

**THE STRUGGLE FOR MĀORI WARDS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
COLLEEN TUUTA, PROFESSOR MEIHANA DURIE**

**26 MARCH 8.30 am**

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Nau mai haere mai welcome this morning, and as we check some slides here it's just a reminder of some of the housekeeping. Our community code as well as being aware -- our community code there, just please be aware of those things, and please utilise the chat feature in a respectful space this morning.

Thank you for joining us on a brisk Taranaki morning here and as the clouds and the sun rises, a karakia. (Karakia Whakataka Te Hau). My name's Glen Bennett, and it's a pleasure to welcome you, hopefully you're in the right space this morning, to our Te Tiriti-based Futures and Anti-racism and this morning it's around the struggle for Māori wards in local government. As we said, please be aware of the community code we have. Please feel free to utilise the chat and our format this morning is I will introduce our speakers, we'll have some time with them and then there'll be a time for discussion and kōrero at the end.

So this morning we have Colleen Tuuta and Professor Meihana Durie who are going to guide us through our conversation around the struggle for Māori wards at a local government level.

Colleen is from Taranaki, Tūturu, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Mahuta. She sat around the Council table as a representative from Te Runanga o Ngāti Mutunga. She was there when Andrew Judd had his epiphany, she was there when he left and she was there for next merry-go-round of our Maori ward battles and the six yearly cycle.

Meihana is of Rangitane, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhaka and Ngai Tahu descent. He is a Professor of Māori knowledge at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi and Deputy Vice-Chancellor Maori at Massey University in Palmerston North. He also has experiences in this challenge from the Manawatu rohe position around who it is and the struggle for the establishment of the Māori ward.

Now it's around the struggle, it's around dealing with local government, it's about the fight, it's about the strategies, it's about the confrontations and the supposed divisions. But more than that, I believe this morning is around friendships formed, walking this bumpy road of friendship, of partners together.

The question you might be asking is why on earth is a middle-aged white man the facilitator of this session. I ask myself that too. Let alone a member of parliament, a

representative of the Crown. I hope and I believe it is because of this friendship, I observe from a distance and then close up the struggle for representation for Māori around our Council tables, as well as all parts of our community. And I found friendship, or maybe friendship found me. But as a Pākehā I found a place to walk as a Tiriti partner knowing my place, knowing my role, knowing what wasn't my role and growing along the way, stumbling and bumbling as a Pākehā do-gooder, just trying to build a good friendship, partnership.

So forgive me this morning if I get some things wrong, I am continuing to grow and learn what it means to be a good partner, to be a good friend. And something I know that many of you probably are screaming out you've been waiting for years, 182 actually, for this relationship.

Now just to bring it into context before our speakers start, there are 78 local, regional and unitary councils around Aotearoa. Currently three have Māori wards, Bay of Plenty Regional Council back in 2004, Waikato Regional Council in 2013, and Wairoa District Council in 2016.

Now coming this year in 2022 elections, 31 councils will or have now established Māori wards and they'll be voted on this year. I will also note that 11 councils have a Māori electoral population that is too small to meet the threshold for the option of establishing a Māori ward. Anyway enough about me. As always us Pākehā like to take over and I need to stop right now, I'd like to introduce, and I will be the timekeeper though, so I'd like to welcome to speak Colleen Tuuta. Thanks for being here this morning.

>>MS TUUTA: Kia ora mai tātou Glen, ka nui te mihi ki a koe e hoa. Ata mārie koutou e ngā whanaunga o ngā hau e whā, ka nui te mihi, ka nui te arawa i tēnei ata. Thank you'se for getting up so early in the morning, I'm totally impressed by some of the numbers here. And secondly, you know, ko Taranaki -- Dan's already told you a little bit about my pepeha, but in short I am a mokopuna o Taranaki Maunga Titohea, and I'm very happy to be sharing some of our experiences, our learnings, our challenges that went down here in Ngāmotu.

So the first thing is so what were some of the catalysts. My first slide, sorry, Jacinta, which is my cover page. So I'm actually going to speak -- I am speaking to the page because there's a couple of things in there; why was it such a struggle for Māori wards, why is it so like that, and why has it always been like that, and the second part is who cares. And then I'm going to do some reflections and, as you can see from the timeframe, the first thing to note is that this has been a very long journey of 10 years with a whole heap of fantastic things that happened.

But first off just some of the characters and why, some of the catalysts and why we ended up pushing back. The first one, 2007 was Andrew Judd elected for the first time into New Plymouth District Council. He did two terms there, he was still a hidden closet racist back then, so not a lot of people knew about him. 2014 he wins the election, the electoral position for mayoralty, he takes that from Harry Duynhoven. This is where things start to get critical and these are some of the significant changes and some of the catalysts for change.

Once he got in as mayor, life changes when you become mayor, you have to be kind of be on your pulse for everything across local government. So Andrew totally absorbed this and he totally utilised and for the first time he had council officers who could run around, they were expected to, hugely beneficial in assisting him with lots and lots of knowledge and information.

The next thing he then makes the Māori ward like his baby, it's his gig, he somehow is really attracted to this piece of legislation, and then he finds out all these things that are so wrong with it.

The next big catalyst for change and action and movement was his coming out as a recovering racist back in 2014, huge catalyst. At the same time environmentally here Te Atiawa has been going through its Treaty of Waitangi settlement for a long, long time, but they're getting to the nitty gritty part of it now, the negotiations. So there's a lot of stuff going on with relation to the stolen land and the Pekapeka blocks, which is the big elephant in the room, nobody wants to talk about it, but of course they need to talk about it. And the first time too the Crown is having to deal with both hapū now and iwi. So that was an interesting situation.

So why was it such a struggle? In my view and in our experience, the first thing was the Māori ward merry-go-round I call it. This is that ridiculous cycle of every six years the legislation comes up and the Council has to go down this path. The truth is that the legislation is racist and it was designed and written by racists and to do anything but have Māori represented at local government. This is the Māori ward merry-go-round.

There is another part of the ward that really irks me too and that is the Māori lone ranger scenario. That's the prize for winning the Māori ward. You get to be the lone Māori voice. Because it's so unpalatable and it so goes against the grain of everything about us doing indigenous. Kotahitanga and collectiveness is at the heart of our indigenous culture, why would you want to go there?

So what was my option, and I've always stood on this as being a Treaty-based partnership. Too much hui to do some doey, we need a real partnership. Of course the Treaty does seem the logical option because it is our national document, every government department now has obligations under the Treaty. There are only two parties really you have to worry about in the Treaty, and that is tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti, so that's my starting point I thought.

The final thing in my title page here was who cares about Māori wards? Well, it turns out actually there's a lot of people who care about Māori wards, a lot of white, elderly people actually care about the Māori ward and we saw this, and I know this because I was in the Council chambers in 2014 when the New Plymouth District Council voted to have a Māori ward. A lot of stress, a lot of nonsense, a lot of politicking, a lot of nonsense going down.

By 2015 the next year, the Council decision was flipped by a Grey Power-led referendum. 83% of those white kaumātua cared so much about Māori wards that their citizens initiated a poll, flipped that council decision right on its kumu. So those collectives, some of those highlights, those are kind of the major things that actually then became the catalyst for pushback like no other.

It was seeded right there, it was to take another six years for that seed to sprout but sprout it did. So welcome to our Māori ward merry-go-ride of Ngamotu, ticket rides are free today whānau. Kia ora, can I have slide number 2 please Jacinta.

So these are some fun phases that we created, Kitirangi created for me actually. So the first one, so grab your gumboots, whānau, we're about to get a little bit messy. Kia ora, next slide please.

So this here is the racist media headlines of course, you can see that, but this is where we needed gumboots to actually -- we're required to wade through the rivers of tūtae, organic matter, toxic human racism, commonly known as shit, that never stopped flowing. There were typical headlines, these were typical headlines at the time, especially at the time when the Māori ward came up and during Andrew's time 2013 to 2016.

One classic that comes to mind, and a lot of you might remember this too was the Mike Hoskings, you know, he accused Andrew of going you're so out of touch with middle New Zealand. You know, we all had a good laugh about that because it was like really? Now do we have a new part of Aotearoa that we don't know about? But anyway kia ora Mike, because you did us a big favour, because your tutae hit the proverbial fan in a very big way.

So this media, so why am I talking about this? Well, it was designed to silence and oppress the voice of tangata whenua. But none of these headlines ever, ever phased us. We know good tutae when we see it. Mainstream media was doing what it's designed to do, to be an agent of white supremacist illusion to colonise and recolonise whenever they get bored.

Interestingly, and exclusive to you today, there were some -- some of the biggest tutae at that time never ever made it to media, any. Some of the most ugliest of the ugliest tutae came directly to Mayor Judd's office through his phone, to his face in supermarkets and to his home. This tutae was of epic proportions, whānau. Human ugliness from all corners of our middle New Zealand community. How do I know this? Because I've been privy to see some of these toxic communications. Andrew still has a book to write, so all will be revealed then.

Kia ora, slide number 4. Now why we've got this is Te Rōpū Kaumātua Whai Tara. So you know, our kaumātua is here, the average age was between 70 and 80 something, but they're based out in Waitara. But never underestimate the power of kaumatua in their prime, because to me these are some of the most awesome activists I know. Te Rōpū Kaumatua Whai Tara is such a rōpū.

However, they'd never met a recovering racist before, plenty of racists and racism, but never a recovering racist. So they called Andrew out to Waitara which he obliged. He got to share a bit about his life of how it is he ended up this way, you know, a long way to get to why he was a recovering racist. He shared also his, you know, the things that he wanted to change in council now that he was mayor. Of course that big one was actually iwi representation at New Plymouth District Council; 50% Māori, 50% non-Māori. That was his big, big dream and goal and it still is today and some of this is already history.

However, for the kaumātua think is this what a recovering racist, oh yeah, no big deal, no drama. However, what spun their wheels from some of his kōrero was the opportunity to get involved in some of these kaupapa. So they did, they started following all the shenanigans at council, but the big thing that I want to share here is that these kaumatua, because of their age and nothing much phases them anymore, they realised the peace walk was coming up, the dates were settled, so they decided that they were going to make soup for the peace walk, two months ahead of it. It's pumpkin season time and they used to get heaps of pumpkin delivered to the kaumātua thing. So long story short, they got together two times a week, had this military operation making all of this pumpkin and vegetable soup knowing that there were people who wouldn't like meat on the peace walk,

and there manaakitanga was driving this and they made 100 litres of soup in 2 litre ice cream containers and they had it stored all over Waitara in every possible fridge, freezer, Waitara, Urenui and Bell Block. It's a lot of soup, right?

However, so the upside of this, this is from a conversation, this is from meeting this man wondering what the hell is he about and that, you're in our turf, you're spinning all this stuff. And so that soup ended up feeding people at the first stop of the peace walk, the Parihaka at Ōakura. The next day on day 2 at Ōkato, Hempton Hall, and then the remaining soup, there was a little bit left over that we took to Parihaka with us on that day. So ka nui te mihi ki ngā kuia, ngā kaumatua mō tō kaha, mō tō tautoko, mō tō aroha mō tēnei kaupapa.

Kia ora, next slide please. And so here we are, it's running shoe time now, whānau, this is our running shoe phase. So you've got to get your runners on because we're on the move and we have momentum in the community. And we're leaving New Plymouth District Council behind in the dust, and how is it we've been able to do this?

Well, here's some of the things that work for us, okay? The power of having some common ground was binding us all together for this kaupapa. So whether it's racism, sexism, any of the isms are not cool, right, so everyone can align to an ism. Okay, there was a high level of trust, friendships, the big C for commitment to positive sustainable change for the highest of good and peace province, that's our province.

High on the mark was protection of tangata whenua. We were using tikanga, kawa, karakia, we had our raukura, te kaupapa o Parihaka always guiding us, our tūpuna, wairua, aroha, manaakitanga, mahi kotahi was all there. For us it was huge because we only had a very small team. Katakata and humour was absolutely a must. We had to be clever, we had to be smart, we had to be cheeky, we were connecting networks, timing was everything.

We had no resources, so when you have no resources, resource for me and us in our experience begets strategic innovation like no other. Shadow workers unlimited. So for us, whānau, we think this is a precursor to partnership to make something that felt totally impossible possible.

Kia ora, next slide please. So here we are too then our next hikoi, Pekapeka hikoi or decoy. Why have I got decoy in there? Because since I've been reflecting on this over all of these years I've questioned about did we miss the mark somewhere. Should Pekapeka have been right up there as much as the Māori ward? Did we miss, was it a decoy, was

there a distraction? I don't know, that's for another conversation, but I just thought I'd put it in.

So we're still in our running shoes and we alternate in this part of the woods because we're in Whai Tara, in the heart of Te Atiawa, we need running shoes, we need gumboots sometimes and we need to put running shoes back on, but it's a little bit intense for our whanau out there, the hapū and iwi of Te Atiawa. Everyone's in all sorts of negotiations with each other, sometimes without each other. The classic divide and rule of the colonising Treaty settlement process is working its toxic magic, believe you me.

So the peace for Pekapeka hikoi was a really emotional hikoi, totally different to Parihaka. We started at Te Kohia where the first shots were started. At times there was talking, at times we started -- there was absolute silence. It was really bizarre walking on the streets with the names of all of these colonial soldiers that had stolen our land and killed and probably raped some of our women too. At times the wairua was quite intense but not the rain, that was a constant with us. Heading up to Manukorihi for the pōwhiri, again the wairua and energy was absolutely phenomenal. And walking on to that marae ātea, we were whānau to whānau really, whānau on the mahau were us coming on to.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: 5 minutes to go Colleen, 5 minutes.

>>MS TUUTA: Okay. So the deep pain and grief of generations before us was quite phenomenal, but the message was quite clear from our kaumātuas; give that stolen land back.

Slide number 7 please. Iti nei, iti nei, so this is referring to how small and slow the steps of reconciliation are. This is the Te Pūtake o te Riri which is where the Crown came to Te Atiawa to apologise, you know, taken years to get to there, years. Meng Foon is our Race Relations Conciliator and he was invited in New Plymouth District Council to facilitate a hui between iwi members and the NPDC to help with the putting together of their long-term plan. Definitely comfy slippers material.

Slide number 8 please. So this is an awesome montage of a whole heap of people, the tuarā of our whānau. Some of these people have been doing this mahi for 30 or 40 years. Key things here was safety, but I think when we think about what enabled us to push back and do this work was, you know, our relationships, high levels of trust, protection of us, we learned well from the raids from the Ureweras you know, dawn. The key roles were they were to keep us safe and to keep us alive through this process, and the second was to actually -- to keep the agenda alive and us alive, and we also had their trust and ours.

In the end, this was our lived experience during these years of dealing with many great challenges, or what we think makes great true Māori and Pākehā friendships and relationships.

Number 9 please. So here's Andrew Judd, absolutely was vindicated and he was absolutely over the moon. It took a long time from 2014 to 2021, but here he is at Glen and John's wedding, ka nui te mihi, you know, having some down time with everybody. The one on the right is him awihiing Councillor Bennett at the New Plymouth District Council in 2020 when the Māori ward was voted and won at the Council. But I've got my own sort of slogan for this, and here it is. I'm saying that Andrew is saying to Sam Bennett, "it's okay Sam, it's okay for you to come out of the closet as a recovering racist too, I'm here to support you all the way." Just a bit of that.

Okay, next slide please, here we go. Here we are. So in amongst all this work, you know, for 10 years ka tū tonu mātou, we're still here, we're still standing, we're still strong, but we do that by creating celebrations that revitalise any aspect of our culture and our life. So here we have a wedding that was put on for all of us tired activists in Wellington. Kia ora Glen, me to hoa rangatira, it was a fabulous celebration and get together, thank you so much.

The one there, there's a mokopuna, she with her kapa haka group performed for the first time in front of 15,000 people at Christmas at the Bowl, fantastic opportunity for her, she was absolutely elated and her nana, kui was absolutely stunned.

The bottom one takes us to two kaupapa that I want to talk about; one was about the celebration of moko kauae for all of our wāhine in Taranaki who had them in the last 20 or 30 years, and that was put on to celebrate the 30 years of Tū Tama Wāhine. The one of the actual poi is actually us celebrating our kuia and the history of our poi from Parihaka at Puke Ariki. And the one on the right, you know the saying, you don't have to go out of your way to cost a lot of money to celebrate, so our te rōpū kaumātua going up the Mokau River on a steam boat, absolutely fabulous, and having an ice cream at that iconic shop in Mokau, absolutely priceless eh.

And here we have the last but not least, the last dance and the last word goes for Anaru Judd. Could I have the last slide please.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: And just to wrap it up thank you so much Colleen.

>>MS TUUTA: Thank you, okay, thank you Glen. So the last dance, think Poi E. So this was the kaumātua catwalk was held in June 2016 out in Waitara. The kaumātua had to make outfits, recycled or upcycled and then they had to model them on the catwalk. But we

decided to play a little trick without telling anybody, so we asked Anaru if he'd be cool to come out and do the catwalk. So just before the grand finale we made this huge announcement that we had this big international model, male super model from the catwalks of Milan and Paris and Melbourne coming to take the catwalk. And everybody's wondering who is this, so drum rolls and all that, and then Poi E starts beaming out and boom, here comes Anaru out there in his mayoral robes and chains and actually sent the whole place up in a riot. It was such a hoot, it was so cool. So, you know, we need to do these to help keep us well.

I caught up with Anaru -- just really quickly Glen -- caught up with him yesterday. We're having a quick sort of thing, here's some of his reflections. I said, would you do it again? He said absolutely yes. Do you think it's been worth it? Absolutely. He's been really pleased with the changes. So the four councils in Taranaki now have wards, the Crown made the decision in 2021 to amend some of the racist Māori ward. 2022 we got local elections coming up whanau. He knows there's still more work to do and remains on the case. 50/50 Māori non-Māori representation local government is still his gig.

And he did share, he said a space to watch everybody, Ngai Tahu have a local bill going through at the moment which will give Ngai Tahu two permanent seats in Council. And what is he most looking forward to over the next 10 years? Tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti shaping futures together. Kia ora mai tātou, ka nui te mihi, pai mārire.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora Colleen, that's a great way to end your session. And I guess in reflection very much never underestimate the power of kaumātua, or as someone wrote in the chat, "kaumafia", which I think is awesome. So just a quick reminder, if you have questions we will have questions at the end. Please put them into the Q&A section, not into the chat. So if you look at the bottom of your screen there's a Q&A button, click on that with any questions.

I'm going to hand over now to Professor Meihana Durie. Kia ora.

>>PROF MEIHANA: Kia ora Glen. (Te reo Māori). Mōrena everyone, it's awesome to see so many people with us this morning and kia ora Colleen, really enjoyed your kōrero. There's a lot of parallels and similarities with what I'm going to share, so thank you for that. And I might just see if we can bring up the presentation now and I'll get straight into it, so thank you Jacinta.

Kia ora, I just wanted to -- sorry, Jacinta, if you could just go back to the first slide there thank you. I just wanted to start by reflecting here on some of the themes of this symposium. Te Tiriti Futures and Anti-racism, because it's often said that in order to

determine our future, we must firstly understand our past and we heard a lot of that from your kōrero, Colleen. And our past here in the Manawatu, as many of you will probably know, was unduly influenced by the work of two people, Dr Isaac Featherston and Sir William Fox, along with other colonialists of the time in roughly the mid to late 1800s, they worked in very unscrupulous ways, often persuading and pressuring Māori from outside of our rohe to help them surreptitiously acquire our land, both for their own personal gain but also for public sale to settlers.

And the reason I'm sharing this with you is it provides a bit of context about the journey of Te Kotui Reo. Featherston, as many of you will know, became the government's land purchase commissioner, and he was absolutely committed to the acquisition of our whenua here in Manawatu, and he saw it as being some of the most desirable land in the country for settlement. And of course at the same time, you know, you'll be aware that he was promoting this view, this notion that Māori were a dying race. It was also Featherston who led the war on Taranaki in 1864. So again, Colleen, we have the common antagonist there.

The ensuing impact of the influence of Featherston, but also Sir William Fox, and Sir William Fox he was a premier for part of that time, he was also the leader of the opposition. The impact was so great that our people would ultimately suffer from one of the largest illegitimate land sales in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, and again I'm sharing this with you, e hoa ma, to help paint the picture of the journey of our struggle.

And that impact, that effect of having land taken by deceit, my Uncle Taihakurei called it te pene raupatu, where it wasn't so much a physical invasion, but rather invasion by the pen and that's really rendered us as one of the most landless iwi in the country.

So thank you Jacinta, we'll go to the next slide. I wanted to just touch on a few things. Firstly to acknowledge Minister Mahuta who led the local electoral amendment bill for Māori wards and constituencies. And as you will know, e hoa ma, the final reading passed last year in February 2021. And that decision meant that local polls could no longer overturn Council's decision to introduce Māori wards.

And that's what happened here in Palmerston North as well. So Colleen, you've talked about New Plymouth, and the same thing happens here in Palmerston North, who voted on the establishment, the Council voted on the establishment of a Māori ward in 2017, only to be overturned by what's called a binding poll in 2018. So our iwi, and many of our allies, were under siege at that time, by members of what I would call an anti-Tiriti, anti-Māori movement. Many of us had several colourful encounters or skirmishes, if you

will, during those years, and it clearly signalled to us that our rights as tangata whenua were under attack. That threat still exists, by the way.

And I also implore everyone who's listening today, and people who have been tuned in throughout the week, to be really aware of the most recent statements from the leader of one of our opposition political parties. Their party wants us to know that they are vehemently opposed to this idea of Te Tiriti-based partnerships, and that the nation shouldn't tolerate the idea of tangata whenua being in co-governance relationships with the Crown and with other entities.

Nō reira e tātou ma, kia tū kia matara tātou. That line of thinking, I think anyway, is very similar to what I've just described to you from 1864. So each of us need to do everything we can to not allow such blatantly racist, anti-Tiriti, anti-Māori views to be re-ignited. And I hope we move away from that.

Anyway, at this end of the motu, e tātou ma, it was on 6 May last year that the Manawatu District Council voted 6 to 4 to ignore the wishes of tangata whenua and the recommendation of Ngā Manu Taiko, who was the Council's iwi advisory committee, that a Māori ward be established. The night before that meeting, a number of us who were representatives of the 12 marae, we got together on Zoom, we were really excited about the future of having a Māori ward and we talked about what our representatives might think about and what they might present the following day. And we also talked about what it would mean for us as, you know, the people of the 12 marae of the Manawatu having been so under-represented on Council for far too long. And we also talked about our Te Tiriti o Waitangi claim and how there seemed to be a really positive shift in the air.

So that decision the following day left our people shocked, and many of us who weren't there we found out from Stuff. The article that Sinead Gill had published in the Manawatu Standard and on Stuff the following day, and you'll see the photo there, that's one of our whanaunga, Clinton Vincent leading the haka there; that came through the report from Sinead, and Sinead actually became one of the really important people in our campaign, because as a reporter she was filing reports on the Māori ward campaign here in Manawatu almost daily. And what that did was it had the impact of raising the public's awareness and consciousness about the criticality of a Māori ward and, more than that, actually about Māori representation and participation here in Manawatu.

We also were quite lucky in that we were able to draw from a whole range of Māori media outlets, Te Karere, Radio Waatea, Te Ao News, te reo o te uru me te mihi ano rā ki a

koutou o te maunga titohea, those became really important places and spaces for our campaign.

Anyway Te Kotui Reo, it comprises 12 hapū and 12 marae. We have a really broad range of whakapapa connections to iwi; Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Kauwhata, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Maniapoto and also Rangitane. And we got together the following night, we decided to have an in-person meeting in Feilding. And this is where there's a bit of a segue, actually Colleen, into your kōrero. Because that night Andrew Judd, who is the ex-New Plymouth mayor, and the Maori Party co-leader Debbie Ngārewa-Packer, they both drove to Feilding to share with us some of their experiences, and they actually reflected on the things that Colleen has shared with us this morning. And they gave us a bit of guidance in terms of what their experiences have been, and also some really valuable tautoko. Nō reira ki a kōrua rā, Andrew, Debbie, tēnei te mihi nui Te Kotui Reo ki a kōrua.

We also shared that night a bit about how we felt betrayed as tangata whenua of Manawatu, betrayed by the Council, because we've had a lot to do with one another over the decades, and we thought we were moving in a relatively positive direction, but as it turned out, we weren't. And the Council, of course, had shared with us the fact that their deepest fear was around the public backlash of supporting a Māori ward.

The advice that we got from Andrew and Debbie I thought was fantastic, and basically they were saying whatever you do, don't wait, do it now and go in hard and do things quickly and don't delay on a response.

So we started having kōrero about a march, taking a protest to the Council chambers. And we were hopeful that that march or that protest might trigger a revote which would take the councillors back to the table. So that's what we did, and we also started to talk about what we do with the existing kaupapa, Ngā Manu Taiko.

And I want to also mihi to our late kaumātua, Kipa Arapere who passed away recently, because it was Kipa who provided the name of that group, Ngā Manu Taiko. And he gave his blessing, his tautoko to disestablish that group. So that same day we decided to disestablish Ngā Manu Taiko and we formally withdrew from any engagement with the Council. And what that meant, of course, is that Council are no longer able to get sign-off from mana whenua for resource consent applications and a whole heap of other things. So that kind of brought us a bit more time to figure out how to approach things.

Thanks Jacinta, we'll go to the next slide kia ora. And look, e hoa ma, these are just some images of the day and the things that we did. But the three things that became really

apparent to us was that when things are tough, we draw on these three kaupapa, we draw on the power of whakapapa, we draw on the power of whanaungatanga, and we draw on the unity of kotahitanga, and, you know, those are things that we often look to for guidance, for inspiration, for motivation.

And we often use that term "iwi", you know, to refer to a group of hapū who whakapapa back to a particular tūpuna rangatira; but iwi's also this idea of an alliance, and that alliance really was about us as the 12 marae, the 12 hapū, representative of a whole range of iwi, but also in that group are a whole range of allies and community supporters using that vehicle to try and highlight our concerns and activate some kind of change.

So we united because of the fact that the decision to not support a Māori ward had massive ramifications for us as tangata whenua. Irrespective of our marae, irrespective of our hapū, our iwi, we knew that the decision that was taken by Council would severely impact on us all.

So we formed this alliance, we also formed some really, really important relationships with tangata Tiriti. And that word "tangata Tiriti" has come up a lot in the last few days, and Colleen, you made a great reference to it this morning too. Tangata Tiriti, in other words understanding their roles, understanding their obligations, and understanding their responsibilities as tangata Tiriti. And so those things all started to come into, I guess, into our periphery as tangata whenua and these are the -- the decisions we made were around whakapapa, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga.

Kia ora, we'll go to slide 4 thank you. So you can see, you know, we had a range of people who united with us on the day. I think the real difference in our experience was that this whole, I guess, campaign, it happened in a short space of about three weeks as opposed to ten years, six years. But what I'm trying to do is to just link in the historical underpinnings for us to this particular campaign.

So we had Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kōhanga Reo, we had local church groups. You can see there's a picture there of Hato Paora College. We had members of the District Council with us on that march, the councillors who voted yes in favour of the Māori ward, they were with us, their whānau were with us. And again, just an expression of how things have changed, how the, I guess, the whakaaro across our community has changed a lot in the last few decades.

Kia ora rā, we'll carry on with the next slide. So staying in the struggle, which is what so many of us are doing, and I know that speakers throughout the week have been talking about the cost of staying in the struggle. There's the cost of a taumahatanga that sits

on our people, and for us in Manawatu that taumahatanga has been with us for, you know, almost 200 years, because we've carried the impact of colonisation heavily in our rohe. And those things that I shared with you earlier about the decisions that were made by a pen, te pene raupatu, we're still fighting to reverse the impacts of those decisions.

So thinking about anti-racism, in my view it's about us working collectively, actually, to stop the work of anti-Māori groups and collectives who are throughout who are responsible, I think, for purposely blocking the path for Māori participation in society. So Featherston, Fox, Buller and others, they were doing this in 1864, and the fact of the matter is we can't allow that to happen again, either in 2022 or in our lifetime.

And many of you listening I know will have participated in similar kaupapa like this. A number of you will be actively involved in movements in kaupapa to push back. And for us anyway, it was the first time that we'd actually had a protest in Feilding as Māori, as tangata whenua. It was new ground for us and we hadn't done it before. So we were trying to find a way to bring people together to highlight our concerns and to ensure that our younger people in particular were aware of the barriers and impediments to us as tangata whenua advancing and flourishing.

Kia ora rā, okay, we'll go to the next slide.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: 5 minutes to go Meihana, 5 minutes.

>>PROF DURIE: Kia ora rā. So the impacts of staying in the struggle, you know, as I was saying before, we've continued to carry those burdens, and we've been the subject, I think, for too long of a prescribed educational system, a prescribed health system that's actually failed our people, it's failed our whānau by and large, our hapū and iwi intergenerationally. And some of those burdens that I mentioned, you know, we have the burden of language dispossession, and so we are fighting to reclaim our reo. We have the dependence upon a welfare state, the reliance on the credit rating system because we don't have land. All of those things conspire to us undertaking this march 200 years, as I kind of describe it, of oppression and under-representation.

Thanks Jacinta, we'll move through to the next slide. So Te Kotui means a united voice. And what's what this is, 12 hapū, a united voice brought together by a vision for our people to thrive. And so as we started to work into what we might do during this week, we also realised that actually this is about much more than just having a seat at the Council table. This is about using the power of the people to make progress in different ways. So our kaupapa, Te Kotui Reo, it's not just about engagement with Council, it's asking that

question how do we work together as 12 hapū, as 12 marae reaching across Manawatu to make some positive change for our people.

I want to just do a quick acknowledgment here to some of those people who aren't in some of these photos, but Kaye Maree Dunn, Regan Paranihi, Uru Paranihi, Teanau Tuiono and a whole lot of other people who were giving us really good, useful advice and tautoko along the way. Also the four councillors, Shane Casey, Hilary Humphrey, Phil Marsh and Alison Short.

Thanks Jacinta we'll just roll through to that next slide. So within the space of a week we'd managed to bring national attention to this kaupapa, and we weren't sure if we'd even get to a point where Council might decide on a revote for the Māori ward, but at least in the eyes of the nation they had some, I guess, some line of sight over what was happening here in Manawatu.

We knew that by withdrawing our formal engagement with Council it would become really hard for them to be able to function in terms of Council business, so we knew that that was going to be a helpful decision. And we decided to do the hikoi, to do the march on the day a lot of our rangatahi had negative experiences in the shops, being sworn at by people on the street, some of our kaumātua were heckled, but that never really deterred us from undertaking our hikoi. We made it to the Council chambers and Matua Kipa, who I referred to earlier on, and others in our group, we went into the chambers and we conducted a karakia whakawairea. The whole idea of that whakawairea was to clear the space for us to exit Council, and to enable us to move into a different space so that we could start to strategise about what to do.

Thank you Jacinta, we'll just move into -- we've got two more slides. What happened after that was that we received a note to say that the Council were going to go back to vote again on the Māori wards. And I've just got a note here in this slide that part of that kaupapa is about ensuring that these ones, our tamariki and mokopuna, don't inherit the burdens of the past. In other words, we were trying to do stuff, and we're still trying to do stuff now, so that our young people and our next generation, they don't have to carry the taumahatanga that our tūpuna, that our kaumātua and pakeke have carried.

So the decision was made to go back to a revote and we've got a bit of an image of that day here thanks Jacinta, if we just go to that next slide. The real valuable insight for us on that day was not so much about what was shared and, you know, the amount of people who were in the room, it was the fact that actually our rangatahi, they want to be involved, our rangatahi want to have the contribution to make, they want to be involved in Council,

they want to determine the future of our community, they want their voices to be heard, and they want to be aware of all of the different levers that can be pushed and pulled to bring about an advantage for our people.

So when I hear people say that, you know, rangatahi have no interest in this space, our experience is the exact opposite. Our experience in Te Kotui Reo was that our rangatahi want to be involved, and not only that, our rangatahi have really important messages to share, and they have a power to them and a particular perspective on the world that needs to be acknowledged.

Not long after that -- and thank you, Jacinta, we'll go to the last slide, because I know we're running out of time. Not long after that day, you know, we reflected on the outcome and the outcome was that the Council voted yes for a Māori ward. The day before that vote the mayor and the deputy mayor had reached out to us and we had a kai, we shared kōrero, there were tears, there was anger, there was frustration. The mayor and the deputy mayor in that meeting the day before were refusing to back down from their view about not voting for a Māori ward.

But something happened between the day before and the day after and they changed their mind. And so for us this is a win, but it's only one small part in a bigger picture of advancing outcomes for our people.

And I'm just going to finish on that whakatauki. "Toi tū te mana, toi tū te whenua, toi tū te tangata." The mana remains, the land remains and the people remain. And the mahi that we do as hapū, as iwi, as tangata whenua, as tangata Tiriti contributes to those three goals. No reira, tēnei te mihi ki a tātou, kia ora tātou.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora Meihana, thank you for your contribution. And it's been interesting listening to both stories; the similarities, the differences, but also the fight. And I think a big part I heard was around awareness and consciousness that has come into our communities. 200 years of oppression but for many of us Pākehā, and hopefully others are coming to this place of understanding.

We've got a bunch of questions, we've only got limited time. 12 panelists I ask for your succinct, thoughtful answers as we move through, but I'm going to clump a few together. So what's been coming through in the Q&A has been around the equitable space for Māori wards and some people saying that, you know, it's great bringing it in, but having one or two seats for Māori to vote for is different to non-Māori who may have seven or eight seats to vote for.

So can you give us some reflection on Māori wards; one, is it the be all and end all, but two, how can this be an equitable space around Māori representation, and authentic Māori representation on councils? I'll open the floor.

>>MS TUUTA: Kia ora Glen. Well, you know, personally I just want to see the Māori wards go. Anaru and I have always had this difference. And that the Treaty-based partnership for me was the way to go. There's just so many, exactly like Meihana, beautiful kōrero, you know, six year cycles, you repeat the same thing, you're constantly going around. It's been written and designed that way specifically, so every time if the Council votes, then you can get the referendum to happen. It's a waste of time. Why would you have just one voice? Now at the NPDC, just quickly in response to, they've actually had a model there working at the New Plymouth District Council for the last five years when I sat there as a rep for Te Runanga o Ngāti Mutunga. Five councillors, five iwi Maori representatives who will come through their rūnanga, our really rigorous election process. So we sit there as equals, that's the balance. We've been doing that now seven years.

In my experience there, when it was just a lonely one, two, I mean we sat there for how long, you know? I know, it was -- he might say to them we know too, you know? But the difference I felt when there was five to five at the table, a totally different vibe. Admittedly we did a lot of educating during that time, we had to, but it was okay.

What I noticed over the time between year 1 and year 5 in the time that it was time for me, I resign, is that I saw our Council, our five Councillors, they started to feel more comfortable, they were a little bit more relaxed, you know, and then we could get into conversations that were far deeper and more meaningful, Meihana eh, you know?

But we had to go through, talk about -- seriously, you know, a year or more just to get them to feel comfortable with us, you know? And we had women and men both there. And so what I'm saying is that I've seen that's actually happening already, and the difference is phenomenal, the difference is totally phenomenal. We had young iwi members that came to the table and they felt, you know, their representatives, quite a big deal for them to come into a Pākehā.

But the other interesting thing that I saw Meihana, and you might see this down your way too, is younger white people at the table, totally different buzz. They were less ignorant, they're carrying less baggage, they were more aware of our Māori world view, they'd come through this. These are the late 30s, 40-year-olds, a totally different vibe to the 60, 70 year olds, you know?

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Can I come in there and throw a bit to Meihana. And someone mentioned around how do we untokenise this Māori representation, these seats and have actually authentic partnership on our councils.

>>PROF MEIHANA: Really good question. I think there's some parallels to your kōrero as well, Colleen. The Māori ward isn't a panacea for everything and anything Māori and anything and everything tangata whenua, I agree. I think for us it's a starting point. But when we talk about co-governance and Te Tiriti partnerships, then we start to think about, okay, all of these different subcommittees at Council level, local economy, environment, housing, employment, education, those are all subcommittees that function in different ways.

And what we really want and what we need is to have tangata whenua representation on each of those so that our people can be in the decision-making process. And one of the experiences I think, Glen, that we had was we came to realise that Ngā Manu Taiko, the previous group, was really about consultation and not about decision-making. And I know that for a lot of people who are listening today same thing, consultation will only get us so far, but it's not an effective vehicle to drive change for tangata whenua and for us as Māori.

So that whole notion of co-governance, but actually also having partnership arrangements with Council or whoever, those are the things that we need to have in place in order to be in that space that you've described, Colleen, where there are functions and levers turned for our people to make the decisions for the things that are most pertinent to us.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Can I just carry on with you there, Meihana, and someone's come in, we've only got 1 minutes left, sorry. But it's "how do we keep councils accountable to their white tears they shed in front of me there, but then in the background there's hidden work or not work being done, how do we ensure that our councillors, our elected members are accountable for their partnership and supporting tangata whenua"?

>>PROF MEIHANA: A couple of quick responses. The first thing is we're encouraging some of our people here to stand in the general election for Council this year, not just for the Māori ward, but we want to get people in there under the other wards as well. I don't know how we'll go but we'll give it a shot.

Secondly, I think that the conversations, the difficult kōrero, Colleen, that you referenced earlier on, those are the things that we have to do now with those who are on Council and in the community. We haven't had that opportunity for the last 182 years actually to actually talk about what it means for tangata whenua to have due representation.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: We're going to have to finish, sorry to cut across, but I want to say a huge thank you to Meihana Durie, to Colleen Tuuta for your wisdom, your insights. Some of the chats that come through, we will capture those and share them with our speakers, and maybe at a later date or on other social media platforms, answer some more of those questions.

Please a big thank you to our volunteers, there's been more than 40 involved in this process. Remember that tomorrow there's a Pecha Kucha event, check out the website. But as I opened with karakia, I'm going to close and I'm going to keep it really short because it's a long Pākehā Franciscan benediction. But the final part of it says "and may God bless you with foolishness. Foolishness to believe that you can make a difference in this world, foolish so that you will do what others claim cannot be done". Thank you for your time, kia ora.

>>MS TUUTA: Pai mārie.

>>PROF MEIHANA: Ngā mihi ki a tātou.

>>MS TUUTA: Ngā mihi.