

pathbreaking representations of the geography of Maori struggles and identity. It also juxtaposes connectivity, place-making and patterns on international, national, regional and local scales. By embracing such a postmodern stance on New Zealanders' various identities and histories, McKinnon's team produces a rich collage of suggestive sketches, images and maps, but they also render national identity an elusive idea, indeed a hollow shell. By visualizing rapid and dramatic transformations and framing a fragmented land and people, the plates undermine the notional era of progress and subsequent shift into uncertainty that serve to order New Zealand identity in the *Atlas*. These are paradoxical effects for a national historical atlas.

Malcolm McKinnon, his editorial team, the Advisory and Maori Committees, Terralink NZ Ltd., the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, and the many contributors are to be congratulated on an adventurous and challenging historical atlas. Any historical atlas project is an experiment in interdisciplinary scholarship, and involves collaboration and exchanges of knowledge and practice among many individuals. Geographers may have a key role in this process but the outcome should be a heightened awareness among all participants and readers of the ways in which space and place contextualize histories. At times the *Atlas* highlights the potential of mapping as an analytical tool, though on this score its achievement is uneven. The *Atlas* reminds us that maps are also and always propaganda, and the *New Zealand Historical Atlas*'s main contribution is its challenge to historians and geographers alike to invent new ways of envisioning and mapping New Zealand identities.

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*Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination.* By Mason Durie. Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998. 280 pp. NZ price: \$39.95. ISBN 0-19-558367-1.

*TE MANA TE KAWANATANGA: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination* is a book about power, state control and Maaori striving for greater social, economic, cultural and political self-determination. In it Durie explores how Maaori have interacted with the state over the last 20 years and how the state has responded.

The Maaori title, *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga* expresses Durie's understanding of the fundamental tension between Maaori and Paakehaa. He chooses mana (sovereign power and authority), rather than te tino rangatiratanga to describe Maaori aspirations because mana was the term used in the 1835 Declaration of Independence to define Maaori authority. Maaori at that time controlled their affairs. Durie, perhaps romantically, speculates that there existed the potential for a Maaori-led state. However, the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi precluded that possibility by ceding kaawanatanga (a transliteration of governance) to the crown. In essence, the kaawanatanga of the Treaty countered the mana of the Declaration of Independence. And, because kaawanatanga (which does not generally equate with sovereignty) and not mana (which closely equates with sovereignty) was ceded to the crown, Maaori have consistently contested the unilateral

restraints imposed on them by the crown, which have limited their rights to self-determination.

While acknowledging this as the founding tension of the Treaty, Durie, as a moderate, accepts that through the Treaty the crown did at least gain the right to govern. The problem is that, after what he refers to as the 'wars of sovereignty', Maaori were excluded from participation in government, the affairs of the country and even their own tribal affairs. He sees much of what has occurred over the last 20 years as part of the process of redressing that balance.

The strength of Durie's argument is that it moves away from emphasis on *te tino rangatiratanga* (article two of the Treaty). This is a subtle but significant theoretical shift. Despite being a slogan for many Maaori, there are real issues involved with the use of the phrase. *Te tino rangatiratanga* (chieftainship)<sup>1</sup> itself is a missionary-composed phrase. Although *tino* and *rangatiratanga* are words of indigenous origin, the conjoining of the two into a phrase is ungrammatical. It was likely composed and inserted into the Treaty to avoid using the more powerful word *mana* in much the same way as *kaawanatanga* was used in article one. Simply put, the use of *kaawanatanga* in article one created an ambiguity, which obscured what exactly it was Maaori were signing away to the crown. The use of *te tino rangatiratanga* created a second ambiguity, which obscured what exactly it was that Maaori retained. This added to the doubt over the exact nature of the relationship between Maaori and the crown. Later definition of these terms would be influenced by the relative power relationships between the crown and Maaori.

In recent times Maaori have dealt with the anomaly between *mana* and *te tino rangatiratanga* by arguing textually that the two are inseparable and, therefore, both refer to sovereign power. There is no pre-1970 precedent for this argument. It derives from Ruth Ross's essay 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and Translations'.<sup>2</sup> There is no nineteenth-century Maaori precedent. After his abortive war Hone Heke lamented at the loss of *manatanga* and not *te tino rangatiratanga*.<sup>3</sup> At Kohimarama in 1879 Maaori argued that they could not see where they had signed away their *mana* under the Treaty, rather than that they had been promised *te tino rangatiratanga*.<sup>4</sup>

By contrasting *mana* with *kaawanatanga* Durie steps around *te tino rangatiratanga* and cuts straight to the heart of the issue. *Mana* is clearly and unequivocally the foundation of traditional Maaori authority. *Mana* and *tapu* are the two pillars of pre-European Maaori religious belief. *Kaawanatanga* is the governance of the state. For Durie, these two polities must be reconciled.

Durie's account is an indispensable handbook for those interested in the recent history of contemporary Maaori politics. Topics include Te Ture Whenua Maaori Act 1993, the Sealords deal, the Resource Management Act, Maaori political representation, *te reo*, Treaty settlements, the fiscal envelope and much more. It makes an excellent follow-on from Ranginui Walker's *Ka Whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without End* (1990). Walker's pre-contact, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history of Maaori society

1 My translation. 'Te tino rangatiratanga' as a phrase was designed to encourage chiefs to sign the Treaty by placing particular emphasis on their status and leadership. The message that they were being given was that, no matter what happened, their interests would be looked after.

2 *New Zealand Journal of History*, 6, 2 (1972), pp.129–57.

3 C. Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p.125.

4 *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1879, Sess.II, G-8, pp.8–18.

owed much to the work of Paakehaa anthropologists, ethnographers and historians. However, his analysis of events during the post-1950 period of urbanization and Maaori politics between 1970 and 1990 was a significant contribution on the part of a Maaori academic. While *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga* is less historical than *Ka Whawhai tonu matou*, Durie's examination of contemporary politics is more comprehensive than Walker's. This reflects the increasing and broadening political activity by Maaori.

On occasions though, Durie's lack of historical depth is telling. More than a few times organizations or groupings are discussed with insufficient mention of their background or origins. This can make for difficult reading for those unfamiliar with the territory. But, in general, the book will interest both Maaori and Paakehaa readers wanting an insight into Maaori perspectives of the Treaty and contemporary events. This is in stark contrast to Andrew Sharp's recently re-issued *Justice and the Māori*, an attempt by a Paakehaa author to present a neutral, philosophically moral debate about the Treaty. It does this by what seems to the Maaori reader to be a systematic process of overly complex theorizing about the nature of justice, jurisprudence and reparation. The result is that much of what is said about Maaori views on the Treaty and self-determination is difficult to understand and may bear little relationship to what they actually think. For example, Sharp's analysis of the *Te Reo Report* engages in a discussion of 'counterfactual' 'antecedent conditional' occurrences. By contrast, Durie's analysis of te reo outlines the decline of the language, government policy, community initiatives, the revitalization of te reo and current issues. It is informative, pragmatic and realistic. It acquaints the reader with the facts and then grants them the luxury of making their own decisions about what is right and wrong. This is not to say that Sharp's book lacks value. His assessments of the Waitangi Tribunal are good; but Durie renders a better insight into Maaori perspectives of those events. Nor does Durie attempt to seize any high moral ground. His style is forthright, while refraining from a descent into simplistic anti-government rhetoric.

But Durie does not hide his Maaori-ness. Chapters are organized under different aspects of mana. Mana Maaori serves as the introduction, Mana Atua covers the environment, Mana Tuupuna identity and heritage, Mana Taangata demographics, Mana Whenua land, Mana Moana fishing, Mana Tiriti the Treaty and Mana Motuhake autonomy and governance. In this way Durie presents a format that reflects contemporary Maaori understanding. However, it is important to be aware of the inherent difficulties when rendering Maaori concepts such as mana into divisible contractions for the purpose of analysis. Readers may wrongly assume that the analysis is an accurate representation of a pre-European Maaori understanding of the concept. Mana moana, for example, is clearly a 1990s construct, born from the competition between Maaori over resources from the Sealords deal. These types of contractions reflect how the fabric of both Maaori and Paakehaa society and their intellectual traditions have become interwoven.

In H. Beattie's *Tikao Talks* (1939) the southern tohunga Teone Taare Tikao described two ways of defining mana. He said there is Paakehaa mana and Maaori mana, and Maaori mana is a fire that cannot be put out. *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga* is about state power and the fire in Maaori that refuses to be extinguished.

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