

compartmentalization makes finding the Harvard-style author citations a little confusing, the caption for figure 7.3 is in reverse order to its illustrations. The book's illustrations deserve especial praise. They are excellently reproduced and are helpfully located near the relevant portion of the text. There are many images of villages, landscapes and individuals, detailed whakapapa charts, and maps of the various regions, some locating traditional sites and others providing statistical details about their fluctuating populations and migrations.

If Anderson succeeds in achieving a dynamic sense of Māori southern history, appropriate to such mobile iwi, he is clearly writing a history informed by the present construction of these groups as part of a larger Ngāi Tahu. Without detracting from his oftentimes sensitive and perceptive reading of the traditional narratives, Anderson is presenting an interpretation from the point of view of the dominant hapū and iwi. The earlier chapters present Ngāi Tahu's progressive colonization of all the regions: other groups recede to the margins. Anderson dismisses any simplistic understanding of the Ngāti Mamoe-Ngāi Tahu relationship, emphasizing the complex connections amongst the chiefs and hapū; nevertheless, those Ngāti Mamoe who opposed the Pouputounoa truce are labelled 'The Unreconciled'. An alternative reading could equally consider their heroes who successfully sustained their mana. Perhaps this only shows, as Anderson himself suggests, how much any history is a partial view of the past, reflecting the understandings of particular (and victorious) individuals and social groups. Writing from the margins of tribal histories may remain a future challenge for Māori historiography.

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Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945. By Angela Ballara. Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1998. 400 pp. NZ price: \$39.95. ISBN 0-86473-328-3.

IWI is an important book. Angela Ballara's research is meticulous. She draws on material from a wide range of sources, including a good summary of published material and extensive use of manuscripts, government records and Māori Land Court minute books material. *Iwi* is probably the single most valuable contribution and certainly the most thorough research on Māori historical traditions since David Simmons' *The Great New Zealand Myth* (1976).

Iwi contrasts the political roles of pre-nineteenth-century hapū with modern twentieth-century iwi. Ballara describes how hapū were the primary political and economic entities in pre-European Māori society. Each hapū acted independently with a sovereignty of their own while also enjoying obligations and connections to the others. Ballara outlines the dynamics by which hapū formed and unformed, or shifted about, and how they related to one another through descent and allegiance. Hapū were not static, rather they were ever changing, dynamic, always in a state of flux.

Pre-European iwi, which comprised a number of related hapū, did not exercise the political authority they do today. Ballara argues that iwi relationships served to give a range of options for alliance, allegiance and co-operation. They might equally serve as justification for dissent or conflict. Hapū, despite acknowledging common descent, recognized their authority to act autonomously of each other. What Ballara emphasizes is the traditional primacy of local, community hapū autonomy over a more centralized but further reaching iwi model. Her point is a valid one. The first Europeans saw hapū as the tribe; so did the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ballara points out that, as an active political body wielding tribal sovereignty, 'iwi' are comparatively modern. She contends that first nineteenth-century European officials and then successive governments gradually used the word 'tribe' for groups larger than hapū, usually for convenience of administration. This change is reflected in early censuses. The 1870 census identified Māori by hapū. Ten years later they were identified by tribe.

The establishment of the various tribal trust boards during the 1940s and 1950s provides another example. The Crown set up a small number of trust boards, representing large numbers of previously independent Māori groupings, in order to avoid the complexities it would face dealing with a multiplicity of separate groups on a one-to-one basis. It was infinitely more preferable for the Crown to deal with the single Te Arawa Trust Board than bargain individually with the eight or so major interrelated hapū/tribal groupings that lived in and around the Rotorua lakes' district. This strategy forced Māori into a continual process of negotiation and renegotiation among themselves in order to fit their several identities into the one artificial political entity created by the Crown for its convenience. This is precisely the problem in Taranaki and Muriwhenua today where multiple groupings continue to struggle to find some form of single representation in order to negotiate with the Crown over Treaty settlements. The irony is that it is they who are criticized for lacking unity when they 'fail' to measure up to Crown expectations rather than the Crown that is criticized for its imposition.

Ethnologists and anthropologists such as Raymond Firth in his *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1929) also took up the official practice and created a fixed theoretical hierarchy of tribes and sub-tribes, or iwi and hapū. This process was one that Māori also took on board. Even Māori intellectuals were seduced as is reflected in Ranginui Walker's analysis of kin groups in *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* (1990) and more recently in Sidney Mead's *Aspects of Māori Culture* (1997). An additional and complicating dilemma is that the contemporary political status of modern iwi was taught as being part of an unbroken cultural continuance, derived unchanged from some primordial pre-European state of affairs.

Ballara's analysis has implications for contemporary Māori society. Tribal boundaries are now fixed and rigid rather than dynamic and changing. Ngati Whatua and Te Roroa and others in Muriwhenua have even negotiated modern boundaries based on suppositions about the past in order to clarify the division of proceeds from Treaty settlements.

Another danger is that official representations will continue to impose on how Māori matters are managed by Māori. The Tribunal and the Court of Appeal introduced the concept of partnership between Māori and the Crown to describe their respective responsibilities based on the Treaty. However, recently the Crown and the High Court have narrowed this to a partnership between the Crown and iwi, to the exclusion of other groups representing Māori. This is questionable in terms of Māori tradition. Unjustly, it has the potential to exclude a majority of urbanized Māori.

This does not invalidate the modern iwi 'super-tribes', but Ballara's book puts them in perspective. The modern supra-tribal bodies owe their existence as much to the convenience they have given successive governments as they do to genealogy. Larger collectives may be needed today but if Ballara is right these should be seen as co-operatives or federations, and not as bodies which exercise an inordinate control over the lives of the people and the communities that they serve. In light of recent scrambles for resources and mana between urban and 'iwi' Māori, *Iwi* will be a controversial book for some years to come.

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