahui.
Figure 9. Maori PCMP

IDELOGICAL STRUCTURE
- Kinship
- Supra
- Religion

FACTORS OF PRODUCTION
- Exchange
- Expropriation
- Distribution
  - Taka
  - Taka
  - Taka
  - Taka

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION
- Distribution
  - Surplus to communal store
  - Individual reward for effort
  - Immediate family consumption

TECHNOLOGY
- Land
- Water
- Mahinga kai

Expanded model
Diagrammatic summary of the spatial relations of production

**Figure 10 PCMP**

[Diagram showing the relationships between Ideological Structure, Forces of Production, and Relations of Production leading to Tribal Manawhenua/Moana]

Spatial diffusion of resources and seasonality gave rise to wide-ranging gathering strategies to specific sites.

*After Anderson (1988)*
Distribution of product between social groups derived from whakapapa. An inheritance principle applied. A spatial division of resources between groups existed. These were called wakawaka. Individual held property in a very limited number of classes mainly personal items, but sometimes a small amount of land could also be held. Communal distribution was sometimes overseen by a tohunga. This type of distribution was done on the basis of individual effort to production (i.e. rewards for effort) and social rank (chiefs are apportioned more).

Exchange was motivated by economic and ideological reasons. Kaihaukai was the principle mechanism for intra and inter tribal exchange. Specialised regional economies traded to their comparative advantage. Exchange based on equivalency value (subjective ideological construct) not purely utility. Trade predominated between coastal and inland Ngai Tahu settlements.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE EXPANSION OF CAPITALISM

4.0 Introduction

Marxian analyses of capitalism's tendency toward global expansion are presented in this chapter as well as a specific Marxian analyses of the expansion of capitalism into New Zealand. An empirically based refutation of these analyses is also examined (Reid 1990). This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the settlement of New Zealand did not proceed to the obvious advantage of capital (foreign investment). Settler capitalism is presented as the internal dynamic of capitalist expansion in New Zealand.

4.1 Marxist theories regarding the internal dynamic of capitalist expansion

Capitalism was defined by Marx as a mode of production in which,

"... ownership of the means of production is severed from the ownership of labour power; it is that which permits the transformation of labour power into a commodity, and with this the birth of the wage relation." (Marx cited by Wolpe 1980, p35)

Capitalism is a mode of production where labour and all property must be freely transferable commodities. Marx and Engels acknowledged the prodigious production capacity of the capitalist mode of production and its importance in the development of socialism but forecast its inevitable demise based on what he determined to be serious internal contradictions. However capitalism has defied the conclusions of Marxian economic theory, its ultimate collapse and succession by socialism seemingly endlessly delayed. Capitalism has not remained a static mode of production but one that has transformed itself to cope with crisis. Why does this mode of production, the internal dynamic of which is to separate the worker from his or her place of work, expand to encompass other modes? We will outline some Marxian analyses of this phenomenon as presented by Bradley (in Wolpe 1980, pp93-127), then examine how applicable each theory is to the initial expansion of capitalism into New Zealand.
One theory is that since the internal accumulation of capital is eventually contradictory external trade with non-capitalist modes of production is necessary. It is logically impossible for effective demand to exist for surplus production within the capitalist mode of production. In this view the expansion of capitalism is a fundamental and necessary operation of capitalism. Internal growth is limited and therefore non-capitalist formations become a market for surplus production.

A second explanation is that capitalism is required to expand only at certain times in its development. When capitalist economies experience a falling rate of profit it becomes relatively or absolutely unprofitable to continue to invest in older capitalist economies. Capital is therefore exported to countries where the organic composition of capital is lower. Capital as foreign investment exploits the lesser cost of non-capitalist forces of production to gain an increasing rate of profit. The crucial element of this proposal is its historical specificity, capitalism's response to a crisis.

Another similar idea focuses instead on the availability of cheap seasonal labour in countries where non-capitalist modes persist. Advantage can be taken of seasonal or temporary labour migration lowering the organic cost of production by i) not paying for the full long term organic reproduction of labour ii) lower absolute labour costs. Capital will maintain a non-capitalist mode of production in this situation.

The final theory is that capitalism requires a non-capitalist, cheaply sourced supply of raw materials, markets, labour power and space at historically specific points. A crisis of supply, or population, or a labour power deficit impels articulation with a non-capitalist mode of production. The maintenance of the non-capitalist mode of production is to the advantage of capital in the second and third scenarios presented above whilst the demise of the non-capitalist mode is likely in the first and fourth proposals. The first theory views capitalism as a mode of exchange rather than a mode of production and cannot be regarded as within the sphere of articulation studies. All of these accounts are attempts to formulate a global explanation for the historical expansion of capitalism into non-capitalist modes. This endeavour has been the most crucial objective of neo and post-neo Marxist theorising.
4.2 New Zealand

Can the expansion of capitalism into New Zealand from 1769 be explained by the above theories? The annexation of New Zealand by Great Britain was an act of Colonialism, the liberal economic theorists' intellectual justification of Imperialism. The international division of labour would allow each country to benefit from specialising in commodity production according to Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage. Was New Zealand then colonised as part of the tendency towards the international division of labour, was there an economic imperative or was the expansion of capitalism politically motivated?

"The purpose of the colonization of New Zealand could hardly be more clear; a part of the universal expansion of the capitalist mode of production in an attempt to find new sources of land, raw materials and labour power." (Bedggood 1980, p12)

Bedggood is considered to be at least correct (Reid 1990) when he says the economic determinant was considered in the "last instance" as grounds for the annexation of New Zealand. Reid cannot find any significant correlation between the needs and interests of British capital and the ability of New Zealand to satisfy them at the time annexation was contemplated. Other colonies were far more purposeful in the provision of raw materials than New Zealand. On this basis Reid believes the Marxist world system approach cannot be credited with the expansion of capital into New Zealand. Reid is equally critical of the hypothesis proposed by Steven (1989) that acknowledges New Zealand did not develop according to normal capitalist rules of Imperialism, but nevertheless that capital was attracted to the unusually high quality of New Zealand agricultural lands. The resultant "differential rent" allowed settler capitalism to exploit capitalist Britain through unequal exchange in international trade. Steven also proposes that New Zealand acted as an outlet for Great Britain's overpopulation. Reid finds fault with both contentions. Firstly New Zealand did not possess unusually high quality agricultural farmlands and thus could not and did not enjoy unequal exchange, nor did immigration patterns conform to the contours outlined by Steven.

Steven (1989) proposes an interesting and radical hypothesis that ranges outside of those Marxist world systems analyses already discussed. What he suggests also implies an interesting geography of capitalist expansion into PCMP's. In the
first instance the expansion of capital into New Zealand did not serve the interests of capital (foreign investment) as he concludes, on the basis of what slim evidence is available, that less capital, in the form of interest, rent and commodity profits left newly colonised New Zealand than entered. If this was the case our first, second, and third explanations can be discarded as irrelevant to New Zealand's "colonisation by capital".

Great Britain required an outlet for its burgeoning population. Malthusian theory was enjoying tremendous popularity and provided the intellectual justification for immediate action on behalf of the state. Paupers, of which Britain had many, were exceedingly eager to escape the Poor Laws. The two desires mated well. New Zealand and Australia, at first too expensive an emigration choice for the labouring class of Great Britain, were made attractive destinations. Subsidized travel and the creation of a 'glorious place for the labouring man' were to draw mainly British settlers to New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi was a cheap military stratagem appropriate at a time Great Britain could ill-afford a sustained conflict at such a distance, the primary purpose of which was to expropriate the factors of production from Maori possession.

Investment in New Zealand did not occur because of a falling rate of profit in Great Britain, nor to acquire raw materials or a cheap labour pool, the motivation was primarily political and the development of New Zealand would fulfil internal colonial requirements, not those of the external colonial power.

"The real forces shaping colonial development would lie, not in Britain, but somewhere in the colony itself, and in a way which enriched the settlers sufficiently to provide a continual attraction to surplus Britons. What the British state had to protect therefore were the settlers' interests and the system which served them." (Steven 1989, p25) What Steven suggests really is a radical departure from previous Marxian explanations of capitalist expansion. The departure comes at the point he suggests colonisation of New Zealand by Britain was in spite of the external interests of capital expansion, a merchantable venture of limited appeal likely only to tax further the depleted coffers of the British ruling class. Exporting surplus population served a political and economic function. Politically the emigration of a large number of poor would stabilise a potentially revolutionary state, secondly welfare payments could be reduced. Thus the annexation and colonisation of New Zealand by Great Britain was the
outcome of internal political pressure motivated by the conjuncture of class and demography.

Settler capitalism is the form of capitalism Steven outlines. The dynamic of expansion is internalised to attract more settlers. Self government was handed to the settlers the British state acting as a "mildly moderating force on the settlers". This, Steven points out, would have required a revolutionary struggle in an extractive colony, further evidence that the subordination of the PCMP did not serve the interests of capital accumulation by Britain. Settler capitalism did not require the subordination of the PCMP to serve its interests. It did require the appropriation of land for pastoral farming which ultimately had a similar effect since land was so fundamental to the PCMP. Only after 1840 did the incentive exist for large scale expropriation of factors of production from Maori.

4.3 Summary

The advantage of Steven's theory is that it is drawn from his political experience and not a theory developed elsewhere for general application. The tension in the development of New Zealand is between the Maori and the settler, this tension is internalised, whereas other colonies were characteristically extractive and the tensions geographically and economically external, ie. core-periphery relations. Steven's theory also explains the overlapping of different modes of production at all levels not just the economic and is collaborated by the empirical evidence of New Zealand's, at the time, insignificant contribution to the economy of Great Britain (Reid 1990; Adams 1977).
CHAPTER FIVE
GROWTH AND DECLINE OF NGAI TAHU DEVELOPMENT

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will analyse, in the first instance, the effect trade had on the Ngai Tahu PCMP followed by an analysis of settler capitalism and Ngai Tahu PCMP articulation. These discussions will be limited to a brief description of the parameters of trade and settler capitalism followed by a structural assessment examining the assault of trade and settler capitalism on ideology and the impact on relations and forces of production. A summation of the changes wrought, in particular on Ngai Tahu geography, will conclude this chapter. The historical period we focus upon extends from about 1800 to 1880.

5.1 Trade and the PCMP: An emerging Mode of Exchange

"Trade was and still is the base of our culture and our social order, as it is to all cultures ... Our culture did not stand still, our ancestors and we the present accept and innovate for progress, the use of technology to provide for a quality of life. For those who believe that our culture remains in a grass skirt era, know not their history or the reasons for the Treaty of Waitangi. There is sufficient evidence recorded by the Europeans as to Trade between us and them." (Tau, NTR 1991, p878)

While the Maori population of the North Island had to contend with sometimes disreputable flax dealers and zealous missionaries (Adams 1977) the Ngai Tahu had a relationship of interdependence with the sealers (1809-mid 1820s) and whalers (1829-mid 1840s). Ngai Tahu looked to the Pakeha sealer and whaler for goods and skills whilst the other needed labour and food supplies. Commercial interests were the paramount concern for the first European visitors to the South Island. The missionary influence in the South Island was not as prevalent as that in the North and in some ways it can be said that commerce paved the way for Christianity (Adams 1977, p30). The pity of this is that there are few early missionary accounts of Ngai Tahu tribal life.
The initial objective of the first nineteenth century European visitors was to "execute a spirit of trade" and to create, "artificial wants to which (the Maori) had never before been accustomed, and which must act as the strongest excitement to the exercise of their ingenuity" (NZ Heritage 1971, 1:7). Initially trade was seasonal (summer) until permanent shore stations were built. Trade and contact affected the Ngai Tahu of Southland and Otago most. Ngai Tahu were equal in their enthusiasm to join in trade developing a new economic order and capitalizing on what they perceived as an advantageous trading position (Dacker 1990; Walzl 1988).

Goods desired by Ngai Tahu, according to McNab (1975), were tomahawks, clasp knives, nails, cartridge paper, bullets, cartouche boxes, bayonets, cutlasses, bullet moulds, leather belts, tobacco, and cotton handkerchiefs. Woollen slops and blankets were also sought after in the winter (McNab 1975, p.178). In return Ngai Tahu would exchange pigs, potatoes, flax and "curios". The European opinion of the terms of trade was that food and supplies could be attained at a very low price, timber in particular available at an "extraordinary low price" (McNab 1975, p.178). Ngai Tahu labour was exchanged for in the same way, tobacco, rum and muskets the most sought after exchange items.

From this list it appears that few exchange goods were technical implements, most being consumables or weapons. Even though the European perceived the "price" paid for pigs, timber, potatoes and such like was very low Ngai Tahu would have thought the exchange equivalent.

As an example of the apparent inequities in trade, Banks Peninsula Ngai Tahu exchanged one hundred weight of potatoes for one spike nail. In Fouveaux Strait a needle and thread was equivalent to 50lbs of potatoes whilst a rosewood pipe equalled 1000lbs of potatoes (Coutts 1969). The large quantity of potatoes required to meet exchange rates meant Ngai Tahu had to cultivate large areas of land. In Bluff one potato garden was said to be 100 acres and reserved solely for trade (ibid). The potato preceded European contact in the South Island (Simmons 1969, p.12) probably as a result of inter-tribal trade and formed the basis of early trade. By 1809 the potato had been adopted with great vigour; one observer noting many acres growing at Bluff (Simmons 1969, p.13). From 1820-1830 demand came from Sydney for potatoes and wheat, and when the sealing industry declined in the South Island potatoes replaced it as the major trade item. Potato
cultivation was easily incorporated by Ngai Tahu. Pig farming on the other hand (introduced by Edwardson in 1823) demanded changes in the organisation of labour; pigs requiring constant attention and fencing to protect the potato crop. Pigs were reported as being, "plentiful and cheap among the natives" (Cpt.Lovett 1826, cited Coutts 1969).

By 1831 a regular trade in potatoes, pigs, whale oil, seal skins and whale bone was established with Sydney. Two hundred to perhaps five hundred baskets of potatoes, three times a year, crossed the Tasman in trade (Simmons 1969). Coutts (1969) puts some trade figures for 1830 forward as, 28 vessels completing 56 voyages carrying 5888 tons of stores. Corresponding 1831 figures are 49 vessels carrying 6658 tons of stores. So engrossed were Ngai Tahu with potato cultivation that one ship returned empty to Sydney after having sought a cargo of flax (ibid). Ngai Tahu were exchanging goods for whaling boats, a prized attainment, from 1832. In 1838 the Ngai Tahu rangatira Tuhawaiki had about 40 such boats and a larger vessel which were used to secure goods for exchange as well as supplement the traditional food gathering strategies ie. the taking of muttonbirds. It is said that Tuhawaiki was also buying stores and selling them at a profit to other Ngai Tahu and Europeans (Simmons 1969; NTR 1991, p203). Unfortunately I have not been able to discover the merits of this claim as it relates to the distribution of profit, or indeed what form this profit took. Whaleboats represented a substantial exchange and were valued highly by Ngai Tahu, in 1843 a whaleboat was exchanged for 41 pigs and 700 baskets of potatoes (NTR 1991, p203). Whaleboats because of their utility in procuring other goods and foodstuffs also assumed great ideological value. In this respect it can be claimed that whaleboats can be regarded as the first form of capital introduced to Ngai Tahu. Equivalency trade was the common manner of trade among Maori and Ngai Tahu were little different. Although examples from this period for Ngai Tahu are lacking examples from other sources illustrate the point,

"A native chief brought supplies of potatoes etc.. to a barque (the "Caroline") from the port of Hobart Town; the payment offered did not satisfy him; observing a small tomahawk in one of the boats, he took possession of it, judging it and the payment already made, adequate in value to the property delivered. On being requested to restore the tomahawk, he declined; a scuffle ensued between the chief and the first officer of the barque; meanwhile one of the
boats crew immediately took a lance, and thrust it through the chief's body." (McNab 1975, p155)

"In some parts it was the custom to place hundreds of baskets of potatoes in a row; the purchaser then went along and placed a stick of tobacco and a farthing on each, an equivalent which gave complete satisfaction." (Firth 1929, p452)

According to PCMP laws regarding exchange, the deals struck were an accurate reflection of the value Maori attached to the items proffered for exchange. The interpretation of exchange, according to the Capitalist mode, differed, and herein lies the explanation for the seemingly unequal exchange transactions that occurred. Exchange value in the PCMP is determined by the contribution of the exchange item(s) to the mana of the individual or group. Mana, in turn, is determined by both economic and non-economic considerations. The CMP exchange relation on the other hand is determined by production and is considered as a purely economic transaction. The European who involved themselves in trade would have been seeking the best economic outcome for themselves. The juxtaposition of these two different relations of exchange resulted in economically unequal exchanges during the early contact period and would foreshadow the disparity of exchange regarding the factors of production.

Ngai Tahu were from the outset enthusiastic traders. There was a period characterised by exchange and this lasted from about 1809 to 1844. Trade with the sealing gangs remaining prominent from 1809 to the mid 1820s. When these partners declined the Sydney market occupied Ngai Tahu attentions until shore stations for whalers were started in the 1830s. The establishment of whaling stations initiated a change in pre-capitalist spatial relations of production as by 1840 most Ngai Tahu became concentrated at or near the stations (Anderson 1988, p23). The gradual decline of Ngai Tahu settlements had begun so that during the era 1830-60 settlements near the river mouths of the Waiau, the Mataura, the Molyneux and the Waitaki had either severely declined or disappeared (Anderson 1988, p79). With the annexation of New Zealand and subsequent colonisation Ngai Tahu and Maori economic interest turned from equivalency exchange towards sedentary agriculture from the late 1840's up until 1860 the colonists provided a ready market for Ngai Tahu produce. The effect of
trade on the Ngai Tahu PCMP is best summarised by the Waitangi Tribunal Report:

"Ngai Tahu had to make choices in adopting new activities and using their resources in ways impossible prior to contact with the European world. That their pre-contact economy was greatly modified is clear. However it is altogether another thing to say that these long tested and much treasured foods and the time honoured methods for procuring them were abandoned. It would be more accurate to say that the new commodities were simply incorporated into the traditional economy, as the 1880 Mahinga Kai lists suggest. Mahinga kai came to include places where fernroot and ti could be harvested." (NTR 1991, p212)

To assert that the adoption of new technologies and commodities was uniform across Ngai Tahu is erroneous. Just as regional variations existed in the distribution of PCMP factors of production so did different kin groups, at different locations, become involved to varying degrees in the emerging mode of exchange. Some kin groups became very wealthy. One was recorded as having £860, 90 muskets, 2 kegs of powder, 2 whale boats and £350 of goods traded for land (Coutts 1969), all this at some time between 1832 and 1840. Walzil (1990) indicates that change affected the Southland and Otago Ngai Tahu most.

The quotation which begins this section from Tau summarises the approach Ngai Tahu took, and still maintain, towards adopting new technologies and new commodities. Ngai Tahu have demonstrated a history of innovation for the sake of a standard of living. The innovation he refers to is the ability to adapt pre-capitalist structures to new technologies and new social relations. This approach however did not fulfil its initial promise. Adoption of new technologies and new commodities inevitably had its effect on Ngai Tahu pre-capitalist ideology, more influential was the direct assault on ideology and social relations of production and the alienation of the factors of production from Ngai Tahu by settler capitalism.

During this first stage of articulation, the period of trade, the main capitalist relation Ngai Tahu absorbed was the technological factor of production, material and intellectual. New technologies proved greatly beneficial but eroded some traditional practices. For example, whaleboats, introduced a new technology.
More importantly the advent of whaleboats and associated coastal trade led to the neglect of coastal trails. Another profound effect on the geography of Ngai Tahu was the abandonment of settlements near river-mouths at Waiau, Mataura, the Molyneux and Waitaki (Anderson 1988) in favour of whale station settlements in order to continue trade. Ngai Tahu were also exposed to some capitalist relations of production, notably the employment of Ngai Tahu labour by sealing and whaling gangs, and money as a unit of exchange.

Some pre-capitalist production methods were commercialised until falling profits forced their decline. Seal skins for the European market and barracouta supplied exclusively for settlers in Otago (Walzl 1988, p19), "large gardens full of potatoes" recorded by Dubouzet in 1840 on the Otago Peninsula, and the large scale piggery, also on the Otago Peninsula recorded by Shortland in 1844, are examples of Ngai Tahu's desire to participate, a desire that by 1860 had become virtually impossible to fulfil.

Trade relations were an addition to the PCMP rather than a substantially different mode of production. Trade items were secured using the PCMP therefore the trade period represents an emerging mode of exchange not production. The addition can be viewed as an extension of exchange relations already familiar to Ngai Tahu and in general the economic terms of articulation during the period before the Treaty of Waitangi were in Ngai Tahu's favour. The development options were chosen, not enforced and the political power of rangatiratanga maintained. The impact of large scale European settlement on this developing mode of exchange was severe, wresting the factors of production from Ngai Tahu, which in turn had the effect of restricting and eroding Ngai Tahu ideology and relations of production, and directly assaulting Ngai Tahu ideology through policies of assimilation and reformism policies. Dacker (1990) summarises the main effects trade, and subsequently settler capitalism had on Ngai Tahu. Exposure to trade with Europeans encouraged Ngai Tahu to further develop their economy with the European order as equal partners, hence the Treaty of Waitangi. However the benefits from commerce which Ngai Tahu expected on the basis of their previous trading position were overwhelmed by the simultaneous arrival of large numbers of European settlers and a reliance upon Crown representatives to protect their interests. Dacker's point regarding the enticement of trade is important. Ngai Tahu had a market economy operating parallel with a continually shrinking PCMP up until the late 1860's, although the
extent to which pre-capitalist structures of production were continued is difficult to determine.

5.2 Settler capitalism and land alienation

"A degree of economic and social experimentation on the part of the Maoris augured well for the future development of relations between the races, provided that it met with a degree of toleration and perhaps encouragement from the European settlers." (Adams 1977, p50)

The Ngai Tahu Report of the Waitangi Tribunal deals comprehensively with each land purchase and it is not worth repeating here. We shall instead briefly examine Kemp's Deed and Walter Mantell's behaviour as examples of the Crown appropriation of land from Ngai Tahu for the use of European settlers. Following that we shall examine the nature of articulation in terms of the effect settler capitalism had on the PCMP already modified by trade. The emerging mode of production which Adams alludes to above would be given new impetus by the influx of settlers, however its development would be compromised and eventually terminated by the competing demand of settlers for the factors of production and the misconduct of the Crown in not protecting Ngai Tahu interests at a crucial stage.

The subsumption of the PCMP and the emerging mode of production was accomplished in three overlapping stages. The modification of the PCMP began with the exchange and trade period initiating among Ngai Tahu the growth of an emerging mode of exchange. Whilst the effect on the PCMP is difficult to determine we must infer that it continued to be utilised even as the emerging mode of exchange grew. The second stage, which signalled the demise of the PCMP began with the widespread alienation of the factors of production from Maori and Ngai Tahu concurrent with Ngai Tahu entry into sedentary agriculture. The third step (see Chapter Six) which accelerated the erosion of the PCMP was aimed at the elimination of the PCMP ideological structure characterised by direct and deliberate suppression and assault on Maori ideology. The following section intends to demonstrate the demise of the PCMP owing to the alienation of land (the major material factor of production) and influence of capitalist ideology (Fig. 11).
Diagrammatic Summary of the Spatial Relations of Production

Figure 11 Mode of exchange

PCMP

ICDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

FORCES OF PRODUCTION

PRODUCTION

CMP

ICDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

FORCES OF PRODUCTION

PRODUCTION

Tribal Manawhenua/moana

1

2

3 X

Communities

Z1

Z2

Wakawaka

Wakawaka

HAPU

PCMP articulation with mercantile capitalism. Community resettlement within proximity of European trading points (4) i.e. shorestations for whaling crews. PCMP still the fundamental mode of production for Ngai Tahu.
Although severely affected by internal conflict (the Kai Huaka feud) and external aggression (Te Rauparaha's raids and the sacking of Kaiapoi and Onawe) as well as the ravages of imported contagions, the Ngai Tahu

"... had managed to contain the small numbers of Europeans who had ventured amongst them, but this was but a small test for what was to come. After the Treaty, planned colonisation would bring settlers in their thousands. For protection in this new environment, Ngai Tahu would have to rely more on the Crown than on their own resources." (NTR 1990, p208)

When Major Bunbury went seeking Ngai Tahu signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi he encountered rangatira familiar in conducting affairs with Europeans. Their primary concern was the retention of enough of the factors of production to maintain their current mode of production. Tuhawaiki, the prominent rangatira of the Murihiku region even produced a deed on behalf of him and his people that explained the Maori system of communal land tenure and demanded a guarantee from Major Bunbury that the island of Ruapuke remain the possession of Murihiku Ngai Tahu.

Tuhawaiki's literacy was a reflection of the contact Ngai Tahu had had with sealers and whalers and his own involvement with the whaling industry and travel abroad. Europeans like James Caddell, Jack Price and John Boulbee who had chosen to live among Ngai Tahu helped some Ngai Tahu to learn English, to the extent that Lt.Governor Hobson's opinion of South Island Maori as ignorant and incapable of comprehension and negotiation was proven utterly incorrect. Meanwhile Bunbury assured Ngai Tahu as to the development potential of the Treaty and in a series of purchases. Bunbury secured the signatures of leading Ngai Tahu chiefs, Tuhawaiki, Iwikau, Kaikoura, Tikao, and Taiaroa. Doubt has been shed on the true identity of the Kaikoura and Taiaroa signatories.

Only four years after the Treaty was signed by Ngai Tahu land purchases began. From 1844 to 1864 the context of each purchase was to alter radically. The Otakou block (Fig. 12) was the first parcel of land sought after. Soon after the purchase it became apparent to Ngai Tahu that the reserve they believed was theirs had not been set aside. The Protectors Department established by Hobson attempted to investigate the matter but when Governor Grey abolished the Department in 1846 it was left unresolved. At this time Maori held the
demographic and military advantage overall. Ngai Tahu however were still recuperating from the devastation of Te Rauparaha, and, as noted in the Ngai Tahu Report, were increasingly dependent upon the Crown for protection of their interests.

The Crown pursued vigorously the purchase of Ngai Tahu land. As demand for land increased, and that available in other New Zealand Company settlements became scarce, pressure mounted on the Crown to act. Ngai Tahu still had considerable land in their possession in 1846 and it was in this year that Governor Grey was instructed by the Colonial Office to regard any land not in cultivation or settlement as "waste land". Grey clearly knew the importance of what otherwise would be called waste land to the Ngai Tahu:

"The natives do not support themselves solely by cultivation...To deprive them their wild lands, and to limit them to lands for the purpose of cultivation, is, in fact, to cut off from them some of the most important means of subsistence." (Gov. Grey to Sec.of State Earl Grey 7th April 1847 cited in Evison 1987, p6)

There were objections to the "waste land" instruction, Bishop Selwyn and the Wesleyan Mission protested on the grounds that such a policy was contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi. The "waste land" policy, a policy based on the settler capitalist perception of land use could not formulate the basis of appropriation as it had in Australia because of the Treaty. Therefore an alternative policy had to be introduced. It was Governor Grey's intention in 1846 to purchase land and set aside reserves at the behest of Ngai Tahu,

"The system of native reserves as laid down by the New Zealand Company, although an admirable means for providing for the future wants of the aborigines, is in some respects insufficient (extra reserves ought to be chosen), in such localities as they may select themselves." (Gov. Grey to Lt. Col. McCleverty 14th September 1846 citation Evison 1987, pp4-5)
Effect of land alienation

Production constrained by European ownership and reserves.

Production expansive.

Land fragmentation (A, B) occurs through individualisation of title.

After Williams B. year unspecified.
Later however Grey would vindicate the hasty and miscarried land negotiations of H.T. Kemp and W. Mantell, contradicting the position he indicated in 1846. In 1879 Grey would testify to the Smith-Nairn Royal Commission:

"I imagined that Native Gentlemen would arise in the country-men living with comfort I did not imagine setting up a servile race with 14 acres a head. That was never my intention. My idea was that they should have ample reserves." (ibid, p18)

Grey imagined that Ngai Tahu would evolve a society something resembling his own experience and mimicking a European society, yet his actions would demonstrate that the interests of Ngai Tahu and their economy were subordinate to the development of the settler economy.

There were discrepancies and contradictions enough in Kemp's Deed to create the servile race Grey referred to in 1879. Henry Tracy Kemp was appointed by Grey following discussions with Ngai Tahu at Akaroa regarding the purchase of land between the Otakou and Nelson Blocks. Grey made his intentions clear at this meeting, wanting Ngai Tahu to allow the Crown to decide what constituted adequate reserves. We cannot discount Grey's original intention as insincere; we must merely observe that, faced with a choice between the interests of European settlers and Ngai Tahu in the ludicrous position of adjudicator of both, Grey subordinated the rights and interests of Ngai Tahu.

Kemp was instructed by Lt. Governor Eyre to conduct his dealings in the following manner,

i) Collect a properly drafted Deed of sale from the Law Office.
ii) Visit all Ngai Tahu settlements within the area of sale.
iii) Mark out ample reserves for their present and prospective wants.
iv) Purchase the remainder of the land after the reserves had been marked out.
v) Report back to Wellington if payment was not agreeable.

He failed to perform any of Eyre's instructions. The Deed itself was fault-ridden. It was made out to the New Zealand Company instead of the Crown when the Crown had the right of pre-emption. The accompanying map was incorrectly
drafted. Kaiapoi was more than fifty miles north of its true position, nor did the "Ngati Toa Line" run from coast to coast NW of the 43rd parallel to just below the 42nd. The boundaries were misunderstood. Ngai Tahu interpreted the NW boundary as the foothills of the Southern Alps not as the West coast, on this point too the map was imprecise. Kemp could not have visited all settlements within the appropriate area as he was only ashore for three days. At one point in the negotiations Kemp even threatened to use military force and to pay Ngati Toa instead. Eventually Ngai Tahu agreed to sign only after extensive promises had been made. He promised on behalf of the Crown that Ngai Tahu could keep,

"...the eel weirs, the mahinga kai, the settlements of each hapu, the landing places, and also that a large portion of the land would return to them."(Evason 1987, p18)

The conduct and methods employed by Kemp, the misunderstandings and promises, the errors in the Deed itself are indicative of the manner by which the Crown sought to appropriate land. Even in the matter of reserved land the Crown representative Mantell could not balance the contradictory interests of settler capitalism and Ngai Tahu PCMP. Mantell was instructed to subordinate the Maori interests to those of the European settler, but he was also told to secure "a liberal provision for their (Ngai Tahu) present and future wants" (ibid, p23). Mantell's position as Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Claims was compromised by contradiction and undermined by his personal judgement.

Ngai Tahu had amongst them an average of 5.6 hectares per head by 1865 (4 from Mantell and 1.6 from a subsequent 1865 review decision by Judge Fenton). This gradual alienation of land severely affected the PCMP, based as it was on a wide ranging foraging strategy. This would have been of little importance had Ngai Tahu been able to develop a new structure of production, yet they were unable for two main reasons, inadequate reserves and stock prices that were "too high for their means" (Walzl 1988, p29). Settlers exercised their land rights restricting access to forest resources, in particular weka and ti tree.

Ngai Tahu experienced some prominent commercial success between the period 1840-1860. For example barracouta for the Otago settlement were supplied exclusively by Ngai Tahu (Walzl 1988, p19) , despite the fact they were selling off most of their land. Such sales proceeded in a somewhat surreptitious manner, as already observed, with the proviso that adequate reserves be set aside for the
future development of Ngai Tahu. Material economic development was in evidence for the period 1840-1860. In 1853 European immigrants to Canterbury were greeted by Ngai Tahu selling potatoes, and Banks Peninsula Ngai Tahu at Rapaki and Port Levy had a virtual monopoly on the supply of firewood. In 1857 a whaling station was purchased and refitted by Ngai Tahu at Ikaraki on Banks Peninsula. In its first season it brought in £2000. In the same year a flour mill was erected at Port Levy also (Walzl 1988). Land was tended as individual holdings and interests in stock was also on an individual basis but the common Maori practice of communal harvesting and selling carried through. Unfortunately little information is available regarding the distribution of proceeds (Walzl 1988).

Ngai Tahu demonstrated an ability to adapt and develop an economy different to the PCMP based on the production of different commodities using new forces of production, particularly technology and the continuation of a much reduced form of the PCMP. New relations of production were introduced with the individualisation of land title and the inevitable attrition of assimilationist policies. By 1860 the decline had set in. Success in agriculture had allowed Ngai Tahu to invest in other concerns but this success was soon to fail. A pattern of initial agricultural success followed by eventual market collapse and the extension of European settlement affected all Ngai Tahu mostly in Canterbury, North Otago and Southland: "...although in South Otago there had been little involvement in commercial agriculture, at Otakou Ngai Tahu had become heavily involved in agriculture in pre-purchase days when there was a market. The decline of this agriculture was due to the loss of that market when the whaling ceased. The non-resurgence of large scale agriculture in the area, Mr. Walzl suggested, was because post-purchase European settlement in the area was not conducive to the creation of a new market." (NTR 1991, p338)

The two most significant economic trends to emerge from the period 1840-60 were the inevitable decline of the PCMP because of spatial constriction to the reserves and the gradual elimination of an emerging mode of production based on sedentary agriculture. Pastoralism became the dominant form of agriculture leading to the failure of the market in which Ngai Tahu had become involved. Ngai Tahu were unable to increase their land holdings because they lacked the necessary capital (Walzl 1988; Dacker 1990). Additional strain on the Ngai Tahu economy resulted from the steady growth in Ngai Tahu population during the
1860s. Ngai Tahu could not revert to the PCMP as European use of the countryside intensified with improvement schemes such as drainage causing a restriction on the use of mahinga kai (NTR 1991, p868). The importance and subsequent decline of sedentary agriculture is evident in falling production from 1857-1860 (Fig. 13). The restrictions of inadequate reserves and high stock prices created a direct form of economic poverty. In the opinion of the Waitangi Tribunal, "...not only were the reserves insufficient, they were so grossly insufficient as to be no more than nominal in character" (NTR 1991, p828). Ngai Tahu could not return to the PCMP either. More than this the articulation of ideologies was significantly influential in subverting the traditional economy (Anderson 1988, p80). Articulation drew Ngai Tahu initially into a mode of exchange which foreshadowed the development of a mode of production. Since the forces of production had been alienated Ngai Tahu could not revert to their PCMP, nor did they have the capital to readily participate in the evolving system of Settler capitalism and develop a mode of production based upon successful agriculture. Attempts to revert to the PCMP were met with strong objection from European landholders, "In 1865, some Canterbury farmers moved to stop Ngai Tahu families from trespassing on their land to hunt weka" (NTR 1990, p844). The imposition of the market economy and capitalist relations of production eroded the PCMP. A market economy replaced that built on a system of continual social obligation. Equivalency value was replaced with units of exchange (money). Value was divorced from ideology and utility predominated. Individual property rights in the forces of production overtook those of communal tendering. In all, the process of assimilation had begun to effect Ngai Tahu.

5.3 Summary

Commercial interest stimulated initial European contact with Ngai Tahu. Subsequently a strong trade pattern developed. This developed into a mode of exchange which supplemented the PCMP. The introduction of capital was forthcoming in the form of whale boats. However Ngai Tahu absorbed mainly technological factors. Settler demand for land and the promise of a developing Ngai Tahu economy based on agrarianism encouraged large scale land alienation. Ngai Tahu were prohibited from developing a new economy based on pastoralism because the reserves allocated them were inadequate and they could not raise the
Figure 13  Falling Ngai Tahu production
Decline in Wheat and Potatoes 1857-60

Canterbury Ngai Tahu

Settlement

Decline in Pigs and Cattle 1857-60
capital to purchase more land or stock. Neither could the PCMP be reverted to as European landowners asserted their control denying access and altering the environment of mahinga kai. The provision of inadequate reserves was a deliberate policy intended to encourage Ngai Tahu into European society and whilst simultaneously disabling the PCMP.
CHAPTER SIX
MAORI DEVELOPMENT

6.0 Introduction

This chapter identifies an emerging mode of production (Communal Capitalism) as developed by Ngai Tahu. Just as the alienation of the forces of production was not confined to Ngai Tahu neither is modern Ngai Tahu development unique as a attempt to sever dependency relations with the State and the cycle of poverty that for the vast majority of Maori is the legacy of colonialism. The modern economic development of Ngai Tahu has antecedents in the emerging mode of exchange led by agrarianism (see previous chapter) and the political manifestos of the Kotahitanga and Kauhanganui movements.

6.1 Maori Development 1860s-1990: an overview

The relationship between Maori and the Government from 1840 to about 1975 was dominated by two policies: assimilation and integration (Fleras 1985; Adams 1977; Ward 1974). Reformism is the term I have used to denote integration as I believe it identifies more accurately the political process as a bilateral phenomenon. Although agencies were in place after the Treaty of Waitangi to protect Maori interests these were disbanded by Governor Grey after only six years of activity. The British Colonial Office attempted to exercise what humane policy it could toward Maori but as the settler population grew so did their political power. Replacement of PCMP ideology (assimilation) and the appropriation of the forces of production became the active policy of Governments of the period.

"The object of the Native Lands Act (1862 and 1865) was two-fold: to bring the great bulk of lands in the Northern Island which belonged to the Maoris within the reach of colonisation. The other great object was the detribalisation of the Maoris to destroy if possible, the principle of communism which ran through their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the race into our social and political system. It was hoped by the individualisation of title to land, giving them the same individual
ownership, which we ourselves possessed, they would lose their communistic character, and that their social status would be assimilated to our own." (Minister of Justice 1870 cited in Fleras 1985, pp20-21)

Such policy was a direct contravention of the Treaty of Waitangi and the requirements of Maori at the time. The Maori social structure, ideology, and control of the factors of production are deliberately undermined by attempting to imbue Maori with the European way of life. Assimilation arose as the ideological manifestation of European settler demand for land with which to create their own mode of production. "Settler greed for land transformed benign Maori policy into one which sought to (a) Europeanise the Maori as quickly as possible (b) impose settler law and order throughout the country; and (c) acquire Maori land without taxing the government's limited resources." (Fleras 1985, p21)

The spatial counterpart of assimilationism is reflected in the size and quality of land reserves (Table 3). The reserves were of an inadequate size and quality for the number they were expected to sustain (Dacker 1990; Evison 1987). Assimilation underscored the allocation and size of Ngai Tahu reserves,

"there was a deliberate determination on the part of some officials to keep them (reserves) so small so that Ngai Tahu should not persist with a traditional lifestyle but be obliged to leave reserves and engage with the European order." (NTR 1991, p275)

There was also a deliberate attempt to compress the widely scattered Ngai Tahu settlements into one or two block reserves (NTR 1991, p467).

By the 1860s Ngai Tahu could only manage a subsistence economy off their small spatially dispersed reserves and could not raise the necessary capital to participate in pastoralism (Walzl 1988). It was not possible to raise a loan against communally tendered Maori land nor was production adequate to acquire capital enough to compete with increasingly productive European primary producers. As early as 1854 W. Mantell, Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Claims, had to "admit the difficulties inherent in gaining entrance" into the European economy (NTR 1990, p936). Ngai Tahu could not revert to the PCMP as access to mahinga kai was severely restricted (Walzl 1990).
Table 3  Size and Quality of reserves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purchase Block</th>
<th>Total area (acres)</th>
<th>Total area reserves (acres)</th>
<th>As %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Otakou</td>
<td>533700</td>
<td>9615</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemps Block</td>
<td>13551400</td>
<td>6359</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks Peninsula</td>
<td>215500</td>
<td>3426</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murihiku</td>
<td>7257500</td>
<td>4875</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>2137500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikoura</td>
<td>2817000</td>
<td>5556</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arahura</td>
<td>6946000</td>
<td>6274</td>
<td>0.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rakiura</td>
<td>42000</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Assessment of Judge A. Mackay 1891 of the adequacy of Ngai Tahu reserves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sufficient</th>
<th>Insufficient</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngai Tahu reserves</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From NTR 1991, p837

Diagram of land reserves with labels and boundaries.
Even as early as 1849 Matiaha Tiramorehu complained of the limited size of the Moeraki reserve. He asked for more land to accommodate the potatoes, wheat and pigs he was already tending. He also realised that more land would be required if he was to participate in the new pastoral economy based on sheep and cattle (NTR 1991, p935).

The Native Lands Acts of 1862 and 1865 were the foremost introduced relations of production. Their object as detailed above had a slightly different application in the South Island although ultimately the same effect. The Ngai Tahu system of land tenure (tribal ownership with hapu and whanau usufructury rights) was displaced in 1860 by the individualisation of title. This measure was taken with the overall consent and cooperation of Ngai Tahu to overcome the size limitations of the reserves. Portions of the reserves were allotted to family units in the hope more efficient use of a limited resource could be made. The Kaiapoi reserve (near Christchurch) was allocated in 14 acre lots to whanau of Ngai Tuahuriri, the manawhenua hapu, by the Kaiapoi runanga. Unfortunately because of equal inheritance rights land allotted in the above fashion has become increasingly uneconomic because of the ever decreasing size of inheritances. Predictions of the eventual decline of the Maori race and its replacement by a "superior" European race encouraged assimilation policies. Maori society by 1860 was severely destabilised by the effects of mortality induced by land wars in the North Island, introduced diseases, and internal fighting in the South (the Kai Huaka feud) followed by Te Rauparaha's merciless raids. Although by 1860 Ngai Tahu were just beginning to turn the demographic corner the population showing a slight increase (Walzi 1988; Pool 1988), this went unnoticed because of the overwhelming increase in the south Island European population (Table. 4).

The recovery by 1860 from introduced diseases was only just beginning. The impact on living standards of land and resource alienation was appalling. Overcrowding, damp, unhygienic dwellings and limited food resources were common. Social, political and cultural disorder exacerbated these these conditions (Pool 1991, p87).
Table 4. % Increase in S. Island European vs Ngai Tahu population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% Increase European</th>
<th>% Increase Ngai Tahu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>-8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At a time when benign policy orientated towards welfare was required, the Government was acting in the reverse direction. "If Maoris were to adopt the European way of life then, they needed positive assistance in education, health and agriculture. Little assistance of this kind was provided. Indeed the new laws, especially the land laws, proved more a curse than a benefit." (Sorrenson 1972, p6)

Ward suggests (NTR 1991, p275) that the Victorian belief in the value of individual effort and struggle was partially to blame for the incongruous attitude Europeans displayed towards Maori. In Marxist terms this is yet another expression of how the ruling material force in society commands the ruling ideological force. The desire for Maori land and resources was the material force beneath assimilationist period.

At the ideological level capitalism worked through political, educational, and religious facets to destroy PCMP ideology. Maori language was not permitted in most schools.

"After 1900 the Authorities took a hard line against the native tongue. Children were forbidden to speak Maori within the precincts of the school." (Walker 1982, p75) The 1847 Education Ordinance was a deliberate measure to help remove Maori children from their villages. It was complemented by the 1867 Native Schools Act which "advanced the subversive role of the education system into the very heart of Maori communities" (Walker 1982, p74). Education was used as a tool of ideological domination. Missionaries were particularly helpful in this regard as they established many schools. The attrition of Maori religion began with the missionaries whose zealous mission it was to rescue the Maori from barbarianism to civil life (ibid, p72). Christianity held no room for Maori perceptions of the world and was part of a process of ideological domination and subjugation. Politically the Native Rights Act 1865 which gave Maori the right of appeal to Supreme Court and Court of Appeal, and the Native Representation 1867 which permitted the election of four Maori representatives to the House of Representatives, were more attempts to,"...assimilate the Maori way of life and replace it with the European way of life "(Sorrenson 1972, p6). The Native Representation Act 1867 was particularly insidious for at a time when Maori held a demographic advantage in some electorates the Act had the effect of
consolidating such advantage in a limited number of seats thereby maintaining the status quo (Walker 1982).

Assimilation characterised the articulation of ideological structures underpinned by the appropriation of the forces of production. Ideological dislocation followed land and resource alienation. This prevented Ngai Tahu developing any form of economy that was at odds with capitalist ideology or capitalist production. European assessment of Maori "communism" was erroneous. Moreover what right had the European settlers to impose new ideology and new relations of production upon Ngai Tahu? The European conception of development was forced upon Ngai Tahu, when in fact Ngai Tahu were in the process of developing a new economic system in their own fashion. The agreement Europeans had reached with Maori, the Treaty of Waitangi, required the Government to act on a way that protected Maori interests. The chance for the capitalist mode of production to prove itself as a better mode of production never came. Instead the capitalist mode of production came to dominate the PCMP and the emerging Ngai Tahu mode of exchange through political and ideological attrition and the alienation and seizure of the forces of production.

6.2 Responses to assimilation

An assessment of the impact of assimilationism on Ngai Tahu which highlighted the relationship between the ideological structure, the forces of production, and the geography of Ngai Tahu settlement was made to the Waitangi Tribunal:

"The loss of land and the loss of traditional resources deprived the people of an economic base for their communities which eventually forced more and more of them to migrate to where there was work. Once the strength of the communities was broken in this way the people were exposed increasingly to the predominantly negative European attitudes to the Maori and Maori culture. Hence the loss of economic strength flowed through into a loss of culture." (NTR 1991, p922)

A similar assessment can be made for Maori in general, however there was early and strong resistance to assimilation. Religious movements led by charismatic individuals like Rua Kenana, Te Ua Haumene and Te Kooti welled forth. There were considerable moves toward establishing a separate Maori parliament, and
retaining the Maori ideological structure occurred between 1864 and 1916 as political challenges emerged to the rule of European law and politics. The Kotahitanga (Unity) movement, a political response based on inter-tribal cooperation desired a Maori political system to run parallel with the European. The Kotahitanga movement gathered strength from 1858 when Te Wherowhero was elected first King. A demand for "Home Rule" was issued by the Kotahitanga movement when in 1884 incumbent King Tawhiao petitioned the Queen of England. The Kotahitanga movement was a precursor to the Kauhanganui (Council) established by Tawhiao under Section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act which provided for self-government in native districts according to native customs and social formations (Walker 1984, p271). For Ngai Tahu the post-purchase era was also one of intense political struggle, although no requests were made for 'Home Rule'. Since 1864 Ngai Tahu have made various petitions to parliament invariably followed by official enquiries into Ngai Tahu land and resource claims (see Table 2). Ngai Tahu have sustained a lengthy campaign to regain what they believe is rightfully theirs and thereby facilitate an economic structure independent of capitalism. The culmination of Ngai Tahu appeals came in August 1986 with the claim made to the Waitangi Tribunal. After the purchases of Ngai Tahu land had been completed, it was apparent that Ngai Tahu wanted to participate in the new economic order of settler capitalism but were being denied entry because of a lack of resources (Walzl 1988). The marginalisation of Ngai Tahu was a direct result of the inadequate reservation of land for the future and present needs of Ngai Tahu.

The Kotahitanga movement advocated policies of Maori making the laws for Maori land; addressing land claims; regaining fishing rights over shellfish beds, mudflats, tidal estuaries and other areas ranged over by Harbour Boards and other Government agencies. Kotahitanga opposed the Native Land Court and the right of the Public Trustee to administer Maori reserves on the West Coast. They also favoured pastoralism as a means to develop Maori land (Walker 1984, p272). Yet both the Kotahitanga and Kauhanganui movements were opposed by the Young Maori Party which contained many well educated and capable individuals such as Ngata, Buck, Pomare, and Bennett. These individuals originated from the relatively prosperous East Coast of the North Island, an area which had not been as badly affected by land wars as had the central and West coast regions. The Young Maori Party wanted to work with any political party that would attend to the material problems Maori faced. It represented an elite group whose efforts
further distanced them from the greater body of increasingly disaffected Maori. Their efforts were contained within the capitalist structure as they sought to instruct Maori in European life.

"They were (members of the Young Maori Party), in other words, a representative product of the system of education prevailing in the native schools, a system which attempted to abolish everything Maori and substitute a European way of life, to assimilate Maoris to European society."(Sorrenson 1972, p21)

Aided by liberal reformists, Maori between 1891-1912 such as James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, and Peter Buck were able to help pass various laws. The Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 was passed, its intention: to reduce the incidence of land sales without the adequate reservation of land and to prevent Maori owners incurring high legal fees when they attempted to investigate such land sales. Politically Maori were supposed to be aided by the passing of the Maori Councils Act 1900 which established local councils to help in the promotion of Maori interests. In effect this measure and other endeavours of Ngata, Buck, Carroll et al diffused the radical policies of the Kotahitanga and similar movements. The rejection of the Native Rights Bill (intended to grant home rule), the effect of the Young Maori Party, and allegations of financial mismanagement transformed the old Kotahitanga movement and a new movement bearing the same name was formed.

The Young Maori Party was dependent upon the European dominated Government of the day being disposed towards their wishes. What they accomplished was within the dominant ideological structure. Thus they represent the first expression of reformism. The dependency of the Maori race on the European colonists began with the appropriation of the forces of production. Although there were political and economic responses of objection, ie. the attempted preservation of a Maori Kingdom (the Kingitanga movement: Sorrenson 1972) reformism represented the predominant nature of ideological articulation from the turn of the century up until the mid 1970s (McRae 1984). The Ratana movement succeeded the Young Maori Party to become the dominant political Maori voice. The Ratana movement was foremost a religious movement with a charismatic leader Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana whom unlike members of the Young Maori Party was not well educated. The movement started in
Wanganui a region devastated by land alienation and appealed to a large body of disaffected 'rank and file' Maori.

Although dissimilar on a number of points in one crucial area Ratana continued where Ngata, Carroll and Buck left off in trying to lead Maori development through the European political process. The four Maori seats were captured by members of the Ratana movement and an alliance formed with the Labour Party, which sympathised with the Maori situation. The Labour Party was the party of the underprivileged and the proletariat. This Ratana and eventually most other Maori identified with. Early on the relationship spawned apparently beneficial results; social security, family benefit, and pensions; benefits which were desperately needed. The real test of European accommodation of Maori political and economic desires came when Ratana presented a petition with 30,128 signatures calling on the Government to ratify the Treaty of Waitangi. The demand was not heeded and indicated that in dealing with the real issue of Maori development (the Treaty of Waitangi) the European Government was as ever obdurate (Walker 1984). Articulation between the end of the eighteenth century up until the 1970s was characterised by attempts to accommodate and solve within capitalist ideology the economic effects of settler capitalism and the direct assault upon Maori ideology through assimilationism. The desire for rangatiratanga Maori self-determination was put aside as Maori sought to work from within the dominant ideological structure. This, the dominant structure encouraged in order to control Maori activism.

6.3 Contemporary trends

Capitalist forces and relations of production dominated but the PCMP continued although in a much depleted form. Maori still sought food directly from the sea and land, still retained tribal, hapu and whanau identification, still practised pre-capitalist modes of exchange and relations of production and maintained traditions, customs and mythologies endemic to their iwi. The PCMP persisted with the economic structure, because of land alienation, almost entirely dislodged and subordinated to capitalism. Parallel political systems were sought by the Kotahitanga, Kauhanganui and other movements during the latter half of the previous century. Capitalist ideology rejected these notions and up until the 1970s attempts to solve Maori underdevelopment were couched in capitalist terms, central government controlling Maori interests primarily through the
Department of Maori Affairs and tribal Trust Boards. What the 1970s witnessed was a reversion to the political ideology of Kotahitanga and Kauhanganui. This was in response to the continuation also of disparities between Maori and Pakeha exacerbated by the large and rapid post-war urbanisation of Maori and the transformation of capitalism. For a long time New Zealand capitalism enjoyed the success of primary industry centred on the export of food and raw materials to the U.K. With reformism as the dominant political approach toward Maori society, this occluded differences between Maori and Pakeha. Settler capitalism did not require a large reserve pool of labour it needed land. This helps to explain why assimilation and reformism were the dominant characteristics of ideological articulation and why the spatial outcome of this policy was to keep reserves small and so force Ngai Tahu into the capitalist economy. Large reserves are a reflection of a segregationist policy aimed at keeping a large pool of reserve labour available. Large enough reserves would allow labour to reproduce itself through subsistence production and therefore subsidise the cost of organic reproduction for the capitalist (Overton 1989). Maori emerged from settler capitalism and reformism after 1945 as an urban proletariat. Unable to continue on the reserves and attracted by the rewards and availability of unskilled labour, intensive employment in New Zealand's developing and protected manufacturing industries Maori migrated in large numbers to the urban centres (Table. 5). As long as New Zealand industry was protected a large proportion of the Maori population would be able to reproduce.

However the global transformation of capitalism toward a tertiary service based economy and changes in government policies from 1984 resulted in the deletion of many protective trade barriers. This impacted heavily upon Maori. A substantial proportion of Maori were employed with secondary industries in mostly manual and semi-skilled positions (Fig. 14). The failure of secondary industry for many Maori has recreated and accentuated the historical precedent of Maori poverty and dependency upon the Government pushing them further into a class of underprivileged. Further resource alienation through Individual Transferable (fishing) Quota (ITQ's) also occurred. The threatened sale of State Owned Enterprises (SOE's) caused alarm also amongst iwi with outstanding claims against SOE assets. Recently there has been a small but significant urban to rural movement of Maori (Parr 1986, p84). It is likely that Maori are returning to the rural marae communities and the PCMP because capitalism cannot sustain
Table 5. Maori rural-urban shift

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of Maori in urban areas</th>
<th>% Increase in Urban Maori since last census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14  Maori composition of the labour force (%) 1981-86

From Department of Statistics 1986, p63
their material reproduction. Responses to Maori poverty and Maori underdevelopment have varied among iwi. A significant starting point was the Maori Economic Development Summit of 1984. At this hui three main problems were identified. Welfare dependency was the first. Individual initiative and group identity was discouraged by the welfare system. Government policies only tended to accentuate this because they did not allow Maori enough freedom to develop in accordance with their wishes nor as the second point to emerge provide the kind of positive assistance that was required. A severe criticism of the education system was the third point to come out. Maori failures in the European based education system are disproportionately high and as a consequence are unable to take advantage of occupational opportunities (Awatea 1991). As a result a number of primarily government funded initiatives arose, with some assistance from the private sector. MANA enterprises was established in 1985 as a programme to broaden the economic base of Maori. Since 1985 the government has distributed $59.4 million to tribal and regional authorities. MACCESS (Maori ACCESS) since 1987 has helped train in excess of 25,000 and the Maori Development Corporation (MDC) aided by the private sector has dispersed just over $33 million in loans to Maori owned businesses. However these schemes especially the MDC are still run within a capitalist framework.

The Ngai Tahu response has its antecedent: the commercial endeavours that characterised the emerging mode of exchange prior to the turn of the century. But the modern development phenomena is greatly enhanced by the possible (re)appropriation of the forces of production through settlement of the Ngai Tahu Claim WA127. The Ngai Tahu response is also characterised by the importance pre-capitalist relations play in their development objectives and commercial activities. This is what Tipene O'Regan Chairman of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board has called Communal Capitalism.

6.4 Summary

The period 1860-1975 can be described as a period of attempted ideological assimilation. This followed the process of land alienation (1840-60) which dislocated the forces of production from the PCMP and restricted. This dislocation combined with an assimilationist lands reserves policy disabled the PCMP (Fig 15). The expansive foraging production strategy could no longer be maintained nor could Ngai Tahu enter into pastoral farming. Ngai Tahu were
demographically overwhelmed by European migrants despite the fact there numbers were recovering.

Maori resistance to assimilation took two forms: separatism and reformism. The former was characterised by demands for a Maori parliament whilst the latter attempted to work through the dominant political structure to address the problems caused by land alienation. Settler capitalism transformed to agrarian capitalism and for most of the 19th century this formed the basis of the New Zealand economy. The transformation of this form of capitalism to a service based capitalism has also transformed the New Zealand economy exacerbating the poor socio-economic position of Maori.

The Ngai Tahu response to this situation is discussed in the following chapter.
Diagrammatic summary of the spatial relations of production

**Figure 15: Assimilationism**

**1840–1970s**

Enduring ideological structure

New relations of production imposed

Alienation of the forces of production

PCMP

CMP

Tribal Rangatiratanga overridden by dominant modes

Land alienated and in either Crown or private ownership.

Reserve Z

Communities form loose alliances

Reserve X

Reserve Y

Rural-urban migration

Urban Centre

Capitalism becomes dominant mode of production. Policy of providing inadequate reserves forces rural-urban migration. PCMP disabled by alienation of land and resources. A spatial constriction of population and economy.
CHAPTER SEVEN
NGAI TAHU DEVELOPMENT

7.0 Introduction

"Many Maori, as well as the Government, look to the traditional iwi structure and the restoration of iwi self-management as the means by which Maori can achieve greater social and economic self-reliance and independence." (MAFish 1990, p.5)

This chapter outlines the development strategies and objectives of Ngai Tahu, as well as identifying the modern social complex of Ngai Tahu. It presents an argument that such strategies and objectives represent an emerging mode of production articulating with the dominant mode of capitalist production. This mode is characterised by a substantially different ideological structure and the retention and emphasis of the kinship basis of production relations. At the time of writing the development strategies adopted by Ngai Tahu are changing constantly, adjusting to new government policies, new ideas, and new obstacles. In addition the number of new developments is ever increasing. It is therefore not possible to present a definitive description of the Ngai Tahu economic structure, nevertheless the principles of social and economic organisation are less likely to fluctuate and it is these points which are emphasised and are indeed those highlighted through the analysis technique of modes of production.

7.1 The modern identity of Ngai Tahu Whanui

"Ngai Tahu Whanui is the preferred title for the modern Ngai Tahu amalgam of ancient tribes. Tribal and racial identification is asserted: whakapapa is definitive. In Maori law the dominance Ngai Tahu established historically over the South Island tribes Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and Rapuwhai through the institute of take raupatu, and intermarriage, Ngai Tahu Whanui presently retain. "The Ngai Tahu tribal community is divided into traditional runanga or sub-tribal groups. These are, in the main, multi-hapu and marae based communities. Some are composed of a lesser number of hapu than others. Virtually all contain whakapapa
connections to older preceding tribes of Kati Waitaha, Te Rapuwait, Kati Haua, and others, whom altogether with Ngati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu form Ngai Tahu Whanui." (O'Regan 1991a, appendix to Submission "Legal Personality of Ngai Tahu")

Whakapapa is the absolute definition of who is or who is not Ngai Tahu. This is a very important point because no matter what racial group an individual may feel he or she identifies with the most what is important to the iwi is the individual's genealogy. If it contains but one Ngai Tahu descendent from the 1848 "Blue Book" (a census of Ngai Tahu) then he or she is, for all intents and purposes, a member of the tribe and eligible to benefit from tribal development. Registration is required as a simple procedure of administration with the iwi.

An individual need not commit resources to the tribe to benefit—kinship transcends such purely functional relations. However the more an individual contributes to the tribe through working in a tribal business the greater his or her rewards (O'Regan 1991b).

7.1.1 Legal Identity

Ngai Tahu Whanui has no legal identity at present. The legal identity of Ngai Tahu was removed through various Acts of Parliament during the nineteenth century. This was in contravention of the second article of the Treaty of Waitangi which recognised Ngai Tahu rangatiratanga over those resources Ngai Tahu so desired to retain. The Runanga Iwi Act 1990 permitted Ngai Tahu to develop its own structure based on persistent pre-capitalist social formations (Fig. 16) and went some way towards establishing a legal personality for the tribe. However the Act was superceded by the Runanga Iwi Abolition Act 1991.

The problem of no present legal status concerns the Crown as much as it does Ngai Tahu. With respect to the settlement of the Ngai Tahu Claim WAI27,

"... the Crown has effectively denied the existence of the Ngai Tahu rangatiratanga guaranteed by the Treaty. In doing so, however, it has also denied itself the existence of an entity or appropriate structure with which it can now deal in any final and binding sense on the resolution of Treaty issues." (O'Regan 1991a)
Figure 16 Political organisation of Ngai Tahu Whanui

NGAI TAHU IWI AUTHORITY

Runanga

Runanga

(whakapapa)

Ngai Tahu Individuals (26000)

(Registration)

Runanga

Runanga

Runanga O Tahu
Council of representatives from the 19 Ngai Tahu marae (13 Papatipu marae)

Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board
Relations with Mana MACCESS

Economic Development Committee plus business development committee from each runanga

1955 TRUST BOARDS ACT
MINISTER OF MAORI AFFAIRS

Runanga enterprises

Relations with other Crown Agencies

After O'Regan, T. 1991
Since the Crown desires a final settlement not just with Ngai Tahu but with all iwi, some identity will have to be given. Otherwise future generations of Ngai Tahu could besiege the Crown with old and new claims. The Crown would be required to recognise the rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu under the conditions of the Treaty. For Ngai Tahu such recognition could not be accepted if it derived from the Crown. Ngai Tahu desire separation from Crown control. The Ngai Tahu Trust Board is established by an Act of Parliament (Maori Trust Boards Act 1955), and as such is legally accountable not to Ngai Tahu Whanui, but to the Crown. Through the medium of the Trust Board, the Crown indirectly asserts it rangatiratanga over Ngai Tahu possessions. At the time of writing Ngai Tahu have a proposal which would sidestep Crown inactivity on the problem. The gradual phasing out of the Trust Board is included in the proposal.

7.1.2 Political

The political personality of Ngai Tahu Whanui is recognised by Crown and other Maori alike. Within the Maori polity Ngai Tahu Whanui are recognised as the pre-eminent iwi of the South Island - as the manawhenua south of a line curving from Te Parinui-o-Whiti (Vernon Bluffs east of Wairau lagoons) to Kahuraki Point (West Coast north of Karamea) (Fig. 17). Ngai Tahu Whanui constitute an iwi. Ngai Tahu Whanui have the whakapapa, social cohesion, economic activity and occupational rights (ahi kaa) that qualify them as an iwi. Thus Ngai Tahu Whanui may offer political opinion that among Maori is recognised and valid and carries tremendous import. Recently a group called the Waitaha Management Committee has arisen challenging the pre-eminence of Ngai Tahu over the greater part of the South Island. They are descendants of Waitaha, a tribe that had populated the South Island before Ngai Tahu and on this basis are attempting to usurp rights Ngai Tahu attained in the pre-capitalist interaction of tribes (O'Regan 1991c).

The Crown has a political relationship with Ngai Tahu, although the character of this relationship and its functional description outside of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board is defined through the Treaty of Waitangi. Since this has not been upheld the Crown has formulated its own principles for developing political relations with iwi. As the challenge to the position of Ngai Tahu as the entity representative of all former South Island iwi has emerged Crown agents and in
Figure 17  Ngai Tahu region and communities

From Evison (1987)
particular and pakeha not familiar with the history of Ngai Tahu and the process of Maori social group interaction have become confused and relations subsequently strained (see O'Regan 1991c). The political structure of Ngai Tahu Whanui consists of a base or ngakau of thirteen paptipu marae widely distributed throughout Ngai Tahu rohe. These marae and their associated communities have special status based on traditional ie. pre-capitalist settlement. All individuals of Ngai Tahu Whanui are in some way affiliated to at least one paptipu marae through whakapapa. Other non-paptipu settlements and communities of Ngai Tahu Whanui are recognised and of these there are six. The paptipu marae are, as expected, in rural locations. Most of the other communities are in urban settings. The paptipu marae formulate the basis of Ngai Tahu Whanui, but collectively representatives from all communities formulate and attend to policy matters affecting Ngai Tahu Whanui. This group is called the Runanganui O Tahu. Each community has a runanga, an elected council of community residents, with an upoko runanga, or head of the council. The Runanga O Tahu is a derivation of the same principle but without an upoko runanga but a chairperson instead. The Trust Board and the Runanganui O Tahu in conjunction form the operationally effective arm of Ngai Tahu Whanui - a kind of Ngai Tahu parliament with its own bureaucracy and people's representatives. Within each region each community is a political actor, or communities may combine as a regional office according to circumstances and the geographic area affected. Some Crown agents have a policy of Maori representation and involvement in policy making. Consultation between the iwi and Crown usually occurs through this medium.

We have already discussed two aspects of the modern ideological structure of Ngai Tahu. It is now pertinent to introduce some new aspects of ideology.

7.2 Ideological Structure

A different ideological structure to that characteristic of capitalism persists. The ideological structure is the sum of Maori customs, protocols, etiquette and traditions. Derived from the PCMP ideological structure but modified by the introduction of new ideology the contemporary Maori ideological structure is nevertheless at variance with capitalist ideologies. Ngai Tahu have much in common with other iwi sharing in a common ideological structure. They also have much that is unique, particularly in the area of mythologies, whakapapa, protocols, and a unique dialect.
The direct articulation of ideology and 'natural' forces of production ie. the land, sea, flora and fauna, was a characteristic of the PCMP. This is still characteristic today in Ngai Tahu ideology. Another characteristic was the spatial organisation of pre-capitalist production and the effect it produced. Ngai Tahu Whanui kinship relations were modified to produce a unique form of political and economic relations. Autonomous communities could act together (against Te Rauparaha) or against each other (Kai Huaka Feud). Absentee usufructuary rights delineated by geographical boundaries (wakawaka) were the result of diverse resources dissipated through space and season articulated with a kinship-based social order, and a social relation of exchange based on economic and ideological imperatives. Articulation imposed a new ideological structure of law, education, religion and politics derived from a capitalist mode of production. This was achieved initially in a subtle manner through the introduction of trade relations and new technologies but later through policies known as assimilation and integration. As a consequence much of the content, methods and techniques of pre-capitalist education, religion, politics and law have been irrevocably lost. However Maori society persists not only as a genetically distinct society but with a unique, varied and mostly shared ideological structure. This is what is commonly referred to as Te Ao Maori (the Maori World), or Taha Maori (the Maori side) or Maoritanga (Maori ways). It is possible to move between Maori society and European society or arrive at some new mixture of the two that is what Ngai Tahu Whanui Communal Capitalism represents and modes of production theory helps to demonstrate.

Iwi, hapu and whanau continue to form the basic units of social relations and kinship the fundamental principle of that relation. The concepts of manawhenua, turangawaewae and manamoana continue. This represents a continued direct articulation of ideology with the land, the sea and all they contain. Tapu and noa have been largely superseded as behavioural control mechanisms because of the decline of pre-capitalist religion. However they are still relevant. Within the economic structure rahui are still applied as a resource management technique and as a control based on tapu.

The often referred to 'Maori Renaissance' represented the assertion of Maori ideology. Manifest in the 1970s as a radical political consciousness (Greenland 1984; Walker 1985) the development of an economic base for a Maori social order presently characterises the 'Maori Renaissance'.

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The ideological structure of Ngai Tahu Whanui is a variation of the structure generally ascribed to contemporary Maori society. Unique mythologies, protocols, dialect, and traditions are distinguishable. Politically the tribe is distinguished by the regional alliances of hapu, a function of space but also of whakapapa. For instance, the communities of Banks Peninsula are bound not only by a shared space but a shared descendency. Eventually each smaller social unit is bound by whakapapa into the whole which is the tribe. The marae is an enduring forum for tribal and hapu debate and has been utilised increasingly to host non-Maori to Maori political hearings (ie. the Waitangi Tribunal hearings during the Ngai Tahu Whanui Claim were transferred from plush hotel settings to the various Ngai Tahu Whanui marae). Maori political protocol still relies heavily upon mana tangata, ability in the Maori language, whaikorero, genealogical reference and knowledge. Kaumatua occupy a privileged position within Maori society, although it is not simply a matter of being old, the respect afforded them is often a reflection of their abilities and past contributions. It is respect well earnt.

Although not always acknowledged as such, the incumbent Chair of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board, Mr. Tipene O'Regan can be regarded as the tribal leader of Ngai Tahu Whanui. He is a charismatic and energetic figure who has dominated the visionary aspect of Ngai Tahu development. The Ngai Tahu Trust Board section of the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority represent the technicians of tribal policy. The Runganui O Tahu are the people's representatives. Unfortunately many Ngai Tahu are not enrolled with the Iwi Authority and are therefore ineligible to vote for their district representative. O'Regan (1991b) estimates as much as 90% of Ngai Tahu Whanui may not be enrolled. This he says makes controlling Board members particularly difficult (pers. comm).

The educational commitment of Ngai Tahu Whanui is as per other Maori iwi. Recognition is given to attainment of Pakeha and Maori knowledge and the associated systems of thought. Education is no longer carried out by tohunga nor in the wharekura but informally, through direct experience and formally at hui. Changes with regard to the implementation of Maori concepts, methods, and knowledge occurring within the State school system contribute to the reproduction of ideology amongst young Ngai Tahu. An explicit aim of both hapu and tribal enterprises is to establish the economic base necessary for the reproduction of Tahututanga (the ways of Ngai Tahu Whanui). Aspects of pre-
capitalist law are maintained: manawhenua, manamoana, turangawaewae, ahi kaa and its antithesis maataotao, and take tuku. Take raupatu is no longer practised, nor is tapatapa (now superseded by capitalist property rights). The meaning of Rangatiratanga has altered from the embodiment of spiritual and lawful authority placed in the leader of a community to the autonomous control of Maori affairs by Maori. Whilst recognised and promoted by Maori, it is still seeking recognition and political substance within the present ideological structure of capitalism: a doubtful eventuality as it conflicts with the control of the Crown.

Religious characteristics of Ngai Tahu Whanui are indeterminable on an individual basis, however tapu and noa are still observed. The pre-Cristian demi-Gods as well as the Christian God honoured on the marae and at important functions

Ngai Tahu ideology features numerous nuances and it is as well that comments made here are brief. One aspect of ideology that Ngai Tahu hope to increase through the reappropriation of the forces of production is mana. This is still very much attached to the possession of land. Land and resources are not merely economic units they are integral to Ngai Tahu ideology, they define the Maori person. Conversely economic development is important not for the simple material sustenance of Ngai Tahu and Maori

7.3 Ngai Tahu economic development

"... the critical problem is to teach the 'underdeveloped' peoples how to help themselves, that the lever for economic development is to be found above all in the determination of people to improve their own lot.‖ (Buchanan cited in Peet 1977, p363)

"The secret to successful development lies in defining the unique qualities of the resources of each particular area or group. This is where the emphasis must be placed so that each enterprise while standing alone and under the autonomous control of the local people is still part of the whole.‖ (Mahuta 1985, p28)

Through the assimilationist and reformist periods Ngai Tahu and Maori development languished in the hands of the Crown. A new peak of political activism was reached in the 1970s as self-determination and parallel development
were re-articulated as concepts for development. One Crown response has been the Waitangi Tribunal a peaceful investigatory panel into Maori grievances relating to contentiously appropriated lands and unfulfilled promises. The Ngai Tahu Claim (WA127) has just entered (Sept 1991) into the negotiation round. The recommendations of the Tribunal made in January 1991 were substantially in favour of Ngai Tahu Whanui.

The anticipated settlement is designated to fund commercial ventures already underway and to impel new enterprises. It is not intended that any funds or resources the tribe receives will be consumed directly nor apportioned to individuals. Commercial investment in new and established Ngai Tahu businesses is the goal towards which the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority is working. The welfare of the tribe is paramount. Compensation and the return of assets contested as wrongly alienated is some time off and the present recession of the capitalist economy requires that Ngai Tahu act now and in preparation for the future. Ngai Tahu Whanui economic development became formally structured in June of 1990. An economic development committee was formed as the result of a tribal meeting held at Moeraki (near Dunedin) in 1989. Its function:

"To act as a sub-committee of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board to determine the priorities for the economic development of the Iwi and to provide liaison with both the Trust Board and the Runangas in relation to business development activities." (Economic Development Committee (EDC) Minutes 19/6/90/1)

Several commercial activities were already underway and the committee soon became involved with these; Ngai Tahu Fisheries Ltd., Moeraki Nature Tours Ltd., Tuahiwi Orchards Ltd., and Kaikoura Tours Ltd. The concern with sponsorship of community enterprises only is one characteristic of Ngai Tahu Communal Capitalism, although individual support is contemplated for the future. From the same tribal hui of August 1989 a mission statement of five objectives was formulated the aim being, "To protect, to advance, to develop and unify the interests of Ngai Tahu in the true spirit of Tino Rangatiratanga implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi." (Draft copy of Development of Ngai Tahu 1990)

The tribal maxim is planned to be achieved by following the articles laid out below:
1. To harness our resources in a way which provides an economic base for Ngai Tahu.

2. To improve and maintain our environment.

3. To ensure that under Article III of the Treaty, Taura Here Roopu are provided with fair and equitable delivery and service within the Ngai Tahu rohe.

4. Within five years develop policies and systems which overcome the problem of dependency within Ngai Tahu rohe.

5. To gain rangatiratanga over our lands, villages and all our taonga.

6. To identify objectives and resources required in raising awareness for the need for high education.

7. To ensure that a true, authoritative, detailed, written history, which is relevant to Ngai Tahu and includes for example; wahi tapu, archaeological and mahenga kai sites and clears up misconceptions, be undertaken for the Iwi. (ibid.)

Among these objectives we can identify a mixture of pre-capitalist and capitalist approaches toward solving underdevelopment within a dominant capitalist economy. For example the economic imperative (objective 1) is undoubtedly constrained by the environmental objective to improve and maintain our environment (objective 2). One could argue that Ngai Tahu concern with the well being of the environment is merely part of a modern "green" trend. However Ngai Tahu, in common with other indigenous peoples, evolved a conservation and environmental ethic long before the current "green movement". The modern political structure of Ngai Tahu Whanui represents a return to pre-capitalist relations. The structure corresponded well with the devolution policy upheld by the Labour Government of 1984-1990 but is fundamentally a Ngai Tahu response to the perceived needs of Ngai Tahu (O'Regan 1991a)). The structure represents the collective rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu. It is hoped the Government will recognise Ngai Tahu rangatiratanga through this arrangement. For the government rangatiratanga means decentralised authority, as per the devolution policy. In terms of development philosophy this represents a "bottom up" rather than "top down" approach.
Rangatiratanga is the key toward solving Ngai Tahu social and economic inequality and/or enhancing their level for development (Henare, in Puna Wiarere 1990). Independence from Government controls and accountability ought to allow the Ngai Tahu people to respond to problems in a fashion appropriate to the tribe or hapu. Development assistance allows the donor to set the objectives which may not always be coincidental with those of the recipient. On the other hand recent events suggest Government reluctance to allow this to happen. The purchase of the "Quality Inn" hotel chain by a Maori/Hawaiin consortium led directly to the sacking of the Maori trustee. In September 1991 in turn the New Zealand Maori Council felt "... there was widespread concern that private Maori development was being interfered with by the Government and there had been an intrusion of private Maori options " (ChCh Press 25/9/91). There is a place for centralised assistance. Perhaps as Mahuta (1985) suggests a central advisory group to avoid duplication of effort and replication of mistakes.

The Crown must agree to some legal identity for Ngai Tahu that recognises the continuing rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu in order that a final settlement be reached and for contracts between Treaty partners be entered into. The conflict between centralised Government control and the desire of Maori for an independent will needs to be reconciled, if for no other than purely practical reasons. Importantly Maori recognise that state dependence, be it through welfare support or development assistance, is anathema to their own interests. The commercial activities Ngai Tahu are involved with at present are small scale enterprises. Much more substantial investments are planned for the future but are dependent upon the rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu being restored over those capital articles contested in WA127. At the time of writing no figures have yet been published relating to a final settlement it is likely to be of such a magnitude that simply retaining the capital and resources likely to return to Ngai Tahu could cost the Government millions of dollars per annum.

Material development is one imperative. The interests of Ngai Tahu extend beyond the economic structure. It is an objective to regain rangatiratanga over taonga. Taonga (treasured things) range from language to artifacts to tangata koiwai (the skeletal remains of ancestors) to archaeological sites, items of no apparent economic importance and vital to the identity and integrity of Ngai Tahu. Retention and resurgence of Tahutanga, the ideological superstructure of Ngai Tahu, is dependent upon economic development yet it also determines the
structure of development. In this way ideology still articulates directly with the forces of production.

7.4 Dual strategies for development

Essentially Ngai Tahu economic activity operates at two levels, the local hapu-based operation and tribally owned companies (Table. 6). The latter are known as kakahu (cloak) businesses because they cover the entire iwi. The two do not operate entirely independently of each other but exhibit a relationship similar to that exposed by Anderson (1988) among pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu communities. The tribe has jurisdiction (manawhenua) over all resources. The Trust Board is in effect a trustee manager of tribal assets. Local communities have usufruct rights and are the daily managers of their respective locales. They are virtually autonomous and guard their respective areas against political intrusion by other Ngai Tahu communities. Thus they may choose to develop their own areas as they so desire. Collective action is pooled through the organisational structure and redistributed to individual Ngai Tahu.

The tribally owned companies are intended to be the most substantial although one success in particular - Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours Limited (below Chap. 8) demonstrates the importance of encouraging local development. Government assistance through the Community Development Unit of the Department of Internal Affairs has been necessary to provide development capital and other forms of assistance. Development will remain tied to other Government forms of assistance such as MACCESS and MANA until some form of capital and resources result from the Ngai Tahu Claim. Until then Ngai Tahu are not free of Government funding and accountability.

The future aim of accumulating funds through tribal companies is to lower the threshold of capital access for Ngai Tahu. Preferential rates of interest and virtually automatic rights, (through whakapapa and proving descent from the 1848 census of Ngai Tahu, the so called "Blue Book") to the profits of tribal companies will hopefully encourage individual Ngai Tahu into further business development. Another arm of the tribal fund will disperse welfare and education payments. A superannuation fund is also planned. Ngai Tahu policy holders will receive a preferential top up of say 1:1, other contributors a lesser rate. A health scheme that also treats Ngai Tahu preferentially is likewise contemplated.
### Table 6. Tribal and hapu based companies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal companies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ngai Tahu Fisheries Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. O Tapara Lodge (Fiordland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kaikoura Tours (56% share)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hapu enterprises</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kaikoura Nature Watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rapaki Adventure Tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Moeraki Nature Tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tuahiwi Orchards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clothing manufacture, Timaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Plant technology, Arowhenua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Shop and tearooms, Port Levy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Agricultural contractors, Waihao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Craft shop, Picton</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The local hapu based enterprises are oriented to different goals. In the short term they are job creation enterprises, profit is not their motivation. On the other hand the tribal companies are required to enlarge the capital base of Ngai Tahu and must be first and foremost profit making. For the hapu enterprises retaining the Ngai Tahu human resource of each region and providing them with an income is the first priority. Subsequent to this, profits are to be diverted into other ventures (diversification and growth), and towards sustaining the marae and cultural activities of each locale. For instance the marae and associated facilities may require renovation or upgrading in some form, capital for this would come from the enterprise, or may well be incorporated as part of the enterprise (eg. as a venue to host tourists).

Ngai Tahu development is at an embryonic stage. At this period the use of precapitalist structures is integral and defines Ngai Tahu enterprise. It is not simply a matter of people calling themselves Ngai Tahu and engaging in ordinary capitalist commercial practice. There are clear structural and ideological characteristics which define Ngai Tahu development. The most obvious is the definition of Ngai Tahu as an iwi, as hapu, as whanau and as individuals incorporating individualism within different stratum of community. Whakapapa remains integral, with the special allowance of tribal 'adoption' of an individual whose commitment to the iwi has won them the same rights and privileges of an ordinary Ngai Tahu. Ngai Tahu are attached to the South Island because of precapitalist law the rights of control established before capitalist relations. Importantly the relationship of social groups to each other resembles the precapitalist arrangement. Local communities are still relatively independent of each other but nevertheless rely on the social cohesion of the tribal unit to establish authority over the South Island. The economic manifestation of this social arrangement is reflected in the differing roles played by the two levels of development outlined above. Social organisation is linked to production: production to social organisation.

The modern commercial activity Ngai Tahu have undertaken as part of the tribal plan towards self-sufficiency incorporates PCMP relations (detailed in following chapter). Naturally Ngai Tahu have drawn on the past to overcome problems of the present and those anticipated for the future. Evidence that the PCMP continues is provided by Tau, et al (Ngai Tahu Report pp844-858). These Ngai Tahu give extensive accounts of the continuing production of eel, titi, various
species of fish, paua, and mussels and the informal trade in such. For example titi can be paid for but they can also be traded for in an equivalence of eel. When a member of my own village of Rapaki took a quantity of shellfish a share would go to the elders. At tangihanga (funerals) contributions (koha) of cash, or kind are put forward by visitors and often shellfish would be sought especially. It has been difficult to realise that this form of economic activity somehow differs from the norm. The PCMP as it stands today is an informal economy, supplementing the CMP, or on desperate situations replacing the CMP. It is unfortunate that research has not been directed at the study of this form of economy among Maori. Ngai Tahu Whanui are first and foremost a genealogically based social group. Whakapapa is the common thread that binds the society. Above this exists the similarly based complex of tribes which represents Maori society. Within Ngai Tahu there is a further complex of relationships derived from the varied origins of Ngai Tahu. This is why Ngai Tahu Whanui is the preferred tribal title as it acknowledges the sophisticated composition of the tribe. The legal and political identities of the iwi are important in that they allow the tribe a functional capacity but it is whakapapa which ultimately defines the iwi.

Reverting to Buchanan's dictum Ngai Tahu do not require to be taught a lesson in helping themselves. It is evident from the structure and principles they have adopted lessons from pre-capitalist society. Ngai Tahu are determined to improve their own lot. By adopting a two tier strategy the PCMP finds expression as an emerging mode of production whilst the capitalist mode is utilised as a proven mode of production. This strategy implies a sort of materialist bi-culturalism.
CHAPTER EIGHT
AN EMERGING MODE OF PRODUCTION

8.0 Introduction

I have used mode of production analysis as a model to illuminate the economic activity of the Ngai Tahu Whanui with and within the dominant capitalist mode. The model is most helpful in that it demonstrates the linkages between different aspects of a society presenting society as an integrated whole rather than a fractured compound of 'spheres of interest'. To shed such light on the modern development of Ngai Tahu Whanui is a primary aim of this thesis. Making comparisons between the PCMP and the currently emerging communal capitalist mode of production to gauge the extent to which they resemble each other is not. It cannot be said that one is the other. Although modern development derives substantially from the PCMP they are historically specific creations. This is how they should be viewed. One should not search for 'traditional man' in modern development just as one ought not look for 'rational man' in pre-capitalist primitive economies (after Firth 1929a).

What is examinable is the extent to which pre-capitalist structures have been drawn upon for the purpose of development and their specific present nature, not for the purpose of direct comparison but to understand the principles and structure of contemporary Ngai Tahu Whanui development.

8.1 Communal Capitalism: a model

An emerging mode of production for the contemporary period has been alluded to in Chapter 7. It is based on the unique social grouping and organisation of Ngai Tahu Whanui and rangatiratanga as a development philosophy. This in turn affects the way production is organised. The distribution of social product is also based on social group definition whakapapa. This chapter will elaborate more on the relations of production and describe the forces of production Ngai Tahu Whanui are utilizing and the ideological structure which embraces development. The model constructed (Fig. 9) to represent the pre-capitalist Ngai Tahu society differs most notably from that detailed in Overton (1988) in the direct relationship ideology exhibits with the forces of production. The model I propose here (Fig. 18) is the same as that in Overton (1988). The distinctive characteristic of
communal capitalism is that it combines capitalist production with production based on pre-capitalist relations. For example, distribution is based on both capitalist and pre-capitalist relations. Distribution of the social product is based on whakapapa and individual effort (this is also consistent with pre-capitalist relations see Chapter 3.2). An individual working within a tribal or hapu company may be rewarded on the basis of their contribution whereas all individuals of Ngai Tahu Whanui descent have an equal claim to the social product of the tribal companies. Communal capitalism rewards individuals and the greater community of Ngai Tahu directly.

The two tier development strategy places the capitalist mode of production next to the transformed PCMP as tribal companies and hapu community initiatives. The following two sections will examine the construction of the mode of production in more detail by looking at tribal companies and case studies of hapu initiatives. Only one hapu initiative will be examined at length as the organisational principles true for it are true also for all.

8.2 Tribal companies

In October 1991 there were four tribally owned companies: Ngai Tahu Whanui Fisheries Ltd; O Tapara Lodge Ltd (Lake Gunn, Fiordland); Ngai Tahu Trading Company; and a 43% share in Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours Ltd. Two other potential developments are currently being investigated, a salmon ranching operation and the purchase of a trampers lodge (Milford Lodge). These concerns return profits to the Ngai Tahu Whanui Iwi Authority and are run as any normal limited liability company. For example, Ngai Tahu Fisheries Limited was formed after paying $1 million to the Crown for quota. The payment was made against future Claim settlement and eventually will not have to be debited to the company. This will add to the $366,000 net profit the company returned for the year ended 30.6.91. The probable outcome of a Claim settlement will be the purchase of more tribal companies, either existing or new, and a share of State Owned Enterprises. The latter will add substantially to the material development of Ngai Tahu. For example the iwi is pursuing a 2% share of Electricorp a significant sum. The order of development being referred to here is significant.
Diagrammatic summary of the spatial relations of production

Figure 18: Communal capitalism 1986–

COMMUNAL CAPITALISM

IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

Tribal Rangatiratanga exerted

Land recovery

Local development X

Urban Ngai Tahu aided through (a) return to marae (b) tribal companies

Local development Y

Local development Z

Kinship as relation of production

Land recovery to rebuild economic base. Community development combined with capitalist enterprise. Ideological control reasserted as relation of production i.e. rahui, kinship, manawhenua.
The commercial involvement of Ngai Tahu even now is not insubstantial and is likely to rapidly increase within the next five years. The Kakahu businesses are the management responsibility of the Ngai Tahu Whanui Iwi Authority and are legally owned by the Iwi Authority. The Ngai Tahu Whanui Iwi Authority share in Kaikoura Whale Watch Tours Ltd was necessary to help the hapu enterprise expand and will redistribute some profit to other sections of the iwi. All Ngai Tahu Whanui possess inalienable rights to use the benefits the Kakahu business may provide without any necessary capital contribution. These rights may be gifted to another but cannot be sold. In all other respects the Kakahu businesses operate as ordinary capitalist pursuits, profiting from the exploitation of surplus labour and separating the worker from ownership of the means of production. What characterises Ngai Tahu development is that this type of production articulates with another type of development, the hapu initiatives, to form Communal Capitalism.

8.3 Hapu enterprises

The development of Ngai Tahu hapu communities is part of the overall development strategy communal capitalism. The various Ngai Tahu Whanui hapu are at different levels of development. These differences are caused by variations in leadership abilities, community cohesion, commercial experience and competence and resource endowment. In this section we will examine one development in particular as a summary of development for the rest of Ngai Tahu. The principles of organisation are similar throughout Ngai Tahu.

8.3.1 Case study: Rapaki Adventure Tours Limited

Rapaki (see Fig. 17) is a rural settlement twenty five kilometres from Christchurch within the Whakaroupo (Lyttelton) harbour. It consists of twenty three houses with a resident population of 48. Ngai Tahu Maori are the dominant ethnic group. Rapaki is recognised by the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority as a papatipu runanga. From the Hui-a-iwi in 1989 came the initiative for commercial development at Rapaki. From its inception in October of 1990 the business plan was based on tourism: horse trekking, canoe hire and other activities (Table 7, Fig. 19). By the 26th September 1991 it was realised that the topography of the hills surrounding Rapaki was unsuited to horse trekking for inexperienced riders
Figure 19  Organization of Rapaki Adventure Tours

Runanga Executive—runanga has legal identity of Charitable Trust

- Directors appointed by the runanga
- Manager appointed full time
- Rapaki Adventure Tours Ltd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Funding</em></th>
<th>Venture Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shares</td>
<td>Where MANA funding available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary voting shares entitled to profits (workers shares)</td>
<td>10% increase in workers contribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-voting, Redeemable, preferences shares held by iwi</td>
<td>20% iwi assistance must also increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Rank loans secured on assets 70% Limit commercial funds
- 100% 100%

*As suggested by Snelling, D. 1991, example only*

State and other Assistance

Department of Internal Affairs salary grant $30,000

Establishment and legal costs met by EDC $2,000
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Summary of activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Horse Treks</td>
<td>To take people from Rapaki to the top of the Port Hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vehicle Tour</td>
<td>To pick customers up at their hotel and go on a tour of Christchurch with options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Adventure Tour</td>
<td>To paddle Maori waka, then climb to top of Quail Island to either bungy jump or absail down cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Farm experience</td>
<td>To spend the day on local farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Craft sales</td>
<td>The sale of crafts and associated food sales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and guides and that an area about Godley Heads (entrance to Lyttelton harbour) would have to be selected. This option was regarded as unfavourable and the entire business plan was reviewed. On the 28th September 1991 the outcome was a rejection of the original idea. It now looks highly probable that a clothing manufacture business will be examined. Whatever business plan is finally adopted some type of initiative will be seized upon the key point is flexibility not an errant committal to an unsound plan. The organizational structure of that initiative is what is immediately interesting and the focus of this work. The success or otherwise of the operation is after all open to the vagaries of economic cycles and business administration. We will proceed to outline the organizational structure where necessary utilising the original business plan.

a) Statement of intent

"We the people of Rapaki acknowledge that we can no longer afford to wait or expect the state, or private sector alone to address the needs of our people. We recognise that meeting our people's employment, housing, health, educational and cultural needs during the current recession will require co-operation and partnership based on the traditional values of hard work, self help and integrity. Therefore to achieve our aim of self determination we seek to establish partnerships with the state, private sector and communities." (Business Sub-committee)

This statement of intent demonstrates a commitment to rangatiratanga (self determination) and partnership. Recognition is made of the deficiencies of relying on Government and private sector sources of material well-being because of the cyclical nature of capitalism "this current recession". The ideological aspirations of Rapaki Ngai Tahu are stressed, demonstrating a knowledge of the relationship between the ideological superstructure and the economic structure.

b) Objectives

The following measures were or are about to be taken to implement the above stated intentions:

(i) A business committee of four was established. One member is an employee of the Community Employment Development Unit (CEDU) of the Department of Labour and a Rapaki Ngai Tahu.
(ii) Registration of the Rununga o Rapaki as a Charitable Trust and appointment of a board of directors. This was changed to a limited liability company because of the flexibility and access to capital loans that particular legal definition permitted.

(iii) Investigation of business opportunities. The recent review of horse trekking has meant a new investigation. At the point where horse trekking was rejected (28/9/91) finance capital was also being sought.

(iv) Appointment of a manager to implement the decisions of the board of directors.

(v) Raising of finance capital. The enterprise has reached this point (October 1991) concurrent with the change in business plan.

(vi) Training programmes for unemployed Rapaki people. A MACCESS renovation and maintenance scheme has been active at Rapaki since November of 1989. Although unrelated to any business plan such a scheme could be utilised to provide a Rapaki business venture with able staff.

This planning process is almost complete and a significant effort has already been made. A salary grant made by the Department of Internal Affairs Community Development Unit (CDU) allowed a member of the business sub committee to leave paid employment and devote her efforts entirely to the formation of a business scheme and attend also to the Rapaki MACCESS programme. The grant is the equivalent of a manager's salary ($32,250) for one year.

c) Perceived needs of the people of Rapaki

The enterprise was initiated to meet the needs of Rapaki people, both residents and those who are affiliated to Rapaki by whakapapa but live elsewhere. The aims of the enterprise are stated explicitly:

"To improve employment, housing, health and educational opportunities. To maintain the assets we already have ie: the marae buildings, grounds, cemetery (urupa) church, the old school house and the land which has been uneconomic to date. To understand our unique kawa, language and history; which will in turn enhance our identity and foster pride. To address these needs
effectively, an economic base must be established which is culturally acceptable, commercially viable and environmentally sensitive. It must build upon the foundation which is already in place namely the runanga." (Business Sub-committee Statement 4)

Economic and ideological aspects are highlighted as problem areas that require attention. These needs are subjective as no formal quantitative research has been undertaken regarding the number of unemployed Rapaki Ngai Tahu Whanui, or those suffering from health, educational or housing problems. No techniques or methods have been proposed address such worries. However what is important is that the people of Rapaki have identified these areas as important to them and in conjunction with the rest of the tribal unit have undertaken to do something about them.

Clearly the instigators of the Rapaki enterprise understand the link between economic structures and ideological structures, "To address these needs effectively, an economic base must be established which is culturally acceptable, commercially viable and environmentally sensitive." Ngai Tahu Whanui must regain a productive base to strengthen its cultural expressions. Ideological (environmental) strictures obtain to future development for instance rahui (see 8.6) and cultural acceptance. Commercial viability is required to compete with the dominant material force of capitalism.

The runanga structure is looked to as the foundation upon which redress (as yet unformulated) can be built. The priority is to increase the available funds of runanga and the Iwi Authority so that Ngai Tahu Whanui can complement the welfare of the state and the material means of reproduction offered by capitalism. Ngai Tahu who work for their respective hapu businesses are not divorced from the means of production. They will own non-redeemable shares of the operation commensurate with their individual capital contribution. The incentive for individuals to work hard is thus provided by the share each possesses in the enterprise. The Ngai Tahu community benefits in accordance to the percentage of shares it holds. For example a 51% runanga share is proposed for the Rapaki venture. The remaining 49% may be divided between the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority and the workers. All Ngai Tahu descendants (approximately 26000) will possess a non-redeemable share of the Iwi enterprises in the form of a right to benefit from the profits of the tribal companies. If the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority
takes a share in a hapu business that would be in the form of shares redeemable only to other Ngai Tahu. A share of the profits commensurate with the percentage of shares held would be returned to the Iwi. Thus the hapu based operations allow room for individual rewards whilst the Iwi businesses ensure all Ngai Tahu share in the development of the tribe.

d) Legal process and relations
Te Runanga O Rapaki, the elected council of community members is not a legal entity. In order to implement a registered company that would serve the interests of the hapu and tribe it was necessary for the Runanga O Rapaki to register as a charitable Trust in accordance with Sections 56(a), 61 (25), 61 (27), and 147 of the Income Tax Act 1976; Section 18 of the Stamps and Duties Act 1968; and Sections 5 and 73 of the Estate and Gift Duty Act 1968. All runanga have registered or are in the process of registration as a Charitable Trust. Once registered the Trust could then establish a Company under the terms of the Companies Act as the, "legal vehicle for achieving their aim of creating an economic base" (Business Sub-committee Statement 6).

The development must occur within the dominant ideological structure of capitalist law. The designation of a Charitable Trust was the legal structure that most closely resembled Ngai Tahu development intentions of community rather than private individual benefit.

e) Relations of production
Control The company will be a community owned company. The community can be described as a community of interest, geography, marae, hapu and iwi which represent Rapaki. The company will be controlled by Te Runanga O Rapaki with the specific aim, "...to create ultimately self supporting jobs for our local people and be the focus for local economic development. Profits made from the company will be used to create further employment or to strengthen social and community services within our rohe." (Business Sub-committee Statement 6.1). The legal ownership (property right) of company assets is vested in members of the runanga who hold them in trust for the benefit of the community.

Distribution and exchange Incentive for staff will be based on their productivity. An increase in profits will be distributed according to their shareholding. The shares held by the runanga will be distributed towards reinvestment for expansion, diversification, and maintenance and improvement of
community facilities like the marae. There is room for individual enterprise and reward but set within a framework which places a priority on the community interest. It is the stated intention of Te Runanga O Rapaki and the Business Subcommittee to invest also in companies which may be marginal or may even be making a loss if it assists in maintaining or creating employment or maintaining a required service. Money as a form of exchange will be complemented by barter of goods and services - the so called 'green dollar network'.

**Expropriation and Forces of Production** A community company is not a variation of small business nor is it a cooperative - it is an original structure created by Ngai Tahu to implement economic development. The hapu development philosophy is inherently "bottom up and local":

"The company's philosophy is encouraging development from within, to help Rapaki create wealth. Development will begins [sic] with people and should come from within a community and not imposed from outside."(Business Sub-committee Statement 6.2/h).

With this philosophy in mind many of the forces of production have been contributed from within the existing community structure. The area originally proposed for horse trekking belonged to the community of Rapaki and their descendants. An application through the Maori Land Court for the permission of the owners to use the area met with success, but it was also necessary to secure the permission of the current leasee which was duly given. The intended grazing land was also secured from members of the Rapaki community. The capital contribution from Te Runanga O Rapaki was estimated at $24,972 or 36.5% of the total estimated cost of the project ($68,343), although the target is set at 51% share. The deficit of $43,368 was sought from the Department of Internal Affairs under the principle of Treaty partnership. Thirty-thousand dollars has been received for the purpose of employing one full time manager to the project. The contribution made by the Runanga O Rapaki is substantial in that it represents 12-14 years of savings made through contributions and small fundraising exercises. The savings were originally designated for the general maintenance of the marae. The Ngai Tahu Economic Development Committee is also to contribute $2,000 towards equipment purchases (establishment costs) and also pay for the legal
costs associated with conferral of Charitable Trust status and Limited Liability Company title.

Finding enough labour able to contribute capital towards the project will be a major problem that may restrict the size of the development. If only some people in this position are found then the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority or some alternative cheap capital will be required to initiate the venture. There will possibly come a point at which some staff will own shares whilst others will not. Once non-share owning individuals begin employment they could choose to purchase shares. At this stage of the development most of the labour involved in establishing the business is shouldered by the manager who is also the Secretary for the Runanga O Rapaki and the Rapaki representative to the Runanganui O Tahu. The Business Sub-committee, comprising four members, is the functional body responsible for developing the project in partnership with the democratically run Runanga O Rapaki.

Rapaki is a small settlement with correspondingly few resources. Yet the desire to develop commercially is very strong. The aim is to eliminate dependence on Government and the private sector as sources of income. Partnership is regarded as the appropriate relationship between this Ngai Tahu community and the Crown. Local commercial development is seen as one way in which the Rapaki community can contribute towards partnership. The runanga, the whakapapa which binds the community, and most fundamentally the aim to materially better the community of Rapaki distinguishes the Rapaki enterprise. This type of enterprise typifies communal capitalism and is being replicated throughout Ngai Tahu communities (see Table 6).

8.3.2 Case Study: Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours

Having established the principles behind the hapu enterprises we will now turn our attention to examining an outstanding commercial success based on the same principles- Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours.

Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours is a tourist venture based primarily on the viewing of whales at sea from small inflatable motor boats. It is one of a number of hapu based commercial initiatives designed to achieve tribal independence from the Government and private sector. Other wildlife are viewed, such as seals and bird colonies, but it is the whales that attract most attention and most tourist dollars.
As a monopoly operation it has been running since 1990 when the only other competitor, Nature Watch Tours, was bought out. Mr. Bill Solomon, Ngai Tahu of the Kati Kuri hapu, had known for a long time about the whales and wondered how they could help achieve a better future for the people of his hapu. The idea to view whales from boats occurred simultaneously to him and a local couple. The Department of Conservation has jurisdiction over the whales and issued two permits to, in the terms of the Marine Mammals Protection Act "harass the whales". The permits are non-transferable hence Kaikoura Tours assumed the title of Nature Watch Tours also. In the first instance Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours assert a capitalist property right over the whales as a resource. In the last instance, if challenged they will assert a pre-capitalist right under the Treaty of Waitangi Article Two. Although figures are unavailable the business was originally financed through fundraising events, contributions and mortgages taken out by individual members of the hapu. A Work Development Scheme grant (WDS) and Small Cooperative Enterprises funding (SCOPE) from the Department of Internal Affairs also helped establish the business. SCOPE provided some of the venture capital WDS providing funding for a management structure to be put in place.

Other businesses have been established. Diversification and expansion, especially into labour intensive operations is a part of the development policy of the Ngai Tahu Iwi Authority (O'Regan 1991b). A restaurant, taxi service, bike hire, craft shop, one-hour photo shop, and rubbish collection service represent other businesses entered into because of the Nature Watch operation. Profits are distributed to diversification, expansion, loan repayments, a self-supporting marae complex (Takahanga).

The company employs 46 people making it the largest employer in Kaikoura. The turnover is for the financial year ending March 1991 was $1.2 million in sales with a multiplier effect from $4-6 million (NZ Listener May 6th, p22) for the rest of Kaikoura businesses. Total wages for the financial year came to $300,000. Added to this increased spending power in the Kaikoura economy the company purchases all raw materials locally. For instance one garage supplies all petrol and oil amounting to $186,000 for the financial year.

Mr. Bill Solomon, the manager of Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours, said he helped create the business explicitly to provide jobs and help the marae become self
sufficient. The company started with one boat and 35000 $1.00 shares, 34999 of which belonged to the runanga and 1 to Mr. Solomon. As they expanded the Ngai Tahu Trust Board extended capital hence their current 43% share. They now operate four craft valued at a cost of about $100,000 each including spares and land transport. No profits go to private shareholders, they are all directed to further expansion and maintenance of the marae. Training schemes are also funded through company profits. When I last visited Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours (May 1991) I was greeted by the sight of their burnt out tourist coach. Some person or persons despise the enterprise. Mr. Solomon cannot rule out racial prejudice as motivation for the attack. Further to this point Mr Des Snelling, a retired merchant banker and an instrumental figure in Ngai Tahu economic development, has been exposed to obscene telephone calls and innuendo. It seems Ngai Tahu commercial success is set to win its share of enemies.

The Rapaki business has yet to formulate the precise details relating to its funding. They face one primary obstacle a lack venture capital which is related to an unwillingness to commit to commercial borrowing. The unwillingness stems from a desire to wait until a settlement is reached with the Crown in regards WAI27 and a dislike of securing loans against community owned assets. The restructuring of State business assistance is likely to seriously affect future development.

The related problem is the likely shortfall in capital contributions from workers. Because of these two problems it was the feeling of the Economic Development Committee (21st August) meeting that enterprises be kept small. For hapu groups in a similar position to Rapaki the Ngai Tahu Claim settlement will assume an even greater importance as it relates to their own development.

Kaikoura Nature Watch Tours is in a vastly different situation. They operate a monopoly over a resource restricted to their area. The business is not without its enemies or those who want to enter into competition. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the whales are a stable resource they could dissapear from their migratory stopover at Kaikoura at any time. This problem notwithstanding their commercial success has been outstanding. The principles behind it are a perfect demonstration of communal capitalism and provide a stark contrast with ordinary capitalist businesses. Employment creation, profits being used to deliberately
create more employment and a self-sufficient marae, the Ngai Tahu community ownership of the enterprise; these characteristics distinguish it from an individually profit motivated business. It is established within the Ngai Tahu social organisation but maintains an autonomy constant with pre-capitalist relations.

The above studies illuminate communal capitalism at the level of forces and relations of production. The ideological structure is not as evident. The following section details part of the ideological structure and proves that pre-capitalist ideology persists in having real control over production. It is also meant to show that pre-capitalist ideology continues to be a distinguishing feature of communal capitalism and an integral part of the modern Ngai Tahu society.

8.4 Some thoughts on State funding

The assistance of the State in funding the development of Ngai Tahu Whanui must be raised at this point. It was not possible to specify the total State contribution but it is undoubtedly crucial. However a few examples of State funding may serve to demonstrate the order of the contribution,

(i) Funding for Rapaki Adventure Tours Ltd - $30,000 - Internal Affairs

(ii) Local Employment and Enterprise Development Scheme - $150,000 - Department of Labour

(iii) Salary and expenses for Iwi Executive Officer - $40,000 - Internal Affairs

The assistance of the State in this instance is regarded as 'positive funding' an investment, rather than 'negative funding' associated with the running of prisons, rehabilitation schemes, etc., which has been estimated at $500,000,000 p.a (Tu Tangata 21:1985, p7).

Up until the 1991 budget there was little coordination between small business assistance schemes with 17 different programs on offer. The Alternative Employment Program (AEP), of which SCOPE and WDS were sub-components, was disestablished in the 1991 Budget and all small business assistance schemes amalgamated under a program called Community Employment Group (CEG). There are two parts to CEG one for entrepreneurs and one for community groups. The major drawback of the new program is the removal of the venture capital
component previously provided by SCOPE for community groups making commercial sources more likely. Nevertheless in the case of Ngai Tahu development the State is actively funding a form of economy not entirely consistent with capitalism. This is a function of the present capitalist recession. The State wishes to create employment and it is preferable for them to do this whilst at the same time facilitating Maori development.

8.5 The Ngai Tahu Whanui fishing rahui: an example of the contemporary application of pre-capitalist ideology.

This section is designed to illustrate the continued use of facets of ideology developed from within the PCMP. In this case the tapu based control mechanism rahui.

Following a meeting held at Rapaki marae (Te Wheke) on the 21st September 1986, a rahui preventing Ngai Tahu taking kai moana and kai awa without express permission was placed upon all Ngai Tahu Whanui waterways from Te Parinui O Whiti (Vernon Bluffs near Kaikoura) to the Waitaki River. This was to demonstrate to MAFish the Mana and Rangatiratanga of Ngai Tahu Whanui and allow discussions with MAFish regarding fishing rights to proceed. The rahui could only apply to the members of Ngai Tahu Whanui present. Hence the spatial limits of the rahui were determined by the representatives present at the September 1986 meeting. Later the rahui was extended on the 8th October 1986 to cover the whole of Ngai Tahu Whanui coastline. A system for gathering kai moana, kai awa, and kai roto based on permits issued by honourary fishing officers and in the case of tangihanga (funerals) and other important fixtures was devised. The rahui was implemented not as a demonstration but for the practical purpose of devising a policy for, "a sustainable fishery and a cohesive system for the Runanga and MAF to work to" (Tau 1991a), and to recognise that traditional fishing rights were the common objective of Ngai Tahu Whanui and MAFish.

MAFish recognised the rahui and prosecuted Ngai Tahu and other Maori in breach of it. One prosecution resulted in the finding that:

"The defendants were not in communication with the Tribe and had therefore failed to observe the Maori protocol and accordingly infringed the requirements of the tribe"...In sentencing the defendants Judge Anderson alluded to the lack of communication
between the defendants and their cultural base and reasoned that this was how the matter arose it was obvious to Judge Anderson that it is necessary for members of a tribe to control and observe their fisheries and it would be absurd to allow individual members not in communication with the tribe to take what they wanted at will." (Tau 1991a, p4)

Even the MAFish understanding of the terms of the rahui was limited through an inadequately developed consultation mechanism with the various Ngai Tahu Whanui runanga. In another instance a Maori and a non-Maori had been given permission by the manawhenua of Akaroa who hold the rangatiratanga over their fisheries at a tangihanga held in Akaroa was given to proceed to take kai moana for consumption at the tangi. MAFish was ready to prosecute but retracted following explanation of the right of the manawhenua at Akaroa to grant an exception. Tau (1991b) recommended that MAFish assist Ngai Tahu Whanui to complete the principles of the rahui so as to avoid unfounded prosecutions and that Ngai Tahu Whanui Whanui familiarise themselves with the terms of the rahui and the process of attaining a permit. This will help assert Ngai Tahu Whanui rangatiratanga and avoid a situation where any Maori can give authority to bypass the rahui. In the instance described above the rahui was applied in a manner not previously described. It was implemented for political reasons, not because stocks of a certain species were low or in order to prevent the transgression of tapu but to buy time for the boundaries of Ngai Tahu Whanui fishing rights to be established and a sustainable management plan devised. The use of one aspect of pre-capitalist ideology in this way does not indicate an adaptation of rahui but an expansion of the reasons for which it may be applied. The recognition of the rahui by MAFish and the legal structure indicates that pre-capitalist ideology is being incorporated within the dominant ideology but only in so far as it affects Maori

8.6 Summary

"Maori people are not without ideas on how they can take their rightful place in New Zealand life. But those ideas are as varified as the tribal groupings themselves." (Tu Tangata 21:1985, p4)
Ngai Tahu development is the outcome of articulation between capitalism and the PCMP. Structures and facets of pre-capitalist ideology and social relations combine with capitalist structures of production to form a unique mode of production—communal capitalism. The tribal companies are ordinary capitalist businesses owned by Maori. The way the community companies are organised makes them are distinctly Maori businesses. The Kakahu businesses complement the community enterprises, just as the emerging mode of exchange last century complemented the PCMP. Together the Kakahu and the hapu enterprises make up Ngai Tahu development: Communal Capitalism. The community company structure, the relationship between companies and with the tribal complex, is similar to the organisation and structure of production found in the PCMP; autonomous communities that produce locally but depend upon the tribal complex for identity and political power. Thus as one of the varied ideas on development displayed by Maori Ngai Tahu Whanui draw on their familiar experience of society, economy and ideology. The manner in which ideological structures of capitalist and pre-capitalist origins have articulated in the recent past has helped pave the way for the development of a material base for Maori. Maori political, educational, religious and legal forces have been instrumental since the 1970's in reassessing history and waging a struggle against the dominant ideological structure.

For Ngai Tahu Whanui the process has been no different. The reason ideology has cleared the way for economic development is simple. Once the forces of production had been alienated ideological means had to be used to regain them for control was in the hands of another society. Pre-capitalist production could not just occur as the Marxian thesis prescribes. Control has had to be reasserted. Military means were resorted to (the New Zealand Land Wars) and parallel parliaments (Kotahitanga and Kauhanganui) but these actions were unsuccessful. Maori society became increasingly acclimatised to capitalist structures and ideology. Without violent social revolution material development could only occur through an ideological challenge of the dominant capitalist structure. That is why the past two decades of New Zealand history have been characterised by a prominence of Maori issues and Maori ideology.

Neither assimilation or separate development have proven to be successful policies reinforcing the idea that the social formation is an articulation of modes of production. Ngai Tahu development shows one way how material and
ideological development of a given society (Ngai Tahu Whanui) can be achieved utilising relations that have their origin in pre-capitalist society articulated with capitalist relations.
CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSIONS

Using modes of production as a methodology an analysis of Ngai Tahu development was conducted. It was found that modern Ngai Tahu development is defined by its use of pre-capitalist relations. Several characteristic periods of articulation were also determined and models constructed as a representation. It has been established that the retention of the ideological structure has been crucial in leading Maori and Ngai Tahu economic development.

The ideological ground has been prepared for Ngai Tahu to pursue their chosen course of economic development by the political action of various Maori groups since 1843. Importantly the transformation of capitalism has helped Ngai Tahu develop. The internationalisation of capital and transformation of domestic economic ideology and policy has created the environment for economic development. Conversely the shift towards a more market orientated economy and away from interventionism over the last decade has also increased the number of Maori unemployed. The gradual dismantling of the welfare state has forced local community responses, not solely but most evidently among Maori communities. The New Zealand social formation is an articulation of several modes of production, the capitalist mode of production which is dominant; the PCMP which is decaying; and an emergent mode of production of which Ngai Tahu Communal Capitalism is one variant. Other tribes also have their ideas and structures of development either in place or in the planning stages. I have not identified a secondary mode of production. The relationship between the PCMP and the CMP has featured five distinct phases:

(i) A PCMP based on hunting, gathering and fishing. Production was spatially extensive with dispersed communities.

(ii) An informal contact and exchange period from about 1800 to 1840 and the development of a mode of exchange to supplement a continued Ngai Tahu dependence on the PCMP.

(iii) A process of land and resource alienation and consequential spatial constriction of the PCMP to reserves, a failed attempt to engage in the developing agrarian economy from 1840 to 1860s;
(iv) Attempted ideological assimilation and integration of the PCMP by the CMP but with strong resistance from the Maori from 1860 to the present day;

(v) Emergence of communal capitalism as a mode of production combining capitalist and pre-capitalist relations, a present day phenomena. The attempts of capitalism to destroy the PCMP met with inconclusive results. Although the PCMP had its economic structure displaced by capitalist relations and its ideological structure attacked by assimilation, Maori society and economy persist.

The reasons for the continuation of the PCMP can be summarised as

(i) maintenance of rural Maori communities and reserves;

(ii) ethnicity as an ideology: race objectifies differences between groups and in New Zealand has been the focus of social divisions rather than class (Greenland 1984); and

(iii) a certain permanence of ideological constructs - ideas are difficult to destroy.

The use of articulation of modes of production as a framework for examining development has described the underlying causes of underdevelopment. The alienation of land dislocated the PCMP economic structure and prevented Ngai Tahu from entering into pastoral production. The responses to this problem which affected Maori was mainly ideological and for the greater part of this century couched within the dominant political structure. The modern Ngai Tahu response to Maori underdevelopment is characterised by tribalism; the utilisation of pre-capitalist relations; and a bottom-up and top-down approach toward development. So far the priority is on material development to regain the economic structure that was dislocated by settler capitalism. The bottom-up approach towards development depends on local communities acting in their own interest. On the one hand they are responses to macro-changes in capitalism and in government policies. On the other, they are part of a Maori tribal movement towards aggressive commercial development. The spatial pattern of Ngai Tahu development is summarised in Fig. 19. Internalised local development based on pre-capitalist settlement is complemented by the tribal companies. Thus all Ngai
Tahu are catered for. Kinship is reasserted as a relation of production. The role of the State aiding the development of community companies like those of Ngai Tahu may also be driven by a policy of devolving welfare responsibility and costs to the public. Even as Ngai Tahu attempt to break away from dependence on the Crown it cannot be sidestepped. Crown cooperation is and will be crucial in facilitating the quick and efficient development of not only Ngai Tahu but all iwi. There appears to be no end to the effort Government agencies and Maori are willing to put into development. In the Ngai Tahu example development is still tempered by pre-capitalist ideology (ie. rahui). Obviously material development is not to be pursued at all costs nor is it the sole aim of development. However material development is the fundus of all development. Ngai Tahu have combined a "top-down" and "bottom-up" approach towards their economic development. The tribal companies represent a top-down coverage of all Ngai Tahu whilst the hapu local community initiatives are focussed on a smaller social group but may also be extended to benefit the iwi.

This is the greatest strength of Ngai Tahu development that they have managed to combine local and individual enterprise within the greater community interest of the tribe.

Much still depends on the outcome of Crown-Ngai Tahu negotiation, especially now that SCOPE, the State venture capital funding program, has been disestablished. The outcome of negotiations will affect the rate at which development occurs. It is apparent from extent of development already underway that Ngai Tahu development is not an experiment nor is it likely to be a short lived phenomenon.
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