

# Historical Dictionary of New Zealand

*Second Edition*

Keith Jackson  
Alan McRobie

*Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania,  
and the Middle East, No. 56*



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.  
Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Oxford  
2005

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## Editor's Foreword

Located far off in the southwest Pacific Ocean, fairly distant even from its closest neighbors, New Zealand has tended to blaze a trail of its own. Like most other countries, the path has not always been straight as its government and people moved in one direction or another. Not so long ago, New Zealand was regarded as a model for the welfare state; now it is being emulated as the latest in a liberal, market economy. Naturally, this has paralleled shifts in political leadership and also more fundamental reforms in the political system. Meanwhile, relations between the indigenous Maori and the immigrant *Pakeha* have been shifting, as the former demand improvements which are gradually coming. New Zealanders are at the forefront as regards environmentalism and gender equality as well. Thus, while remote, New Zealand has often been not a laggard but a pioneer.

This is only one of the intriguing features of a country that is increasingly integrating with nearby Oceania and the broader Pacific region, again a switch from earlier days when the closest ties were with Great Britain. New Zealand's economy, forced to adapt at all costs, is leading the way. But this is a much broader sea change and, as indicated, the whole political system and social fabric are gradually adjusting. Meanwhile, attracted by its scenic beauty, numerous foreigners are coming to know the country personally with the growth of tourism. However, visitors will only have a superficial view if they do not consider the great variety that exists at all levels throughout the country and also study some history to know not only what New Zealand is like now but how it got there. The same applies to New Zealanders, whether they realize it or not.

The main purpose of this second edition of *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* is to give outsiders an expanded and updated view of the country, still with some emphasis on how it was shaped and became

what it now is. But it covers so many persons, places, and events, and so many political, economic, social, and cultural aspects, that it can also clear up uncertain points for New Zealanders themselves. The best place to start is the general introduction, which puts things in the broader context, followed by the chronology which traces the country's evolution over time. This then leads to entries on crucial events, and the persons involved in them, and from there to other related topics clearly marked through cross-references. To learn more about those subjects that interest the reader most, turn to the bibliography for advice.

This second edition, like the first, was written by two academics who have spent decades both studying and teaching about New Zealand's history, politics, and society. Keith Jackson, emeritus professor of political science at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, has researched and written extensively on many aspects of New Zealand politics. Alan McRobie, formerly senior lecturer in social sciences at the Christchurch College of Education, taught courses in New Zealand's history and politics over many years and is a specialist in electoral systems and electoral politics. Anyone who has read the first edition or consults the second will realize that the authors, although academics and providing the necessary rigor in their fields, have written this work in a style that is accessible and with an ethos that is approachable for a very broad public.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor

## Preface

A second edition has its pitfalls. In a historical context, it seems a deceptively easy task—but much has happened in the 10 years since the first edition and this, combined with the suggestions of the series editor for the new edition, meant that much more was involved than either of the authors originally contemplated. If history involves us largely in making selections from previously selected material, “current history” involves judgments about who, or what, is likely to be enduring. And to the problems of inclusion are added the far more difficult problems of what to omit.

Twenty percent of the entries are new to this edition and a great many of entries in the first edition have been substantially enlarged, revised, and updated. Writings by New Zealanders and about New Zealand have continued apace during the past decade and this is reflected in a considerably enlarged bibliography. The tables have also been updated and new ones added. Only the maps remain unchanged from the first edition. Statistics included are the most up-to-date available, most being derived from the *New Zealand Official Yearbook 2004*, published in October 2004. Inevitably, however, there is a time lag between the date at which the statistics are collected and their publication, so readers are encouraged to make liberal use of the websites included in the bibliography.

Overall, we have followed the general guidelines set out for the series. Recent events receive priority treatment over those from the more remote past. Primary emphasis is placed upon history and politics although the number of wider references to contemporary literature, culture, the arts, and the role of women has been increased. Liberal use is made of cross-referencing and an updated comprehensive bibliography is provided for more detailed follow-up information.

If there is a theme to the dictionary, it is one of change that has continued unabated since the first edition. In less than 200 years, New

Zealand has been transformed from a Maori to a predominantly European society; from a dependent colony, focused on Britain characterized by a cultural “cringe,” to a self-assertive, independent, South Pacific state. In short, New Zealand is in a constant flux of adaptation and experimentation. For example, a new electoral system, modeled on the German system, is transforming New Zealand politics, and fundamental changes in the relationship between *Pakeha* and Maori is in the process of being worked through as an attempt is made to settle traditional Maori grievances.

In seeking to reflect such changes, particularly the increased emphasis now being given to the rich historical tradition of the Maori, we still have to rely upon sources mainly written by non-Maori as Maori histories are only beginning to be written. One of the most valuable sources has been *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, a five-volume publication that reflects the high quality of recent New Zealand biographical research and which, along with numerous other sources, we have plundered—though, we hasten to add, not plagiarized—in the best settler tradition. We must also reiterate our thanks to Douglas Sutton, editor of *The Origins of the First New Zealanders*, and the Auckland University Press for permission to reproduce the map of Polynesian dispersal patterns, and to Michelle Rogan, formerly cartographer in the Geography Department, University of Canterbury, for preparing the remaining maps.

Last, but by no means least, our deepest thanks again go to our long-suffering partners, Jenny Jackson and June McRobie, as well as to the series editor Jon Woronoff for his help and understanding. Any errors (and we trust they are few) should be attributed to the authors. We hope that this second edition of *The Dictionary* will prove to be a reasonably enduring and useful signpost both for New Zealanders and overseas readers seeking to know more about our country.

Keith Jackson, Christchurch, New Zealand

Alan McRobie, Rangiora, New Zealand

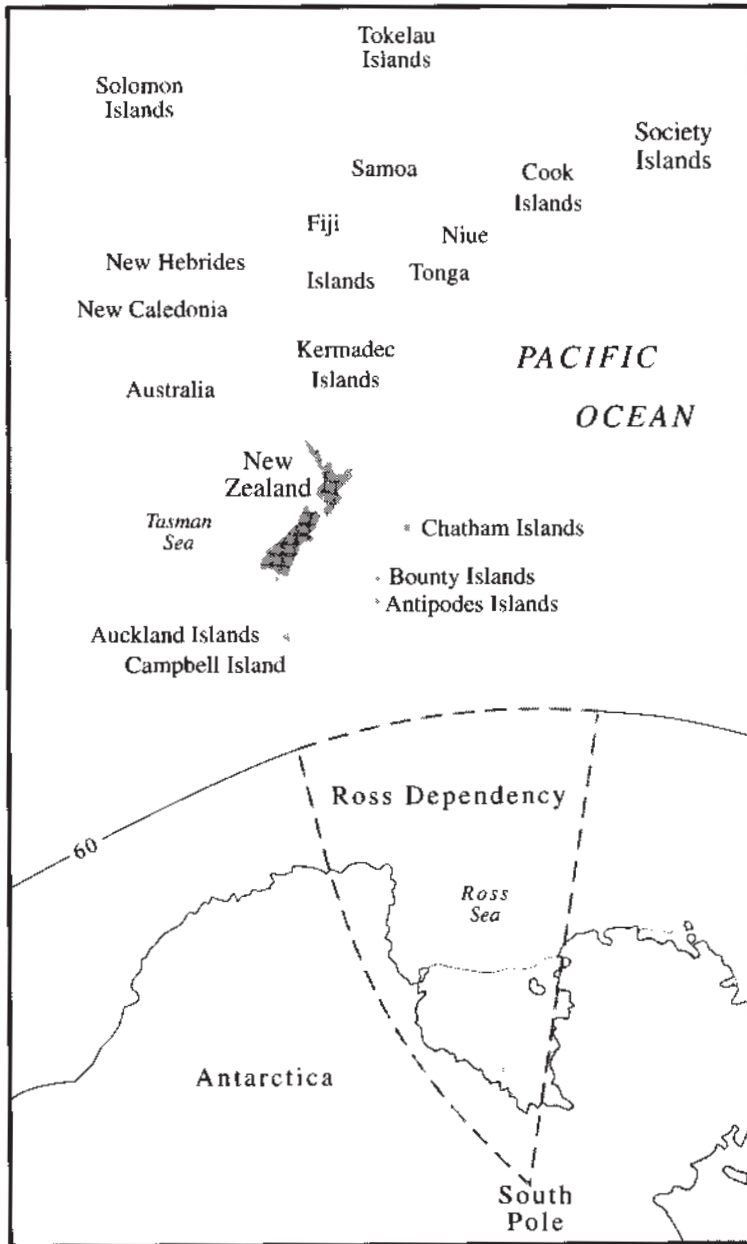
August 2005

## Acronyms

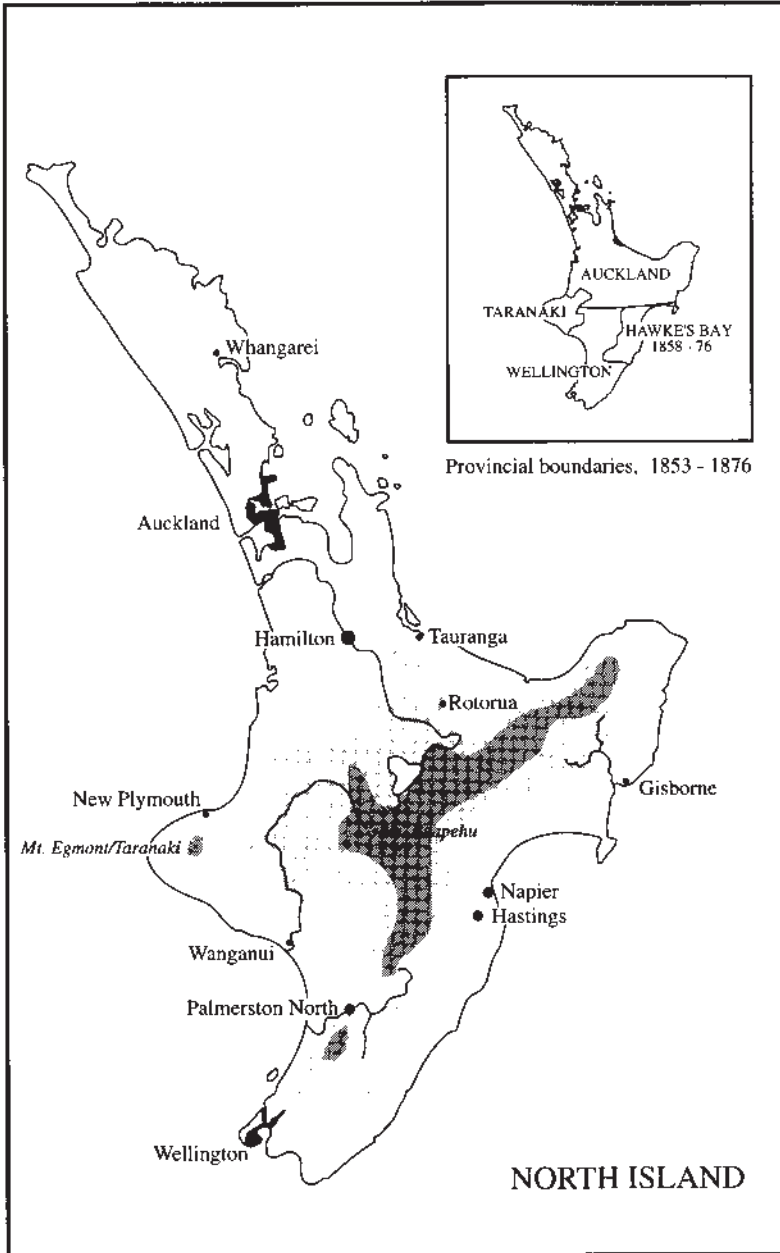
ACC	Accident Compensation Corporation
ACT	Association of Consumers and Taxpayers
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ANZAM	Australia, New Zealand, and Malayan defense region
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, and United States security treaty
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
BNZ	Bank of New Zealand
CCMAU	Crown Company Monitoring Advisory Unit
CE	Crown Entity
CER	Closer Economic Relations (trade agreement between Australia and New Zealand)
CHE	Crown Health Enterprise (formerly Hospitals)
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIR	Citizens' Initiated Referenda
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
COC	Crown-Owned Company
CRI	Crown Research Institute
CTU	Council of Trade Unions
DHB	District Health Board
DPB	Domestic Purposes Benefit
EC	European Community
ECO	Environmental and Conservation Organisation
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EU	European Union
FOL	Federation of Labour



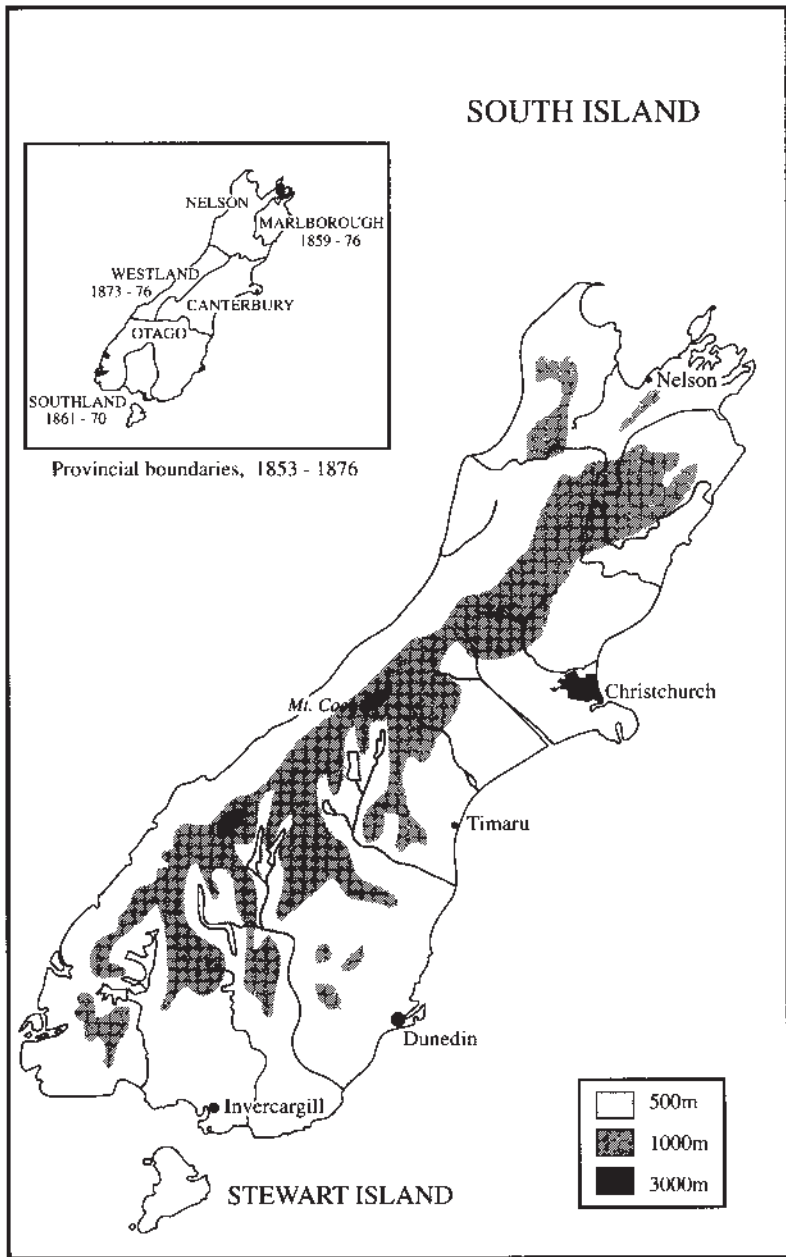
FPP	First-Past-the-Post (majoritarian) electoral system
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GRI	Guaranteed Retirement Income (a form of retirement pension funded through taxation)
GST	Goods and Services Tax (a value-added indirect tax levied on all goods and services)
HART	Halt All Racist Tours (a pressure group)
HMS	His (or Her) Majesty's Ship
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LMS	London Missionary Society
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional electoral system
MP	Member of Parliament
MV	Motor Vessel
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PACDAC	Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control
PAYE	Pay-As-You-Earn system of collecting direct taxation
PBEC	Pacific Basin Economic Council
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise (commercial activity owned by the government)
SPARTECA	South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement
SPEC	South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation
SS	Steam Ship
TEAL	Tasman Empire Airways Limited (now Air New Zealand)
TLA	Territorial Local Authority
TRIM	Tax Reduction Integrity Movement
TUC	Trade Union Congress
TUF	Trade Union Federation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
USS	United States Ship
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union



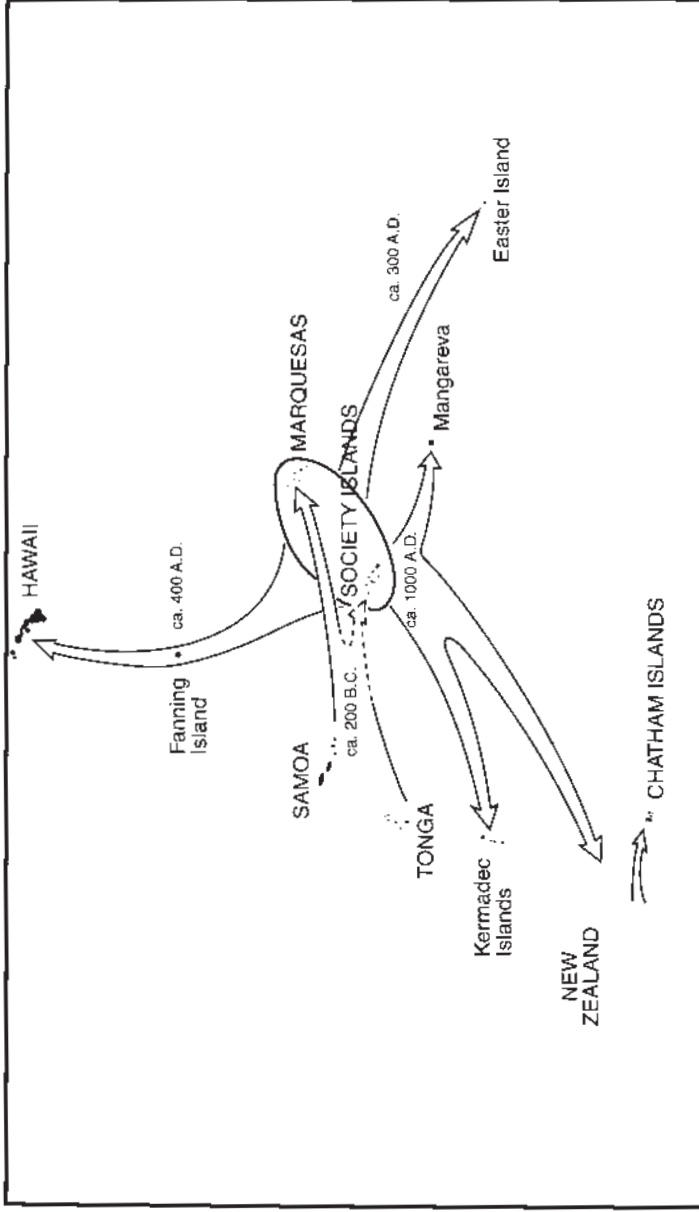
*New Zealand in the Southwest Pacific*



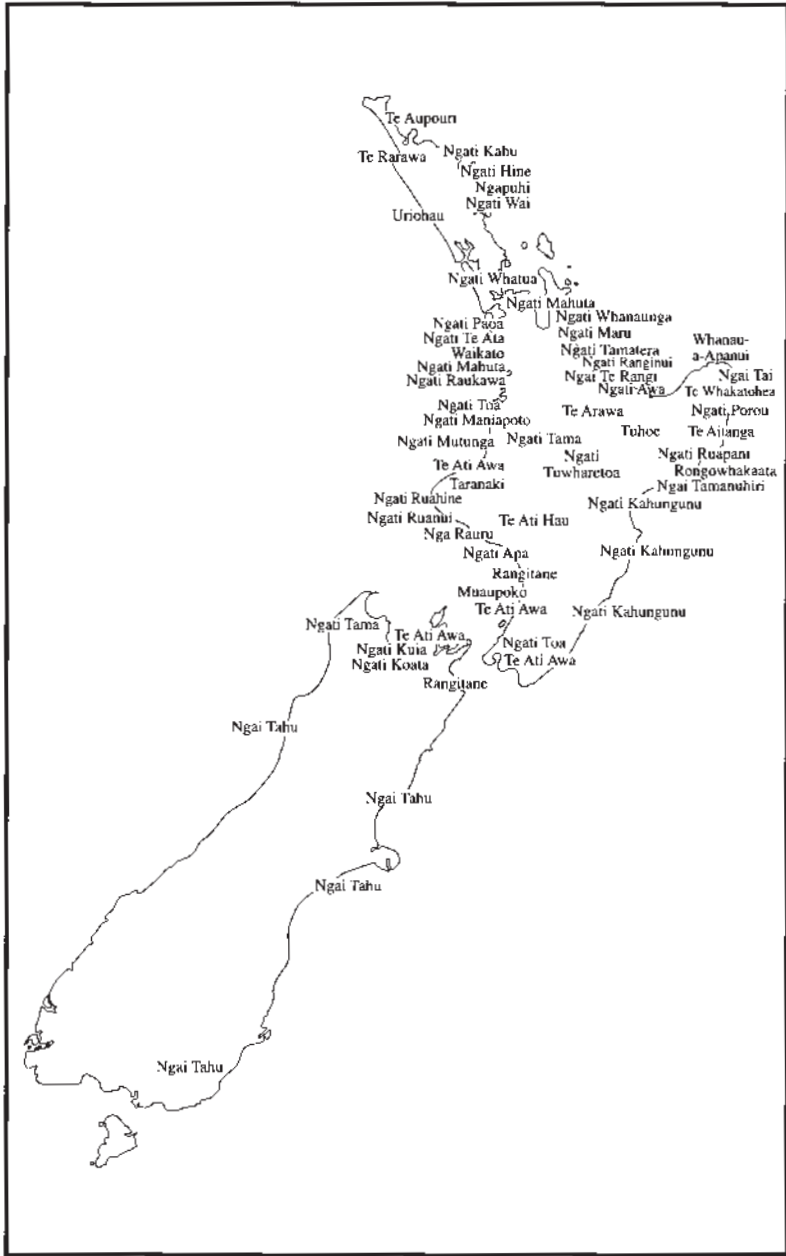
*North Island: Physical Features and Main Cities*



*South Island: Physical Features and Main Cities*



Polynesian Dispersal Patterns as Indicated by Current Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence. Reproduced by permission from Douglas G. Sutton (ed.), *The Origins of the First New Zealanders*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994.



*Principal Localities of Maori Iwi*

## Chronology

**c.200 AD** Taupo eruption (approximately 150 times larger than Mount St. Helens eruption, 1980, and approximately 8.5 times larger than Krakatoa eruption, 1883). Lake Taupo forms in crater of volcano.

**c.1100–1400** First settlers begin arriving from central-eastern Polynesia.

**c.1350** Eruption of Rangitoto Island.

**c.1550** Giant moa probably extinct.

**1642** Abel Janszoon Tasman sights west coast of New Zealand's South Island.

**c.1750** Eruption of Mt. Taranaki (Egmont).

**1769–1770** Captain James Cook circumnavigates New Zealand and charts coast. Jean François Marie de Surville passes within 50 kilometers (30 miles) of Cook's fleet off North Cape.

**1772** Marc Joseph Marion du Fresne killed by Maori in Bay of Islands.

**1773–1774** Cook uses Queen Charlotte Sound as base during exploration of Southern Pacific Ocean.

**1777** Cook visits Queen Charlotte Sound en route to the northern Pacific Ocean to seek northwest passage.

**1792** First sealing base established at Dusky Sound. Sealing was a major economic activity around South Island's southern coast until c.1810.

**c.1800–c.1840** British, French, and American whalers establish shore, bay, and deep-sea whaling bases around New Zealand coast. Whaling was a major economic activity during this period.

**1809** Crew of *Boyd* massacred by Maori in Whangaroa harbor.

**1814 December 25:** First Christian religious service conducted at Bay of Islands by Reverend Samuel Marsden of Church Missionary Society (Anglican).

**c.1820–c.1835** Civil wars, waged to exact *utu*, fought between Maori tribes result in disorganization of traditional tribal structures and confusion of land titles.

**1820s–1830s** Development of European settlement, principally around the Bay of Islands. Development of extensive trade in kauri spars and *phormium tenax* (New Zealand flax) with Sydney, New South Wales.

**1822** Wesleyan (Methodist) mission established by London Missionary Society.

**1827** French explorer Dumont d'Urville explores north and east coasts of North and South Islands.

**1829** Edward Gibbon Wakefield writes *A Letter from Sydney* in which he sets out a theory of systematic colonization.

**1830 October–November:** Captain Stewart aids and abets Maori chieftain Te Rauparaha in massacre at Takapuneke Pa (Akaroa harbor) in return for a shipload of New Zealand flax. British authorities powerless to enforce British law authorizing trials of British subjects involved in criminal activities in foreign countries.

**1831–1832** Massacres of Ngai Tahu iwi at Takahanga Pa (Kaikoura), Kaiapohia Pa (Kaiapoi), and Onawe Pa (Akaroa) by Ngati Toa iwi led by Te Rauparaha.

**1833** James Busby appointed British resident in New Zealand.

**1835** Ngati Mutunga (Taranaki) tribe invades Chatham Islands and lays claim to islands by right of conquest. **October:** Busby persuades 35 Maori chiefs to sign a Declaration of Independence stating that they were the heads of a sovereign state known as the “United Tribes of New Zealand.”

**1837 May:** New Zealand Association (later Company) formed to promote planned colonization of New Zealand using Wakefield's principles. Increasing lawlessness in northern New Zealand prompts British



government to send HMS *Rattlesnake* captained by William Hobson to show the British flag.

**1838** James Reddy Clendon appointed United States Consul in New Zealand. Roman Catholic mission established by French Bishop Jean Baptiste François Pompallier.

**1839** New Zealand Company dispatches *Tory* from England. Colonel William Wakefield instructed to purchase as much land as possible before expected British annexation.

**1840** **January:** First shipload of New Zealand Company immigrants arrives at Port Nicholson (Wellington) to establish first “Wakefield” colony. **February:** Treaty of Waitangi signed between Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson representing the British Crown and approximately 50 Maori chiefs. **May:** British sovereignty proclaimed over whole country. Wanganui settlement (offshoot of Wellington) established. **August:** French Nanto-Bordelaise Company establishes settlement in Akaroa harbor. **November:** New Zealand proclaimed a separate Crown Colony by British Parliament.

**1841** Capital shifted from Russell (Bay of Islands) to Auckland. **March:** “Wakefield” settlement established at New Plymouth.

**1842** **February:** “Wakefield” settlement established at Nelson.

**1843** **May:** Captain Robert FitzRoy appointed governor. **June:** Wairau affray. Maori led by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata kill 22 Europeans, including Captain Arthur Wakefield and H. A. Thompson (Nelson magistrate), at Tuamarina near Blenheim.

**1844–1845** Hone Heke protests British rule by repeatedly chopping down the flagpole at Kororareka, Bay of Islands.

**1845** **June:** George Grey appointed governor. **November:** Grey arrives in New Zealand.

**1846** **August:** Constitution establishing representative government passed by British Parliament. **December:** Royal Charter proclaims establishment of two provinces, New Ulster (North Island) and New Munster (South Island), and General Assembly.

**1847** **May:** Grey suspends 1846 Constitution before it takes effect.

**1848 March:** Otago (“Wakefield”) settlement established at Dunedin in association with the Free Church of Scotland.

**1850 December:** Canterbury (“Wakefield”) Church of England settlement established at Christchurch.

**1851** Christs College established in Christchurch.

**1852 June:** New Zealand Constitution Act passed by British Parliament. Grants representative government to colony.

**1853 March:** Grey issues Land Proclamation reducing price of rural land to five shillings an acre. Rapid expansion of landholdings follows. Six provinces established. **July–October:** Elections held for Provincial Councils and General Assembly. **December:** Grey’s first governorship ends.

**1854 May:** First meeting of General Assembly held in Auckland. James Edward FitzGerald first “leader” of the House of Representatives. Te Aute Maori Boys’ College established at Pukehou by Samuel Williams, son of early Wesleyan missionaries Henry and Marianne Williams.

**1855** Severe earthquake rocks Wellington and environs. Wiremu Tamihana begins promoting idea that Maori should have king of their own; marks beginnings of *kotahitanga* (unity) movement. **September:** Colonel Thomas Gore Browne arrives in New Zealand to take up governorship. **October–December:** House of Representatives elections for second General Assembly held.

**1856** Depression in agricultural prices leads to increasing settler pressure to acquire pastoral land. Waikato chief Te Wherowhero emerges as candidate for leadership of (Maori) King Movement. **April:** Responsible government established. Henry Sewell first premier. Appointment of first ministry responsible to House of Representatives.

**1857 February:** Gold discovery at Collingwood (Nelson province) leads to minor rush.

**1858** Te Wherowhero elected as first Maori king. Chose Potatau I as titular name. Hawke’s Bay province established (separated from Wellington).

**1859** Governor Gore Browne accepts offer by Tiera to purchase the Waitara block (Taranaki) provided he could prove title. Tiera's offer opposed by Wiremu Kingi, principal chief of Waitara tribe. Marlborough province established (separated from Nelson).

**1860** Wool well established as New Zealand's staple export.

**1860–1861** First Taranaki land war.

**1861** Bank of New South Wales commences business in New Zealand. Bank of New Zealand founded. Southland province established (separated from Otago). **June:** Gabriel Read discovers payable gold at Waitehuna near Lawrence (Otago). New Zealand's first major gold rush follows, resulting in southward shift of country's economic center. **September:** George Grey commences second governorship. **November:** First daily newspaper (*Otago Daily Times*) founded in Dunedin by Julius Vogel.

**1862** First electric telegraph line established between Christchurch and Lyttelton.

**1863** **April:** Second Taranaki land war commences with Grey's re-occupation of Tataraimaka block. War quickly shifts to the Waikato in the Auckland province. **December:** First railway—Christchurch to Ferrymead—opened.

**1864** Land wars spread to Bay of Plenty. Maori, led by Rawiri Parihake, win substantial victory at Gate Pa (modern Tauranga). Confiscation of over three million acres of Maori land in Waikato, Taranaki, and Bay of Plenty; extended to East Coast (North Island) and elsewhere soon after. **April:** Beginnings of West Coast (South Island) gold rushes. Population flocks in from Otago gold fields, Canterbury, and Australia. **November:** Frederick Weld (premier) adopts "self-reliant" policy whereby New Zealand government would control Maori policy and meet full costs of future wars.

**1865** Colony's capital shifted from Auckland to Wellington. Colonial Laws Validity Act gives New Zealand Parliament control over internal affairs. Post Office Savings Bank established. Cook Strait submarine telegraph cable laid. Beginnings of worldwide depression (lasted until mid-1890s). **March:** Missionary Carl Völkner murdered by Hauhau warriors.

**1865–1866** Land wars spread to North Island’s East Coast in response to confiscations. Rise of Pai Marire (Hauhau) religion led by Te Ua Haumene. **March 1866:** Te Kooti (Poverty Bay chief) exiled to Chatham Islands, 800 kilometers (500 miles) east of New Zealand.

**1866** Oil discovered near New Plymouth, Taranaki.

**1867 August:** Gold discovered at Thames (Coromandel peninsula). **October:** Maori Representation Act establishes four Maori seats in the Parliament. Maori males granted universal suffrage.

**1868 January:** George Grey dismissed as governor. Retires to off-shore island (Kawau Island) off Northland peninsula. **July:** Te Kooti escapes from Chatham Islands and raids Poverty Bay settlements before withdrawing to Urewera mountains.

**1869** Government Life Insurance Office established. University of Otago (New Zealand’s first university) established at Dunedin. Southland province rejoins Otago province. Declining gold production and drop in returns from wool and wheat result in reduced standards of living. Secret Ballot Act passed. **June:** Beginnings of “Continuous Ministry,” an unstable alliance of cliques formed by large landowners.

**1870 June:** Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel proposes substantial foreign borrowing to fund program of public works and immigration.

**1871** First woolen mill established at Mosgiel near Dunedin. Railway construction commences under Vogel’s public works program. Otago Girls’ High School established at Dunedin. Women admitted to all fields of study offered by the University of Otago. **January–February:** First elections held under provisions of Secret Ballot Act. **August:** Ernest Rutherford, atomic physicist, born at Brightwater near Nelson.

**1872** *Pakeha*-Maori land wars finally end. Public Trust Office established. Beginnings of development of craft unions.

**1873** New Zealand Shipping Company founded. Employment of Females Act (first factory legislation). **April:** Vogel becomes premier.

**1874** Vogel’s assisted immigration policies result in an estimated 31,000 migrants arriving from Scandinavia, England, and Ireland as organized communities.

**1875** Paper mill established at Mataura in Southland. Union Steamship Company of New Zealand established. **July:** Vogel replaced as premier by Daniel Pollen.

**1876** Trans-Tasman telegraph cable connects New Zealand with Australia. **November:** Provinces abolished. Local government authorities created.

**1877** Education Act legislates for “free, secular and compulsory “ education for all children between the ages of 7 and 13. Mechanical reapers and binders encourage rapid expansion of agricultural farming (especially wheat) across Canterbury plains. Kate Edger, BA, the first woman to graduate from a New Zealand university. **October:** George Grey appointed premier. His Liberal ministry introduces a modest land tax.

**1878** Trade unions legalized. World agricultural depression takes hold, triggered by collapse of City of Glasgow Bank. Credit restrictions cause outflow of capital. Many bankruptcies occur during 1880s.

**1879** Universal adult male suffrage introduced. Christchurch-to-Invercargill railway line completed. Parliamentary term reduced from five to three years. **October:** Grey ministry defeated. Return of “Continuous Ministry” led by John Hall. Grey’s land tax repealed after pressure from landowners.

**1880** Lincoln Agricultural College opens.

**1880–1889** Growth of industrial unions. Trades and Labour Councils established in four main centers of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.

**1881** First freezing works opens at Burnside near Dunedin. First dairy factory established at Edendale in Southland. First effective regulation of liquor sales. Country quota introduced to reduce size of rural electorates. **November:** Te Whiti arrested at Parihaka following nonviolent resistance to expansion of European settlement. **December:** Single-member electorates introduced throughout New Zealand.

**1882 February:** First shipment of frozen meat leaves Port Chalmers for Great Britain.

**1883** Peak year of wheat “bonanza”; thereafter rapidly declining soil fertility sees production fall away. Beginnings of mechanization of dairy industry with the introduction of the centrifugal separator.

**1884** First overseas tour by New Zealand rugby football team (to Australia). Married Women's Property Act passed—married women acquire right to own property.

**1885** Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) founded. Strong advocate of women's suffrage. Trades and Labour Congress denounces "sweated labor" and calls for stricter enforcement of 1873 factory legislation.

**1886** Emigration (mainly to Australia) exceeds immigration. Over next six years over 125,000 emigrate. New Zealand Alliance for the abolition of liquor traffic founded. Probation service established (second country in the world to do so). **June:** Mount Tarawera eruption destroys Pink and White Terraces.

**1887** First national park (Tongariro) created following gift from Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku, a Ngati Tuwharetoa leader. **June:** Representation Commission established to draw boundaries of European electoral districts. Ninety-five electorates (91 European and 4 Maori) established.

**1888** **October:** Reverend Rutherford Waddell preaches on "The Sins of Cheapness" in Dunedin—a vigorous attack on appalling labor conditions in the clothing industry.

**1889** Royal Commission established to investigate sweated industries, reports to government in 1890. Plural voting abolished for national elections. Henceforth, principle of "one person, one vote" prevails.

**1890** Wool still New Zealand's single most important export. Returns four times as great as meat and dairy products combined. Introduction of Babcock butterfat test paves way for scientific improvement in quality of dairy herds. Number of MPs reduced to 74 (70 European and 4 Maori). Multimember electorates reestablished in the four main population centers. **August–November:** Bitter maritime strike involving seamen and watersiders defeated because endemic unemployment makes acquisition of labor easy. **December:** "Continuous Ministry" defeated in elections. John Ballance forms Liberal government with support of six Independent Labour MPs. Beginnings of party government in New Zealand.

**1891** First of 14 factory acts passed during decade. Graduated land and income tax imposed. Women's franchise petition containing more than 10,000 signatures presented to Parliament. Female Suffrage Bill defeated in Legislative Council. Life appointments to Legislative Council replaced by seven-year terms.

**1892** Lord Glasgow (governor) accepts instruction from Colonial Office that he must accept the advice of his responsible ministers. Second women's franchise petition, with over 20,000 signatures, presented to Parliament. Government departments of Agriculture and Labour established.

**1893** Alcoholic Liquors Sales Control Act provides that electoral districts will also serve as liquor-licensing districts for purposes of the triennial licensing polls. **April:** Ballance dies. **May:** Richard John Seddon becomes premier. Third women's franchise petition with more than 30,000 signatures presented to Parliament. **September:** Female Franchise Act passed. Women vote for first time in 1893 election. **November:** James Carroll, elected to represent the European electorate of Waiapu, the first person of Maori descent to represent a European electorate. He had previously represented the Eastern Maori electorate between 1887 and 1893. Elizabeth Yates elected mayor of Onehunga Borough, the first woman in the British Empire to hold such a position.

**1894** Advances to Settlers Act passed. Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act passed. Arbitration Court established. Shop and Shop Assistants Act provides for a maximum 52-hour working week for women and all persons under 18 years of age. Department of Industries and Commerce established. **September:** Government rescues Bank of New Zealand from bankruptcy by enacting legislation to provide state guarantee for new share issue.

**1895** Beginnings of upturn in pastoral economy marks end of long depression. Rising prosperity over next two decades. **November:** Government approves Bank of New Zealand's purchase of Colonial Bank, which was on the verge of collapse.

**1896** Population of North Island exceeds that of South Island for first time since 1850s. National Council of Women founded. **March:** Brunner Mine disaster—65 killed.

**1897** Formation of Te Aute College Students Association.

**1898** First overseas tour by New Zealand cricket team (to Australia).  
**November:** Old Age Pensions Act passed.

**1899** New Zealand sends contingent to Boer War. Farmers' Union formed with object of influencing MPs to support measures promoting welfare of farmers.

**1900** Public Health Act passed. Department of Health established. Dr. Maui Pomare appointed Maori health officer. Maori Councils Act passed. Councils empowered to enforce hygiene standards among Maori. Number of MPs increased to 80 (76 European and 4 Maori) effective from the 1902 general election.

**1901** Nurses Registration Act passed. Minister of health empowered to provide medical inspection for schoolchildren. Forty-eight-hour work-week for factories enacted. State Coal Mines Act passed—government becomes involved in business of coal mining. Socialist Party formed. Cook Islands and Niue annexed.

**1903** Secondary Schools Act requires secondary schools to provide free places for a proportion of their pupils (marks the beginning of free secondary education). State Fire Insurance Act. State Fire Insurance Office established

**1904** Political Reform League formed under leadership of William Ferguson Massey. Independent Political Labour League formed.

**1905** Workers' Dwelling Act passed—the state is authorized to build houses for renting to low-paid workers. **December:** Abolition of multi-member electorates in four main centers. Absentee voting rights available to all electors (previously applied only to seamen).

**1906** Advances to Workers Act authorizes government to loan money to workers to enable them to build own homes. Beginnings of opposition to Arbitration Court. **June:** Death of Seddon. Joseph Ward becomes prime minister.

**1907** Plunket system for health care for women and children established. Lease-in-perpetuity system abolished. Richard Pearse patents aileron invention. **September:** New Zealand becomes a dominion.

**1908** New Zealand's population passes one million. Education Act provides for establishment of separate technical schools. Miners' Federation formed by Runanga miners following successful Blackball



(West Coast, South Island) strike. (Name changed to New Zealand Federation of Labour—the “Red Feds”—in 1909.) Ernest Rutherford awarded Nobel Prize for chemistry. **November:** Main trunk railway line between Wellington and Auckland completed. Second ballot electoral system introduced.

**1909** Political Reform League changes name to Reform Party. Young Maori Party formed.

**1910** Trades and Labour Conference forms New Zealand Labour Party (name changed to United Labour Party, 1912). National Provident Fund establishes a government-guaranteed contributory superannuation scheme. Anthony F. Wilding wins first of four successive Wimbledon lawn tennis singles titles.

**1911** Number of people living in urban areas exceeds number living in rural areas for first time. Widows’ Pensions Act passed. Wireless telegraph introduced. **December:** Reform Party wins 36 parliamentary seats to Liberals’ 32 with 8 seats won by Labour or Independent Liberal candidates. Liberals cling to power. First national poll on prohibition of liquor—prohibition supported by 55 percent of electorate.

**1912** Royal Commission on Public Service. **February:** Ward government clings to power on casting vote of Speaker. **March:** Liberal government reconstructed under Thomas MacKenzie. **July:** Government defeated on no-confidence motion. Liberal government resigns. Replaced by Reform government with Massey as prime minister. **November:** Waihi miners’ strike broken by police and nonunion workers. One striker, George Frederick Evans, killed during violent conflict.

**1913** Second Ballot Act repealed. **July:** Unity Congress. United Federation of Labour formed to provide concerted trade union activity. Social Democratic Party formed to promote political action. **October–December:** Maritime strike. Police recruit special constables (“Massey’s Cossacks”) to break strike. Government calls in army and navy personnel to help break strike.

**1914** Legislative Council Amendment Act provides for upper house to be elected using the single transferable vote electoral system (never brought into operation). **August:** New Zealand invades Western Samoa. German administration replaced by military control.

**1914–1918** World War I. New Zealand troops committed in Europe. Of approximately 100,000 troops, an estimated 17,000 were killed and approximately 41,000 wounded—a 58 percent casualty rate. “Com-mandeer system” gives primary producers a guaranteed market and higher income.

**1915 April:** New Zealand and Australian soldiers land on Gallipoli Peninsula. **August:** National Coalition government formed from Re-form and Liberal MPs to govern for duration of war.

**1916 July:** Social Democratic Party, remnants of United Labour Party, and Labour Representation Committees unite to form New Zealand Labour Party.

**1917** Six o’clock closing of licensed premises introduced following petition containing approximately 100,000 signatures sponsored by WCTU and New Zealand Alliance. Hubert Thomas (Tim) Armstrong, Peter Fraser, and Patrick Charles (Paddy) Webb oppose conscription and are imprisoned for sedition. Webb’s refusal to accept conscription results in him forfeiting his parliamentary seat and losing civil rights for 10 years.

**1918** Establishment of electricity distribution boards. First dried milk manufactured for export. Liquor prohibition petition containing 242,001 signatures presented to Parliament. **October–December:** In-fluenza epidemic kills an estimated 6,700. Maori death rate 4.5 times higher than European death rate.

**1919** Women eligible to be elected to Parliament. End of “Comman-deer system”. Prohibition option carried by voters living in New Zealand at time of referendum but result overturned when votes of over-seas servicemen are included.

**1919–1924** Land prices spiral as returning servicemen seek to estab-lish themselves on the land. Booms in housing, public works, and hy-droelectric power development lead to rising inflation and economic uncertainty. Beginnings of formation of Country Party.

**1920** League of Nations grants New Zealand mandate over Western Samoa. Public Health Act strengthens powers of Department of Health. Wool still New Zealand’s single most important export but refrigerated ex-ports (dairy and meat) now earn nearly twice as much per annum as wool.

**1921** School Dental Nursing Service established. Sharp fall in prices for wool, meat, and dairy products. Economic recession. Public service and Arbitration Court award wages cut. First motor vehicle assembly plant established in Wellington.

**1922** Meat Export Control Act establishes Meat Board. Main Highways Act establishes framework for a national road system.

**1923** Dairy Produce Export Control Act passed. Dairy Board established. **July:** Ross Dependency (Antarctica) proclaimed. **August:** Otira tunnel (8.5 km long) through Southern Alps completed.

**1924** Compulsory registration introduced for all electors except Maori.

**1925** New Zealand assumes responsibility for administration of Tokelau Islands from Britain. **May:** Death of Massey; succeeded by Joseph Gordon Coates. **November:** Coates' Child Welfare Act establishes children's court system. First electric range manufactured in Dunedin. Coates leads Reform Party to its most comprehensive electoral victory. Labour, with 12 seats, becomes the "official" opposition. Country Party contests election without success.

**1926** Women eligible for appointment as justices of the peace. Family Allowances Act passed. Department of Scientific and Industrial Research established.

**1927** Beginning of marked growth in unemployment arising from economic instability. Government-assisted immigration programs ended. Growth in charitable aid and soup kitchens. Labour Party removes land nationalization objective from its constitution. Consolidated Electoral Act provides for special (postal) voting.

**1928** E. J. (Ted) Morgan wins New Zealand's first-ever gold medal at an Olympic Games (welterweight boxing). **November:** United Party wins greatest number of seats; forms minority government with Labour Party support. Reform becomes the official opposition party. Country Party's first electoral success in Bay of Islands electorate.

**1929** Beginnings of Great Depression. First health stamp, a postage stamp carrying a surcharge devoted to improving children's health, issued. **June:** Murchison earthquake kills 17.

**1929–1933** New Zealand economy hard hit by massive slump in prices received for primary products.

**1930** Substantial rise in unemployment—over 11,000 registered but many thousands more not registered. Unemployment tax introduced to pay for unemployment relief. Beginnings of commercial aviation. **May:** Ward resigns as prime minister, succeeded by George William Forbes.

**1931** Statute of Westminster passed by British Parliament. Industrial Conciliation & Arbitration Act amended to permit general reduction in award rates of pay. Decline in birth and marriage rates evident. **February:** Napier earthquake destroys much of Napier and Hastings cities—255 die. **September:** Coalition government formed by United and Reform parties, wins election held in December.

**1932** Severe economic retrenchment. Public servants' wages reduced; widows, blind, and war pensions cut. About 100,000 men unemployed. Relief camps for unemployed set up. Compulsory arbitration provisions repealed. Soup kitchens and charitable aid increasingly visible. **January–May:** Unemployed riot in Auckland, Wellington, and Dunedin. Government responds with Public Safety Conservation Act that vests it with arbitrary powers to deal with unrest and disaffection.

**1933 January:** William Downie Stewart resigns as minister of finance—replaced by Coates. Government institutes proactive monetary policy. New Zealand pound (£) devalued by 10 percent. Reserve Bank established with monopoly of note issue and credit control. Compulsory reduction of all interest rates. Mortgage relief granted to farmers. **September:** The first woman to be elected to Parliament, Mrs. Elizabeth Reid McCombs, wins seat formerly held by her late husband. **October:** Henry Edmund Holland, leader of Labour Party, dies; Michael Joseph Savage elected Labour Party leader.

**1934** Economy begins to show signs of improvement. Coalition government amends Electoral Act to extend parliamentary term to four years. First trans-Tasman airmail service.

**1935** First domestic refrigerator manufactured in Auckland. **November:** Labour Party wins 53 of the 80 seats in Parliament. Savage forms first Labour government. Christmas bonus (one week's pay) granted to all unemployed.

**1936** Reserve Bank brought under direct government control. Primary Products Marketing Act institutes guaranteed price for dairy products. Compulsory arbitration restored. Compulsory trade unionism instituted. All wage and salary cuts restored. Minimum pay rates set for agricultural workers. Normal working week reduced from 44 to 40 hours and 44 hours set as maximum for shops and offices. State Advances Corporation replaces Mortgage Corporation to provide cheap, long-term mortgage finance. Department of Housing Construction established to build houses for renting to people with low incomes. Political Disabilities Removal Act extends freedom of speech and full political rights to public servants. Regulations Act empowers governments to pass delegated legislation. Free education made available to all persons up to 19 years of age. More independent foreign policy including greater support for League of Nations as guarantor of collective security. Formation of National Party. Informal accord links Ratana movement with Labour Party.

**1937** Internal Marketing Department established—ensures guaranteed prices to producers of eggs, honey, apples, and pears. First state house occupied. Introduction of free milk in schools. State-owned commercial broadcasting service established. Federation of Labour replaces Trades Councils. Provisions of Secret Ballot Act extended to Maori.

**1938** Social Security Act enshrines “cradle to grave” philosophy. Import licensing introduced to conserve rapidly dwindling overseas funds. Country Library Service established. **October:** Labour wins election with 55.8 percent of votes cast. Country Party loses its two parliamentary seats.

**1939** Tasman Empire Airways Limited (TEAL, now Air New Zealand) established. **September:** New Zealand joins Britain in declaring war on Germany. Strike and Lockout Emergency Regulations forbid strikes and lockouts and empowers minister of labour to deregister trade unions. Price Stabilisation Tribunal established to supervise government’s wages and prices stabilization policy.

**1939–1945** World War II. New Zealand troops committed in Middle East, Europe, and Pacific theaters. Internal censorship imposed.

**1940** New Zealand centennial year, marked by publication of a series of government-funded Centennial Surveys. Universal superannuation

(payable from age 65) introduced to complement means-tested age benefit payable from age 60. Conscription introduced for both overseas service and for essential industries. Beginnings of full employment. **March:** John A. Lee expelled from Labour Party. Savage dies; succeeded as Labour Party leader and prime minister by Peter Fraser. **July:** Multiparty War Cabinet established—responsible for all decisions relating to war matters. **November:** Sidney George Holland replaces Adam Hamilton as National Party leader and leader of the opposition.

**1941** Death penalty for murder abolished (restored, 1950; abolished, 1961). General medical benefit introduced for all doctors' consultations. Election scheduled for this year postponed by interparty agreement. **December:** New Zealand declares war on Japan.

**1942** **March:** Government invokes Strike and Lockout Emergency Regulations to jail 213 striking freezing workers. **May:** Battle of the Coral Sea. **June–October:** Multiparty War Administration. **September:** Waikato coal miners' strike. Government takes over coal mines for duration of war.

**1943** **September:** Labour wins general election with reduced majority. Lee's Democratic Soldier Labour Party contests election without success (Lee loses own seat).

**1944** Canberra Agreement signed between Australia and New Zealand. Annual Holidays Act specifies entitlement to two weeks' annual leave each year. Mandatory school-leaving age raised from 14 to 15. Comprehensive review of curriculum undertaken.

**1945** Farmers' Union and Sheep-owners' Federation join forces to form New Zealand Federated Farmers. New Zealand ratifies United Nations Charter as founder member. Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act passed. National Library Service established. South Island main trunk railway line (Christchurch to Picton section) completed. Nationalization of Bank of New Zealand. **August:** World War II ends. New Zealand troops share in occupation of Japan until 1948.

**1946** Country quota abolished; henceforth all votes to be of equal value. Family benefits paid without means test. **November:** Narrow Labour victory in election. Only two parties represented in Parliament.

**1947** New Zealand adopts Statute of Westminster. Also adopts General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Mabel Bowden Howard appointed to the Cabinet as first woman member (Health portfolio). Status of Western Samoa changed from mandate to trusteeship. Free dental treatment for children extended to age 16. **November:** Ballantyne and Company's department store catches fire in Christchurch, 41 lives lost.

**1948** New Zealand pound (£) revalued to parity with pound Sterling. Economic Stabilisation Act gives government greater control over economy. Auckland Carpenters' Union deregistered after refusal to hand a dispute over to Federation of Labour. Employers supervise formation of new union which is recognized by the government. Apple and Pear Marketing Board established. Liquor Licensing Control Commission established. Tokelau Islands included within New Zealand's territorial boundaries.

**1949** **March:** National referendums held on issues of extended liquor licensing hours and introduction of off-course betting at horse race meetings. **August:** National referendum on peacetime conscription. **November:** National government elected—Sidney George Holland, prime minister. First election to use Maori electoral rolls.

**1950** Stabilization policy modified (rationing ends; control over overseas funds and imports relaxed). Joint Family Homes Act passed. State houses sold to tenants. Trade Union Congress (TUC) formed in opposition to Federation of Labour. TUC seeks to bypass arbitration procedures for settling industrial disputes. Short strike at all ports over handling of lampblack. Legislative Council Abolition Act passed (effective 1 January 1951). **June:** Korean War begins—New Zealand participates as part of United Nations operation (troops withdrawn 1954). Boom in prices received for wool. **December:** Fraser dies. Walter Nash elected leader of Labour Party. British Empire Games held in Auckland.

**1951** Beginnings of accelerated movement from rural areas to cities by Maori population. **February–July:** Waterfront strike. Government invokes Public Safety Conservation Act and passes Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations. Strike lasts 151 days before workers accept defeat. **September:** "Snap" election sees National government returned with increased parliamentary majority. ANZUS Treaty signed. **December:** Police

Offences Act passed—Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations and Wartime Strike and Lockout Emergency Regulations made permanent parts of country's law.

**1952** New Zealand's population passes two million. Trade Union Congress dissolves itself.

**1953** Marketing Department abolished. Producer Boards to control sale of potatoes, eggs, honey, milk, and citrus fruits established. Wool Commission established to ensure orderly marketing of wool clip. Kinleith pulp and paper plant commissioned to process mature *Pinus radiata* logs from the 124,000-hectare (306,000-acre) Kaingaroa Forest. **May:** Edmund Percival Hillary reaches summit of Mount Everest with Nepalese sherpa Tenzing Norgay. **December:** Tangiwai railway disaster—151 lives lost.

**1954** Reserve Bank eases controls on imports. Guaranteed British market for primary products ends. New Zealand joins South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). New Zealand elected to nonpermanent seat on United Nations Security Council (1954–1955). **November:** National wins election. Social Credit wins 11.2 percent of the vote but no parliamentary seats.

**1955** Royal Commission on Monetary, Banking, and Credit Systems. High level of imports results in growing balance-of-payments deficit. Credit squeeze imposed. **September:** Protests and “sit-ins” by Nelson women fail to prevent dismantling of Nelson-to-Glenhope railway line.

**1956** New Zealand troops committed to guerrilla war in Malayan peninsula. **November:** Electoral Act consolidated; some provisions protected from amendment by a simple majority through process of entrenchment. New Zealand supports Britain's invasion of Egypt to control the Suez Canal.

**1957** Sudden fall in overseas exchange earnings depletes reserves. Scott Base (Antarctica) established. **September:** Holland retires as prime minister. Succeeded by Keith Jacka Holyoake. **November:** Labour narrowly wins election; Nash, prime minister.

**1958** **January:** Comprehensive import selection and exchange allocation reintroduced to conserve overseas reserves. Team led by Hillary completes first overland journey from Scott Base to South Pole. **April:**



Pay-As-You-Earn (PAYE) taxation system introduced. All taxpayers receive £100 rebate on terminal tax due after PAYE deductions commenced. **June:** Austerity (“Black”) budget presented by Arnold Henry Nordmeyer, minister of finance in Labour government. State Advances Corporation makes 3 percent first housing loans available.

**1959** Auckland harbor bridge opens. Kapuni onshore natural gas field discovered in Taranaki. Wairakei geothermal station commissioned (second in world). Antarctic Treaty signed.

**1960** Government-initiated Industrial Development Conference. Government Service Equal Pay Act passed (to be implemented in stages to 1963). Police Offences Act repealed. Public Safety Conservation Act amended to require Parliament to meet within 28 days of the act being invoked. New Zealand Broadcasting Service begins public television broadcasts. Construction of Picton-to-Nelson railway line commenced. Nelson cotton mill building commenced. (Both projects abandoned by National government after 1960 election.) **May–June:** Opposition to New Zealand (“All Blacks”) rugby team touring South Africa without Maori players. **November:** National Party wins election; Holyoake, prime minister.

**1961** Compulsory trade unionism modified. Hunn Report on Department of Maori Affairs published. Maori Education Foundation established. Tasman Empire Airways Limited (TEAL) fully owned by New Zealand government. Monetary and Economic Council established. New Zealand joins World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). First British attempt to join European Economic Community (EEC) fails but attempt signals need for New Zealand to expand trading base.

**1962** New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation established with own board. New Zealand Maori Council established. Cook Strait road-rail ferry service commences. **January:** Western Samoa becomes an independent state.

**1963** Government-organized Export Development Conference. Nash replaced by Arnold Henry Nordmeyer as leader of Labour Party.

**1964** Government-sponsored Agricultural Development Conference. Oil refinery opened at Marsden Point near Whangarei. Submerged

hydroelectric power cables laid across Cook Strait to establish national electricity grid.

**1965** New Zealand–Australia Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed. Legislation passed to fix the number of South Island parliamentary seats at 25, effective from the 1969 general election. Cook Islands becomes self-governing state. New Zealand commits troops to Vietnam conflict. Beginnings of anti-Vietnam War demonstrations. Labour Party replaces Nordmeyer as leader with Norman Eric Kirk.

**1966** Wool prices slump. Beginnings of long period of economic instability. National Library of New Zealand established. **November:** National wins election. Social Credit wins first parliamentary seat.

**1967** Robert David Muldoon appointed minister of finance and presents first of many mini-budgets. Subsidies reduced or removed on some basic food items. End of free-milk-in-schools scheme. New Zealand currency devalued. Government agrees to purchase Boeing 737 jet aircraft for use on internal passenger routes. Second British attempt to join EEC fails. **May:** All Black rugby tour of South Africa postponed at government request because Maori unable to be included in team. **July:** Decimal currency introduced. **September:** National referendums on extension of licensing hours and term of Parliament—extension of licensing hours approved but extension of parliamentary term to four years rejected by voters. **December:** First New Zealand–born governor-general (Arthur Porritt) takes office.

**1968** Growing industrial unrest. Increasing opposition to New Zealand’s involvement in Vietnam War. Public opposition to United States’ proposed Omega satellite navigation station site in South Island high country. **April:** Interisland ferry, SS *Wahine*, founders at entrance to Wellington harbor during fierce storm—51 lives lost.

**1969** Glenbrook steel mill south of Auckland opens using local iron-sands (a sand rich in particles of iron ore and found on many of New Zealand’s west coast beaches). Maui offshore gas and condensate field discovered. Arbitration Court’s “nil” wage order leads to increased industrial tension; this is alleviated only after an “unholy alliance” of employers and trade unions outvotes judge at rehearing. Government-sponsored National Development Conference. Voting age lowered to 20. Number of MPs increased to 84 but number of Maori seats remains

at 4. Any qualified person, Maori or non-Maori, permitted to stand for election in any electorate. **November:** Industrial conflict, involving coastal trader *Wainui*, flares two weeks before election. Support for Labour Party ebbs and National narrowly retains office. Social Credit loses sole parliamentary seat. Recently formed Country Party has no impact.

**1970** New Zealand politicians and diplomats negotiate for access to British market once Britain enters EEC. **February:** National government loses safe seat in by-election. **June–August:** All Black rugby football team tours South Africa. Maori and Pacific Islands players included in team.

**1971** South Pacific Forum established. Britain successfully negotiates with EEC members to secure New Zealand access to Britain for butter and cheese. Aluminum smelter opens at Tiwai Point near Invercargill. Conversion to metric weights and measures commences.

**1972** Economic improvement evident—overseas reserves exceed \$1 billion. Inflation at approximately 5 percent per annum. **February:** Holyoake retires as prime minister; succeeded by John Ross Marshall with Muldoon as deputy. **April:** Universal no-fault accident compensation scheme commences. **May:** Ideological split in Social Credit. New Democrat Party formed by Douglas Credit monetarists. **July:** Values Party formed. **November:** Labour Party wins election with 23-seat majority. Values Party wins 2 percent of vote in the election but no parliamentary seats. **December:** Prime Minister Norman Eric Kirk announces Christmas bonus for all beneficiaries.

**1973** Economic recovery becomes boom. Rising prices for raw materials result in rising wages and inflation. Postal, electricity, and rail charges frozen for three years in line with preelection promise. Equal Pay Act begins to take effect. First world oil shock—weekend petrol (gasoline) sales banned to conserve fuel. Color television introduced. **April:** Government instructs New Zealand Rugby Football Union to cancel South African (Springbok) tour of New Zealand. **July:** New Zealand opposes French nuclear testing in Pacific Ocean. New Zealand frigate sent into test area in protest.

**1974** Economic downturn. Government interprets it as temporary setback and borrows overseas in attempt to cushion balance-of-payments

deficit. New Zealand Superannuation Act establishes contributory superannuation scheme for all workers. New Zealand challenges legality of French nuclear testing in International Court of Justice. William Ball Sutch, former head of Department of Industries and Commerce, arrested on suspicion of passing secrets to the Soviet Union. Definition of “Maori” broadened to include all persons of Maori descent who wish to be identified as Maori. **July:** Muldoon replaces Marshall as National Party leader; begins barnstorming “meet the people” tours of New Zealand. **August:** Labour leader, Norman Kirk, dies. **September:** Wallace Edward Rowling elected as Labour Party leader and becomes prime minister. Economic restraints imposed soon after. **November:** Sydenham by-election—the first election with the voting age reduced to 18 years.

**1975** Economic recession deepens with inflation rising above 15 percent per annum. Unemployment exceeds 5,000 (with over 4,000 others on government-sponsored relief work). New Zealand dollar devalued by 15 percent. Treaty of Waitangi Act passed—establishes Waitangi Tribunal. Sutch acquitted of spying charge but dies shortly thereafter. **August:** Electoral Act amended to exclude British nationality as qualification for registration. Maori permitted to register on either Maori or general (formerly European) roll. Maori seats to be determined in future on population basis. **November:** National Party’s 23-seat majority reverses 1972 election result. **December:** Muldoon announces abandonment of contributory New Zealand Superannuation scheme.

**1976** Commission for the Future established. **June:** Supreme Court rules that Muldoon’s action in unilaterally setting aside a parliamentary statute (the New Zealand Superannuation Act) was illegal. **June–September:** All Black rugby team tours South Africa, leading to walkout by an estimated 30 African nations at Montreal Olympic Games. **July:** Mini-budget abolishes remaining subsidies on basic commodities and imposes substantial increase in electricity, rail, and postal charges. **November:** In Parliament, Muldoon alleges that Labour MP Colin James Moyle had been involved in homosexual activities. Moyle denies allegation. Muldoon quotes from police file that suggests that Moyle was being untruthful.

**1977** Growing public opposition to presence of nuclear-propelled (and possibly nuclear-armed) foreign warships in New Zealand ports.

Waitangi Tribunal commences activities. Universal noncontributory National Superannuation scheme commences. Two-hundred-mile exclusive economic zone established. **January:** Maori land protesters occupy Bastion Point, Auckland. Moyle resigns from Parliament following “Moyle Affair.” David Russell Lange elected to vacant seat. **June:** Gleneagles Agreement signed.

**1978** Economic restraints reduce inflation to approximately 10 percent. National Airways Corporation merged with Air New Zealand. **February:** National government loses by-election in safe seat to Social Credit leader Bruce Craig Beetham. Upsurge of support for Social Credit follows. **May:** Maori occupation of Bastion Point ends after 506 days. **November:** National wins election but parliamentary majority halved. Social Credit wins 16.1 percent of vote and one seat.

**1979** Second world oil shock. Carless days introduced to conserve petrol (gasoline). **November:** Air New Zealand DC-10 crashes into Mount Erebus (Antarctica)—256 lives lost.

**1980** “Think Big” projects—expansion of oil refinery and steel mill, construction of methanol plant—approved by National government. Marginal Lands Board Loans Affair. Saturday retail trading legalized. **September:** National government loses by-election in safe seat after Muldoon decides to appoint one of his Cabinet ministers as New Zealand’s ambassador to the United States. (Social Credit wins second parliamentary seat.)

**1981** Inflation rises to 15.7 percent. The number of unemployed and those on special work exceeds 70,000. **July–September:** Opposition to South African (Springbok) rugby tour of New Zealand pits New Zealander against New Zealander. **November:** National wins election with effective majority of one seat. Social Credit wins 20.7 percent of vote and two seats.

**1982** Inflation peaks at 17.6 percent per year. Twelve-month wage and price freeze imposed under authority of Economic Stabilisation Act. *Kohanga Reo* (language nests) established to encourage revival of Maori language. Ammonia-urea plant opens in Taranaki. **March:** New Zealand offers frigate to enable redeployment of British vessel to Falklands War theater. Britain accepts. **June:** Derek Frances Quigley, minister of works and development, publicly criticizes government policy.

Muldoon demands and gets Quigley's resignation. Government, with Social Credit support, passes legislation to override Planning Tribunal's refusal to grant water rights for Clyde hydroelectric power dam.

**1983** Wage and price freeze extended until March 1984. Economic control by regulation extended to interest rates, including mortgages. Transport and freezing industries delicensed. Voluntary membership of trade unions made law. Unemployment reaches approximately 130,000. **February:** David Russell Lange replaces Wallace Edward Rowling as leader of Labour Party. **March:** Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement signed with Australia. **August:** Robert Edward Jones spearheads formation of New Zealand Party. **December:** Government backbench MPs help defeat key government proposal to introduce youth rates of pay.

**1984** Inflation declines to 3.5 percent by March but rises to 4.7 percent in June quarter after wage and price freeze is lifted. Registered unemployment drops below 100,000. United Nations Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women ratified. **May–June:** Industrial strife at Marsden Point oil refinery expansion site. Police used to escort workers through picket lines. **June:** Labour opposition seeks to have New Zealand declared nuclear-free (defeated in House of Representatives). **July:** Labour wins power with 43.0 percent of the vote in early general election. New Zealand Party takes 12.3 percent of the vote but fails to win one seat. Lange appointed prime minister with Roger Owen Douglas as minister of finance. Run on currency causes New Zealand dollar to be devalued by 20 percent. Price freeze reimposed for three months. Most controls on interest rates removed. **September:** Government-sponsored Economic Summit and Maori Summit conferences. **November:** Labour budget removes or phases out incentive subsidies, introduces family care package and surcharge on National Superannuation, and raises cost of some government services to reflect true cost of supply. All controls on foreign exchange transactions lifted. Muldoon replaced as leader of National Party by James Kenneth McLay.

**1985** Adult Information Adoption Act passed. Compulsory trade unionism restored. Jurisdiction of Waitangi Tribunal extended to all claims since 1840. **January:** Government declines United States' request for port access for USS *Buchanan*. New Zealand effectively ex-

cluded from ANZUS partnership. **February:** New Zealand dollar floated. Import licensing and tariff protection phaseout begins. Royal Commission on Electoral System appointed. **July:** Greenpeace flagship, *Rainbow Warrior*, sunk in Auckland harbor; one person killed. Two French secret service agents, Alain Marfart and Dominique Prieur, convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. **October:** Author Keri Hulme wins Booker Prize for her novel *The Bone People*.

**1986** Commercial synthetic petrol (gasoline) plant opened in Taranaki using Maui gas as feedstock. Homosexual Law Reform Act passed (approximately 800,000 people sign petition opposing liberalization of homosexual laws). **March:** Russian-built and -crewed cruise ship *Mikhail Lermontov* sinks in Marlborough Sounds; one person drowned. James Brendan Bolger replaces McLay as National Party leader. **May:** Government announces that trading activities of some government departments will be corporatized. Government assumes direct responsibility for \$7.2 billion debts incurred by producer boards and major projects as part of deregulation process. **July:** French agents released into French custody to complete their sentences on Hao atoll. **November:** Ten percent goods and services tax (GST) introduced. **December:** Unentrenched Constitution Act passed (Constitution Act 1852, repealed). Royal Commission on Electoral Reform recommends adoption of mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral system.

**1987** Government floats 13 percent of Bank of New Zealand's capital. Reserve Bank Amendment Act provides for new banks to be registered. Minimum price controls in petrol (gasoline) abolished. State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) Act clears way for corporatization of commercial activities of a number of government departments. Public Safety Conservation Act repealed (replaced by International Terrorism [Emergency Powers] Act). Economic Stabilisation Act repealed. Maori formally recognized as an official language. Deregulation of financial markets and other of Labour's economic reforms result in price inflation rising to a peak of 15.7 percent for calendar year. **February:** Ansett Airlines commences flying New Zealand's domestic routes. **March:** United States ends special arrangement allowing New Zealand to purchase military equipment at wholesale prices. **June:** New Zealand Nuclear Free, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act passed. Judge Sylvia

Cartwright chairs Commission of Inquiry into cervical cancer research program at National Women's Hospital. Policy of selling state assets to private interests announced. **August:** Labour reelected with increased parliamentary majority. Last national liquor licensing referendum. **September:** Douglas proposes flat income tax in place of graduated income tax. **October:** World share market crash. New Zealand stock market declines by 59 percent over the next four months.

**1988 January:** Lange publicly opposes flat-tax concept. Beginnings of public disagreements between Lange and Douglas over policy. **February:** New Zealand Post (an SOE) announces closure of 432 post offices. Federation of Labour and Combined State Unions combine to form the Council of Trade Unions (CTU). **April:** State Sector Act restructures core Public Service. Report of task force on hospitals and related services presented to the government but rejected by minister of health. Electricorp pays the government \$6.3 billion and Telecom pays \$3.2 billion for assets previously owned by the state. Broadcasting deregulated. Royal Commission on Social Policy presents report. **May:** Reports of task forces on early childhood education, educational administration of schools, and postcompulsory education presented. **June:** Waitangi Tribunal reports on Muriwhenua Incorporation's Northland fisheries claim. **August:** New Zealand sends observer team to join UN peacekeeping force in Persian Gulf. Cartwright Report on cervical cancer research program presented. **October:** European Community announces 25 percent cut in New Zealand's sales of butter to Britain over four years. **November:** Richard William Prebble, minister for state-owned enterprises and a Douglas ally, dismissed by Lange. Fisheries quota package for Maori tribes announced. **December:** Douglas resigns from Cabinet; replaced as minister of finance by David Caygill.

**1989 March:** Defense review released. New Zealand agrees to purchase two ANZAC-class frigates being built in Australia with option to purchase two more. Sale of state-owned assets to private interests begins. Serious Fraud Office established. **April:** In speech delivered at Yale University, Lange suggests that New Zealand should withdraw from ANZUS Council. **May:** James Patrick Anderton resigns from Labour Party and forms NewLabour Party. Reserve Bank Act passed. **June:** Goods and services tax (GST) increased to 12.5 percent. Bank of New Zealand records corporate loss of \$634 million. **July:** Public Fi-



nance Act passed by Parliament. National Superannuation renamed Guaranteed Retirement Income (GRI) and restructured to shift the qualifying age from 60 to 65 over 20 years starting in 2006. **August:** Douglas reelected to Cabinet. Lange resigns and is replaced by Geoffrey Winston Russell Palmer. Helen Elizabeth Clark elected deputy leader and deputy prime minister. First balance-of-payments surplus for 17 years. **October:** Local government restructured. First local authority elections held within new territorial boundaries. Court of Appeal finds in favor of Tainui tribes—sale of Coalcorp assets disallowed without safeguards and compensation for Tainui tribes. **November:** Third television channel commences broadcasting.

**1990** Inflation drops to 6.1 percent. Reserve Bank inflation target set at 0–2 percent by December 1992. Unemployment rises to approximately 175,000. Unentrenched Bill of Rights Act passed. **October:** National Party wins landslide election. James Brendan Bolger, prime minister; Ruth Margaret Richardson appointed minister of finance. New government injects \$600 million capital into ailing Bank of New Zealand to stave off bankruptcy. Government announces substantial cuts in income support payments, abolition of family benefit, increased GRI surcharge and shortened phase-in period (10 years commencing in 1991) for new regime. National referendum rejects renewed proposal to extend parliamentary term to four years.

**1991** Major economic recession. Number of unemployed and on special work rises to an estimated 136,000 (10.1 percent of work force). Inflation dips sharply but home mortgage rates remain high. **January–March:** Small New Zealand contingent takes part in “Desert War” in Middle East. **February:** First of a series of public health system reforms introduced. **May:** Employment Contracts Act makes trade union membership voluntary; removes minimum wage for workers under 20. **October:** Government-imposed tertiary tuition fees replaced by fees set by individual institutions. Student loan scheme introduced.

**1992** Continuing economic recession brings inflation to 30-year low but unemployment continues to rise. **May:** Bastion Point (Auckland) formally returned to Ngati Whatua owners along with \$3 million land resettlement grant. **September:** Indicative national referendum on proposed changes to electoral system. Waitangi Tribunal recommends return of thousands of hectares of land in Northland, including private

land. Government and Maori reach agreement to settle “forever” all Maori fishing claims; government to grant Maori \$150 million to enable them to buy into Sealord fishing company. Ngai Tahu tribe’s right to exclusive fishing rights to waters around most of South Island’s South Island coastline recognized. **October:** New Zealand elected to nonpermanent seat on United Nations Security Council for two-year term.

**1993** **January:** Jobless numbers peak at approximately 280,000—a post–World War II record. Inflation remains well within 0–2 percent target. Home mortgage interest rates drop to 30-year low of 7.4 percent. **June:** Chief District Court Judge Sylvia Cartwright becomes first woman to be appointed to the High Court. **July:** Former National MP, Winston Peters launches New Zealand First Party (wins 8.2 percent of the total vote in the general election). **August:** Consolidated Electoral Act, incorporating the mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral system, is passed by Parliament. New act provides for variable number of Maori electorates. **November:** National wins narrowest of election victories. Four parties represented in Parliament. Opposition MP, Peter Tapsell, elected Speaker. Bolger reconstructs Cabinet—Richardson replaced as minister of finance by William Francis Birch. National referendum supports proposed change to an MMP electoral system.

**1994** Mortgage interest rates rise by an average of nearly 50 percent during course of year. **January:** Three pan-Maori organizations fail in attempt to have High Court overturn the 1994 Maori Electoral Option and order its rerun. Full Bench Court of Appeal subsequently upholds High Court’s judgment and the Privy Council (an English court which served as New Zealand’s final court of appeal until 2004) subsequently rejects leave to appeal to it. **March:** Government commits 250 soldiers to front-line duty in Bosnia. **June:** Fiscal Responsibility Act passed. Major political parties (Labour and National) begin to fragment in advance of the introduction of MMP. **July:** Richardson resigns parliamentary seat. **August:** National narrowly wins by-election. **October:** Australian government abrogates “open skies” agreement with New Zealand government in 1992; Air New Zealand thus not able to establish itself as a competitor on Australian domestic routes. **December:** National government proposes that outstanding Maori grievances be settled through mechanism of a “fiscal envelope.”

**1995 January:** Maori *hui* organized by paramount chief of Ngati-Tuwharetoa tribe, Hēpi Hoani Te Heuheu, twice rejects the government's "fiscal envelope" proposal. **May:** Tainui (Waikato) tribes reach agreement to settle past grievances. New Zealand crew in the yacht *Black Magic* wins the America's Cup off San Diego, USA—the country's fourth attempt at winning the "Auld Mug" since 1987. **June:** With the number of parties represented in Parliament increased to seven in preparation for the first MMP election, the National government led by Bolger loses its narrow parliamentary majority. New Zealand responds to the resumption of French nuclear testing at Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in the southwest Pacific Ocean with diplomatic protests and an attempt to reopen its 1974 case with the International Court of Justice. **September–October:** New Zealand sends naval vessel to stand off the Mururoa testing site.

**1996 September:** Air New Zealand purchases a half share of Ansett Australia. **October:** First MMP election. Six parties win parliamentary representation but no one party wins majority of seats; National the largest single party. **December:** After nine weeks of negotiations, a majority coalition government is formed between National and New Zealand First. Winston Peters appointed deputy prime minister.

**1997 April:** Alliance list MP Alamein Kopu leaves Alliance Party and sits as an independent. Later supports National-led government. **August:** Wine Box Inquiry finds that allegations of fraud could not be substantiated but recommends the adoption of tighter tax laws. Settlement of \$170 million signed between Crown and Ngai Tahu. **September:** Illegal importation and release of rabbit-killing Calicivirus forces government to legalize its use as a pest control. **October:** Labour's deputy leader, Michael Cullen, introduces a bill aimed at preventing MPs who resign from their party from remaining in Parliament. **December:** Bolger resigns as prime minister and leader of the National Party following caucus coup. Jennifer Mary Shipley sworn in as New Zealand's first woman prime minister. Taranaki farmers drive tractors to Parliament to protest the passage of the Maori Reserved Land Amendment Act. Minister of Justice Douglas Arthur Montrose Graham proposes abolishing New Zealanders' right to appeal to the Privy Council. Opposition from within National Party caucus results in proposal being dropped.

**1998 March:** Central Auckland business district hit by major power outage lasting for over one month. Hikoi of Hope commences march on Parliament calling for social and economic justice (ends October). **May:** Black Ferns (New Zealand women's rugby football team) win world championship. **September:** Coalition government disintegrates. National continues in office as a minority government.

**1999 March:** Sian Elias appointed New Zealand's first female chief justice. **September:** New Zealand sends peacekeeping troops to East Timor. New Zealand hosts biennial Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in Auckland. Former Labour prime minister Mike Moore takes up appointment as head of the World Trade Organization (WTO). **November:** Seven parties win parliamentary representation. Labour Party wins 49 parliamentary seats and is able to form a minority coalition government with the Alliance Party, which won 10 seats. Green Party represented in Parliament in own right for first time; gives general support to government. Labour leader Helen Clark the first female to be elected New Zealand prime minister. James Patrick Anderson, leader of the Alliance, appointed deputy prime minister. **December:** Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Bill introduced.

**2000 March:** Team New Zealand retains America's Cup by defeating Italian challenger *Prada*, 5–0. **April:** Ansett Australia becomes a wholly owned subsidiary of Air New Zealand. Coalition government announces abolition of knighthoods from future honors lists. **December:** Dr. Alan G. MacDiarmid awarded Nobel Prize for chemistry for role in discovery and development of conductive polymers.

**2001 March:** New Zealand-born actor Russell Crowe wins U.S. Academy Award for his role in the film *Gladiator*. Sylvia Cartwright sworn in as governor-general—the first time that the governor-general, prime minister, and chief justice are all women. **May:** Minister of Finance Michael Cullen confirms government's intention to set aside part of annual surpluses for investment in a long-term superannuation fund. **September:** Ansett Australia collapses, threatening Air New Zealand's commercial viability; New Zealand government injects \$550 million to keep Air New Zealand solvent. Formation of Fonterra Dairy Co-operative, New Zealand's largest company, through merger of New Zealand Dairy Group and Kiwi Dairy Company. Qantas New Zealand collapses after nine months. **December:** First part of *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, filmed and

produced in New Zealand. opens to worldwide acclaim. Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Act finally passed by Parliament.

**2002 March:** New Zealand joins with other countries in protesting the United States' decision to impose 30 percent tariffs on steel imports. **May:** James Patrick Anderton and three other MPs expelled from Alliance but do not resign from Parliament. New Alliance leader, Laila Harré, declines to invoke Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Act. Coalition government destabilized with disintegration of junior Alliance partner. New Zealand protests to United States government over President George W. Bush's approval of a 67 percent increase in U.S. farm subsidies. **June:** During election campaign, allegations are made of a government cover-up over the release of genetically modified maize (corn). **July:** Labour Party increases its parliamentary representation in general election. United Future Party (one of seven parties represented in new Parliament) wins 6.7 percent of party votes and eight seats. Minority coalition government formed between Labour and Jim Anderton's Progressive Coalition, with support from United Future Party. Alliance Party wins no seats. **August:** New Zealand First Party reignites campaign to restrict immigration. **September:** Mana Motuhake Party leaves Alliance. **October:** Democrat Party severs links with Anderton's Progressive Coalition. **November:** United Future Party wins Coalition government's acquiescence to establishment of a Families' Commission. ACT Party proposes that New Zealand should permit nuclear-powered warships into New Zealand's waters. **December:** Local Government Act passed with support of United Future Party.

**2003 January:** Trans Rail near bankruptcy; government looks to ways of assisting the company. **February:** ACT list MP Donna Awatere-Huata suspended from party caucus following allegations that she had misused public funds intended for a children's reading program. Team New Zealand loses America's Cup to Swiss yacht *Alinghi*, skippered by former Team New Zealand skipper Russell Coutts. **May:** National Party leader Bill English calls for abolition of separate Maori parliamentary seats. ACT leader Richard Prebble calls for a grand coalition of center-right parties. **June:** Government withdraws offer to purchase one-third of Trans Rail; instead it will buy back the rail tracks and invest \$200 million in upgrading. Court of Appeal rules that Maori *hapu* (Ti Tau Ihu) has right to take claims

for private title to the foreshore and seabed to the Maori Land Court, sparking political furor. **July:** Maori *hui* opposes government proposals for foreshore and seabed. **August:** Government announces plans to legislate to keep foreshore and seabed in the public domain. **September:** Moratorium of field trials involving genetically engineered crops lifted. Official unemployment level drops to 4.4 percent, the lowest figure since December 1987. **October:** Supreme Court Act establishes a New Zealand Supreme Court and abolishes appeals to Privy Council. First-term MP Donald Brash successfully challenges English for National Party leadership. **November:** First Supreme Court justices named. Fraud charges laid against Awatere-Huata. ACT Party expels her from its caucus and invokes Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Act. Maori Fisheries Bill to allocate fishing quota to Maori *iwi* finally introduced into Parliament after 11 years of wrangling amongst Maori.

**2004 January:** National Party leader Don Brash calls for an end to “special privileges for any race” and the Treaty “grievance industry,” and for welfare to be based on need, not ethnicity. **February:** National list MP Georgina Te Heuheu removed from her position as National’s Maori affairs spokesperson for declining to endorse Brash’s speech. Public opinion poll shows surge in support for National Party following Brash’s speech. Labour-led government moves swiftly to review government policies to ensure that they are not race-based. Donna Awatere-Huata declined permanent injunction to prevent ACT Party from notifying the Speaker of the House of Representatives that she is no longer a member of that party. Awatere-Huata appeals decision to Court of Appeal. **April:** Government introduces foreshore and seabed legislation in face of strong opposition from some Maori groups. **May:** Labour MP and junior minister Tariana Turia resigns from the Labour Party and from Parliament because of her opposition to the Foreshore and Seabed Bill; quickly moves to establish a Maori political party. Internal National Party report recommends that it repeal New Zealand’s ban on port visits by nuclear-powered warships while retaining the ban on nuclear weapons. **June:** Richard William Prebble replaced as leader of the ACT Party by Rodney Philip Hide. Government announces aquaculture policy that will give Maori 20 percent of marine farming resources. Brash announces that National will only amend antinuclear legislation if a referendum supports a change. **July:** Turia wins parliamentary by-election; Maori Party launched. Court of Appeal rules that Awatere-Huata is entitled to

remain in Parliament. **November:** In its first decision the newly established Supreme Court finds that Awatere-Huata's expulsion from the ACT Party had "disturbed the proportionality of Parliament" and therefore her parliamentary seat could be declared vacant. She is replaced in Parliament by Kenneth Wang, the next person on the ACT Party's list. **December:** Supreme Court rules that Ahmed Zaoui, who had arrived in New Zealand in December 2002 seeking refugee status, should be released on bail because he had been held in custody without charge since his arrival. The Civil Union Act, which creates a new legal category of relationship available to same-sex or opposite-sex couples, passed by Parliament.

## Introduction

To the first Polynesian discoverers, it was *Aotearoa*, the “long white cloud.” In the 17th century, the Dutch seafarer Abel Janszoon Tasman described the country he named Staten Landt as “a large land uplifted high.” One hundred and twenty-seven years later, the much more prosaic English explorer James Cook recorded that “[t]he land on the sea coast is high with steep cliffs; and back inland are very high mountains. The face of the country is of a hilly surface, and appears to be cloathed with wood and verdure.” Thus did New Zealand become known to the world.

Located in the middle latitudes of the southwest Pacific Ocean, New Zealand lies almost at the center of the world’s water hemisphere. It comprises two main islands—the North Island (115,777 square kilometers) and the South Island (151,215 square kilometers)—and a number of smaller islands or island groups of which Stewart Island (1,746 square kilometers) and the Chatham Islands (963 square kilometers), the latter located some 850 kilometers to the east of Christchurch, are the largest. Excluding the Chatham Islands, the country’s mainland area extends some 1,600 kilometers, generally along a northeast-southwest axis between 34°S and 47°S latitude while, at its widest point, it extends across 5½° of longitude (between 168°E to 174°E longitude). A number of smaller, mostly uninhabited, islands lie beyond these limits to both the north and south. New Zealand also exercises jurisdiction over the Tokelau Islands and the Ross Dependency in Antarctica. Its nearest neighbor, Australia, is 2,000 kilometers to the northwest. In 2003 the country’s population exceeded four million for the first time. Nearly 76 percent of its inhabitants reside in the North Island; nearly 86 percent are urban dwellers.

New Zealand, situated on the boundary between the Indo-Australian and Pacific tectonic plates, forms part of the “fiery rim” of the Pacific



Ocean. It is characterized by a number of active volcanoes and frequent, though, for the most part, shallow earthquakes (approximately 16,000 per annum, with an average of between 160 and 220 of Richter force 4 or greater). The forces generated by the collision of the two plates have ensured that most of the country is mountainous: more than three-quarters of the land area lies higher than 200 meters above sea level and the principal mountain chain, the Southern Alps which extends almost the entire length of the South Island, includes over 220 named peaks higher than 2,300 meters (7,500 feet) and 360 glaciers. The North Island is only slightly less rugged. New Zealand's coastline—one of the longest in the world for a country of its size—is deeply indented with many natural harbors. At 1.2 million square nautical miles, the country has one of the world's largest exclusive economic zones (EEZ), although about two-thirds is too deep for trawling or long-line fishing.

New Zealand is believed to be a fragment of ancient "Gondwana," a landmass that has been isolated for perhaps as long as 100 million years. The absence of predators has resulted in the survival of many ancient plants and animals. The giant kauri tree; flightless birds such as the moa (now extinct), kiwi, takahe, and kakapo; and the ancient nocturnal reptile tuatara (the only survivor of an otherwise extinct order of "beak-headed" reptiles) are examples of flora and fauna dating back to antiquity.

Human occupation of these islands is of recent origin. Maori legends tell of the discovery and settlement of New Zealand from a place they called "Hawai'iki," although recent research suggests that there may have been many Hawai'ikis. The first settlers almost certainly came from central-eastern Polynesia—a broad area—rather than from specific islands, possibly as recently as the 12th or 13th centuries AD. Early theories postulated one-way voyages to New Zealand but more recent research points to the probability of multidirectional voyages between New Zealand and Pacific homelands from multiple settlements scattered along many of the more favored coastal inlets.

The earliest settlers were hunters, fishers, and food gatherers, but with the demise of the giant moa (probably by the beginning of the 16th century) and the arrival of cultivars, such as taro and kumara, permanent settlements began to develop. By the time of Captain James Cook's arrival in 1769, a highly sophisticated and stratified neolithic society of perhaps as many as 200,000 people, centered on the permanent villages,

had evolved. Settlements were most numerous in the climatically more favorable parts of the North Island, but Maori were to be found also in the South Island, particularly along its eastern seaboard.

Some 850 kilometers to the east of the South Island lay the windswept Chatham Islands. They, too, were occupied by a people of Polynesian origin. Early ethnologists believed them to be of Melanesian stock and called them “Moriōri” to distinguish them from the mainland aborigines. More recent research points strongly to these islands having been settled from eastern Polynesia or the New Zealand mainland, with the different cultural characteristics the result of separation through time and distance.

The growing European presence after 1769 exerted a profound influence on pre-European Maori society. Between 1792 and 1840 sealers, whalers, missionaries, and traders all contributed to changing patterns of economic and social behavior. New means of warfare—with muskets supplementing and often replacing the hand weapons used in one-to-one combat—frequently resulted in substantial disruptions to tribal territories as the vanquished fled or were taken into slavery. The introduction of common European illnesses—influenza, whooping cough, dysentery, and perhaps diphtheria—along with venereal diseases, also contributed to the dramatic decline in the Maori population. By 1840 the number of Maori was estimated to be c.125,000—only about three-fifths that of 70 years earlier. Traditional Maori values—*mana* and *tapu*—were increasingly undermined by the activities of missionaries and others. Even Maori conversions to Christianity had a detrimental impact as slaves, freed by tribes converted to Christianity, drifted back to their ancestral lands just as the first organized wave of European settlers arrived to take up land in the new colony.

Increasing lawlessness in the predominantly British settlements, particularly in the Bay of Islands, and an inability to punish offenders, ultimately forced the British government to establish formal authority and sovereignty over the country. In February 1840 Governor William Hobson entered into a treaty arrangement with a number of northern North Island Maori chiefs by which the chiefs ceded sovereignty of their territory to the British Crown. In return, the Crown guaranteed Maori “full, exclusive and undisturbed possession” of all lands, forests, fisheries, and other properties for as long as they wished to retain them (where Maori wished to sell land, the Crown was to have exclusive right

of purchase) and extended to Maori its protection and the rights and privileges of British citizens. The Treaty of Waitangi is today generally accepted as the foundation document of the New Zealand nation.

Since 1840 two main themes have dominated New Zealand's historical development. The first and more enduring theme has been the quest for what one prominent historian has labeled "national obsessions"—equality and security, both individual and collective. The second, and more recent, theme is New Zealand's emergence as a nation with a unique identity. Like many other parts of the world settled from Europe in the 19th century, New Zealand is classified as a "frontier" society. Nevertheless, its small geographic size and relative isolation from other societies; the dominant influence of Britain and, therefore, British culture; the endemic instability of an economy based on a narrow range of pastoral products; and the dominance of the state in the lives of its people help explain much of the present-day New Zealand psyche. To these characteristics must be added the strong resurgence of Maori language and culture and the increasingly insistent demands by Maori that the acknowledged wrongs perpetrated by government and settlers during the second half of the 19th century should be redressed. Taken together, these diverse elements have created New Zealand's distinctive political and social culture.

## SECURITY AND EQUALITY

A common characteristic of frontier societies is the individualism of their settlers. In this respect, New Zealand was no different from other recently settled parts of the world. But, from the beginnings of organized settlement in New Zealand, settlers also turned to "authority" in times of need. At first the "authority" was the New Zealand Company. As early as 1842 unemployed Nelson laborers demanded that the company honor its commitment to provide a minimum of £1 per week plus rations when work was nonexistent. The company repudiated its pledge and, instead, sent unemployed workers many miles from home to undertake often trivial tasks.

From the time of the establishment of a governmental structure in the 1850s, the "authority" was the state and its often proactive governments. Throughout most of the 1860s, settlers demanded that the gov-

ernment defend them against rebellious Maori. In 1870, faced with declining gold production and lower prices for wheat and wool exports, Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel proposed borrowing £10 million on the London market as a means of revitalizing the sagging economy. Vogel had concluded that New Zealand's underdevelopment—a consequence of poor communications and too small a population—lay at the heart of the country's economic difficulties. The money raised would be used to bring in new immigrants and invest in railway construction, which, in turn, would open up new land for farming and substantially boost confidence in the country's future.

Vogel's plan brought considerable benefits: total population doubled to more than 500,000; the South Island's main trunk railway (from Christchurch to Invercargill) was completed; the country's flax, timber, kauri gum, and land resources were exploited; and farm and factory production expanded dramatically. And, when South Island landowners defeated Vogel's proposal to secure the loans by transferring six million acres of provincial land to the central government, the nine provincial governments were abolished and New Zealand became a unitary country in fact as well as in name.

The downside of this spurt in development was a massive increase in public debt; the amount eventually borrowed before the bubble burst was double that originally proposed. The rapidly rising land prices, which accompanied improved communications, encouraged speculative ventures but did little to establish a sound economic base. Between 1870 and 1880, while the return from exports declined from £17 to £12 per head, public debt soared from £7.8 million to £28.2 million. By the end of the decade, problems of servicing the country's debt were very apparent.

With the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878, New Zealand finally confronted the worldwide depression of the second half of the 19th century. The excesses of the 1870s had given settlers a false sense of security; in the 1880s banks and mortgage corporations foreclosed on many who had bought land during the boom years and were unable to meet the high interest charges. As confidence in New Zealand's economic future withered, capital—and later people—fled the country. For many, the 1880s was a decade of abject misery and poverty, characterized by low wages and poor working conditions for those with jobs, and unemployment and soup kitchens for those without. Although some attempts were

made to overhaul the land tenure system, the government's principal response was to reduce government expenditure.

The 1890 general election broke the South Island landholders' stranglehold over the political system as small farmers, would-be farmers, farm laborers, and the urban working class combined to elect the Liberal Party to govern with the support of a handful of Independent Labour members of Parliament. During the course of the 1890s, the government, led first by John Ballance and then by Richard John Seddon, passed a series of social and economic measures—land reforms, graduated taxation, a series of factory acts including the landmark Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, old-age pensions, and legislation designed to advance the education and health of the nation—all of which were aimed at improving the lives of all New Zealanders.

For the best part of the next century, economic and social security were the dominant goals and differences between political parties centered on priorities rather than fundamental differences of approach. Many of the reforms represented a political response to the economic and social deprivation of the depression years and could easily have been enacted by any enlightened government. The importance of the reforms lay in the Liberals' belief that the state had a duty to secure the welfare of its less fortunate citizens.

Equally if not more important in improving lifestyles were newly emergent economic factors. In 1890, wool accounted for nearly 80 percent by value of New Zealand's farm exports, but while wool was still New Zealand's largest single export commodity in 1920, it accounted for only 36 percent of exports by value. The development of refrigeration, the adoption of scientific farming techniques, the opening up of the lush North Island dairying lands, and the establishment of farming cooperatives all contributed to increased exports and rising living standards, as did a worldwide shortage of farm products from the mid-1890s.

Rising prosperity helped establish a political cleavage between town and country as conservative rural voters were increasingly attracted to the emerging Reform Party's pledge to permit leased land to be freeholded. At the same time, the urban working class was transferring its political support to the precursors of the Labour Party. In 1912 the long reign of the Liberals finally came to an end and for the next 16 years the Reform Party led by William Ferguson Massey and, after 1925, by Joseph Gordon Coates dominated New Zealand politics.

New Zealand prospered in the years before World War I and benefited even more during the war years when the “commandeer system” ensured farmers a guaranteed market and high prices for their produce in Britain. Economic optimism abounded after the war as returning servicemen bought farms. Land prices spiraled as did speculation, interest rates, and inflation.

The end of the war, however, also brought the commandeer system to an end. A sharp fall in export prices for meat, wool, and dairy products followed soon after. The economic pattern of the 1920s was characterized by a series of booms and troughs. Farmers responded by acquiescing in the establishment of meat and dairy boards to control the marketing of their products. But, despite the economic fluctuations, which were regarded as temporary dislocations, primary production continued to increase even after the worldwide depression became obvious.

Political instability also manifested itself. In 1928, a three-way split of parliamentary seats—between a resurgent United (formerly Liberal) Party, the Reform Party, and a more moderate Labour Party—enabled United to form a minority government with Labour support. But the government stumbled from one crisis to another until, in 1931 after Labour’s increasingly uncertain support was withdrawn, the two conservative parties finally entered into a coalition.

New Zealand was hit badly by the Great Depression. Its traditional dependence on the British market—reinforced by the commandeer marketing system—and its narrow, grass-based economy brought severe economic hardship to many people. Permanent unemployment, soup kitchens, and charitable aid reappeared as difficulties mounted. The government’s initial response was to retrench: public servants’ wages were cut; the compulsory provisions of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act were repealed, leading to a substantial reduction in wage costs; financial support was available only to those unemployed who participated in often demoralizing “relief” work; and public works programs were cut. Only after riots in the streets of three main cities between January and May 1932 did the government seek to manage the economy through active intervention.

The government’s more interventionist strategy came too late for the vast majority of electors; in 1935 they gave Labour an overwhelming victory in the expectation that the new and hitherto untried party would be able to bring the economy back on course. Nine months later the

remnants of the two coalition parties regrouped to form the National Party. By the next general election in 1938, the two-party system was firmly established.

Like its Liberal Party precursor, Labour sought to impose political solutions on what were essentially economic and social problems. The economy was insulated from the vagaries of the world markets through mechanisms such as guaranteeing the price received by dairy farmers for their butterfat and imposing import controls to ration scarce foreign exchange and encourage the development of import substitution industries. To improve the lot of workers, compulsory arbitration was restored, a minimum weekly wage was introduced, and the state began building solid, if unpretentious, houses for rent to lower-paid families. The high point of this reforming era came in 1938 with the passage of a comprehensive (“cradle to grave”) Social Security Act, which provided for a range of medical, hospital, sickness, maternity, unemployment, widow, family, and age benefits. By the late 1940s New Zealand’s welfare state, the basis of which was universality, was the envy of many other countries.

Labour’s legislative program reflected an acceptance of state economic management: in return for guarantees of minimum living standards, full employment, and security for farm income, New Zealanders permitted the state to control and regulate many economic and financial aspects of their lives. Full employment and guaranteed markets for farm produce during and after World War II materially assisted this acceptance. By 1943, the National Party had also accepted the principles underpinning the welfare state.

Heightened economic and social security was not, however, without its costs. From the 1940s until 1984, both National and Labour were bent on improving and extending the benefits offered by the welfare state as New Zealanders were cosseted in a cocoon of restrictive regulations designed to protect them from the vagaries of the world economy, regardless of which party was governing the country. The National Party, which won its first election in 1949 and, apart from two brief three-year periods, held office continuously until 1984, had, as its main objective, the better administration of the status quo. Nevertheless, even during this period, the benefits offered by the welfare state were gradually expanded—a comprehensive no-fault accident compensation scheme was put in place in 1972, a domestic purposes benefit was in-

troduced in 1973, and a universal, taxpayer-funded national superannuation scheme for all people over the age of 60 was introduced in 1977.

The first half of National's long period in office was a time of rising prosperity and affluence for most New Zealanders. Wool prices boomed during the Korean War and export receipts for farm products remained buoyant even after Britain discontinued the bulk purchase of sheep meat in 1954. Admittedly, there were economic fluctuations—marked by credit squeezes and, at one point, the reimposition of near-total import controls—but it was not until late 1966, when wool prices collapsed, that the first signs of an economic downturn became apparent. Economic instability, characterized by fluctuating prices for primary products, increasing restrictions on New Zealand's access to its traditional British market, and dramatic increases in the world prices for key commodities, notably crude oil, resulted in hyperinflation which persisted for two decades.

At first, successive governments interpreted the economic downturn as no more than a temporary aberration: in 1973, shortly before the first world oil shock, Prime Minister Norman Kirk returned from an overseas trip to tell New Zealanders that the economy had to be insulated from the economic pressures being experienced by the rest of the world. But, as the adverse terms of trade persisted and the economic recession deepened, both the Labour and National governments increasingly regulated the economy as they attempted to control the effects of inflation. The pinnacle of this policy strategy was reached in 1982 when Prime Minister Muldoon—who was also minister of finance—imposed a blanket 12-month wage and price freeze (subsequently extended to 20 months) on the country. Although inflation was cut back from over 17 percent to under 5 percent, the underlying problems—an overvalued currency and an overprotected economy—remained. In 1984, New Zealand electors once again turned their backs, perhaps unwittingly, on policies that had pulled them out of one depression and led them into another.

## **GROWING IDENTITY AS AN INDEPENDENT SOUTH PACIFIC NATION**

Six identifiable migration waves have helped shape New Zealand's present population mix. The first two, Maori from eastern Polynesia and



the European predators (sealers, whalers, missionaries, and traders), have already been mentioned. In the 1840s and 1850s a third migratory wave saw English, Scots, and a lesser number of Irish establish settlements under the auspices of the New Zealand Company. The fourth wave a decade later brought a flood of immigration—including many persons of Irish descent and a significant number of Chinese—to the Otago and West Coast gold fields in search of wealth. The fifth wave, comprising, for the most part, government-assisted immigration, commenced with the program instituted by Vogel in the early 1870s and which lasted until 1975, although it was suspended between 1927 and 1946. Overwhelmingly, migrants came from Britain although significant groups—Scandinavians in the 1870s and 1880s, Dalmatians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and Dutch after 1945—came from continental Europe. The sixth wave has been migration from the South Pacific islands, with whom New Zealand has had an association going back to the beginnings of human settlement in this country and, more recently, from Asia. Since the early 1960s many thousands of people from the Cook Islands, Tokelau Islands, and Niue (all of whom are New Zealand citizens) and Western Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji have migrated to New Zealand in search of enhanced economic opportunities and standards of living. Over the past decade there has been a significant upsurge in immigration from East Asia—from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos on humanitarian grounds, and from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea.

Until the 1970s New Zealand remained an overwhelmingly monocultural society. Between 1881 and 1971 the European component of the population exceeded 90 percent and most traced their descent from the British Isles. Since then, however, the non-British component has grown substantially: the Maori population, which had declined to just over 40,000 in the 1890s, expanded rapidly—in part, at least, as a consequence of a shift in the legal definition of “Maori” from one based on ethnicity (half or more Maori descent) to one based on cultural identity (any person of Maori descent who wished to identify with *tikanga Maori*)—as have the number of Pacific Island, Indian, and, more recently, Chinese populations.

The dominance of British people and culture inhibited New Zealand’s development as an independent nation with its own sense of identity. From the time of annexation, the country was regarded as a remote

British colonial outpost, a position accepted by the great majority of settlers until well into the 20th century. Although the Colonial Laws Validity Act (1865) vested control for internal affairs in the local legislature, New Zealand continued to depend on the British government for its defense and security, an umbilical cord which was reinforced by the country's dependence on Britain as a market for its pastoral produce and source of capital for internal development. The Russian scare of 1885 marked the beginnings of a tradition of New Zealand offering assistance to the British forces anywhere in the world, a tradition that has continued, though in modified form, until relatively recent times, as evidenced by military contributions to the South African (Boer) War and both world wars, all of which were fought beyond New Zealand's direct and immediate sphere of interest. More recently, its commitment to collective security has been underscored by its active participation in United Nations peacekeeping activities in a number of the world's trouble spots.

Some early New Zealand politicians did, however, harbor imperialist aspirations. In the 1870s, for example, Julius Vogel advocated New Zealand's territorial expansion into the southwest Pacific; three decades later, in 1901, Premier Richard John ("King Dick") Seddon turned this vision into reality when he annexed the Cook Islands and Niue. Further territories were acquired during the course of the next 25 years—Western Samoa as a result of conquest soon after the outbreak of World War I and the Tokelau Islands in 1926, although the island group was not formally incorporated into New Zealand territory until 1948. These acquisitions marked the beginnings of New Zealand's shift from a European to a Pacific perspective, although it was not until well after World War II that this reorientation was complete.

Despite New Zealand's reluctance to assert its independence, a growing and distinctive New Zealand identity, marked by references to soldiers from New Zealand as "Kiwis" and "Maorilanders," was beginning to emerge. National pride and identity was further enhanced by the epic feats of the first All Black rugby football team which toured Great Britain in 1905 and, 10 years later, through ANZAC involvement at Gallipoli and later in France and Belgium. New Zealand signed the Versailles Treaty as an independent nation at the conclusion of the war and joined the League of Nations in 1920.

Even so, the governments of the 1920s were most reluctant to assert New Zealand's growing identity. Until 1935 they were content to be

bound by the decisions of the British cabinet on all external and security matters, despite the fact that the Balfour Declaration of 1926 (formalized as the Statute of Westminster in 1932) effectively ended British sovereignty over the self-governing dominions. New Zealand remained reluctant to further loosen its ties with the “Mother Country” and did not formally adopt the statute until 1947. It also gave considerable financial support to the British government over a 10-year period during the 1920s and 1930s to assist with the construction of a naval base at Singapore.

A more independent New Zealand voice in world affairs followed the election of the First Labour Government in 1935. Labour had always been more internationalist in outlook than its predecessors, and after it assumed office it adopted a more active stance towards international affairs. In the League of Nations, for example, it opposed Britain over the Abyssinian crisis, the Spanish Civil War, and the Japanese invasion of China and also took a proactive stance on proposals to strengthen the League of Nations in line with its belief that the best form of security was collective security. Nevertheless, the links to Britain remained strong; when that country declared war on Germany in 1939, New Zealand immediately followed suit without reference to Parliament.

Japan’s capture of the Singapore naval base and its rapid southward thrust as far as the Coral Sea during the first months of 1942 radically altered New Zealand’s perception of the world and its place in it. Henceforth, it would have to rely on the United States for its defense even though, in marked contrast to Australia, it continued to support Britain in the Middle East and European war theaters. In 1941 it opened its first embassy outside Britain when it established its legation in Washington, and by the end of the war it had extended its diplomatic representation to Ottawa, Canberra, and Moscow. A Department of External Affairs (now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade) was established in 1943. In 2004 New Zealand had 56 diplomatic and consular posts in 42 countries, 30 of which were in the Asia-Pacific region. A number of these posts involved multiple accreditations, covering 81 other countries.

New Zealand’s belief in collective security and self-determination was promoted strongly after World War II. A founder member of the United Nations, New Zealand has strongly supported the collective security principles underlying the United Nations Charter, contributing

troops to the United Nations operations in Korea, Cyprus, the Middle East, the Gulf War, Bosnia, and, more recently, East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq. It was also a staunch advocate of independence for former colonial territories and, in 1962, saw its own trusteeship territory, Western Samoa, assume sovereign nation status. Its belief in the negotiated settlement of disputes saw it take (jointly with Australia) a case seeking to restrain French nuclear testing in the Pacific before the International Court of Justice in 1974.

But despite its commitment to universal collective security through the United Nations, New Zealand was not so naïve as to believe that this would be sufficient. In the 1950s it entered into a number of multilateral defense alliances—notably ANZUS (1951), SEATO (1954), and the Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement (1957)—to protect and enhance its regional interests. These commitments, one of which at least excluded Britain, signaled a growing commitment to the Asia-Pacific region, although this did not prevent Prime Minister Sidney Holland from supporting the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt over the Suez Canal question in 1956 or Prime Minister Rob Muldoon's public support of Britain's declaration of war against Argentina during the 1982 Falklands crisis.

During the 1950s and 1960s New Zealand also contributed troops to the Malayan insurgency and later to the Vietnam War. Military participation in these theaters was public acknowledgment of a shift that had taken place in New Zealand's global perspective since World War II. The Vietnam conflict, in particular, was a major turning point because, for the first time in New Zealand's history, the country had gone to war in support of an ally but without Britain. At home, public opposition to New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam conflict was unprecedented. A new generation of New Zealanders was demanding greater independence of thought and action in world affairs.

New Zealand's increasingly Pacific Basin orientation, evidenced by a redirection of its aid programs to the South Pacific sphere and its initiation of the South Pacific Forum (1970—renamed the Pacific Islands Forum in 1999), reached a high point in 1973 when it openly opposed French nuclear testing on Mururoa atoll. Nuclear disarmament had been a significant public issue from the late 1950s, and successive New Zealand governments had publicly protested against nuclear testing in the United Nations and other forums. Growing concern with the French

atmospheric testing program, in particular, stemmed from the fact that it was being undertaken on a regular basis less than 1,500 kilometers (900 miles) from the Cook Islands. Although the Cook Islands had been internally self-governing since 1965, New Zealand still retained responsibility for the islands' external affairs. In 1973 the Kirk Labour government sent a frigate to stand "in silent witness" just beyond Mururoa's 12-mile territorial limit and embarrassed the French by being the first to announce each test to the world. Although New Zealand's action (and the subsequent action in challenging the legality of France's testing program in the International Court of Justice) failed to halt the testing program completely, it did force the French authorities to carry out future testing underground. Two decades later, New Zealand was again to the forefront of international opposition to the resumption of French underground nuclear testing at Mururoa when it sent a naval vessel to stand off Mururoa during the early stages of that country's 1995 weapons-testing program.

Since the 1980s the country's increasingly independent stance in international affairs has become even more marked. Immediately after the 1984 election, the Fourth Labour Government led by David Lange implemented its antinuclear platform, a significant outcome of which was a marked cooling of relations between New Zealand and its two ANZUS partners. The United States responded by downgrading New Zealand's diplomatic status from "ally" to "friend," and since then the country has been excluded from ANZUS military exercises and top-level military and sensitive diplomatic information. Although relations have improved somewhat since the initial standoff—partly as a result of the efforts of New Zealand's minister of foreign affairs, Don McKinnon, during the 1990s—the country's military and diplomatic relationship with the United States remains that of a "friend." In contrast to Australia, when U.S. President George W. Bush declared war on the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq, New Zealand refused to assist until the United Nations became involved after the cessation of hostilities in May 2003.

From the early 1960s, New Zealand was a leading opponent of South Africa's apartheid policies. Apart from contacts during the Boer War and the two world wars, New Zealand's association with South Africa had been almost exclusively on the rugby football field. On three occasions (1928, 1949, and 1960) when New Zealand had toured South Africa, Maori players were excluded from the teams chosen, but by

1967 public opposition had built up to the point where the National government felt it prudent to discourage the New Zealand Rugby Football Union from accepting an invitation to tour unless South Africa was prepared to accept the presence of Maori players in the team. This finally took place in 1970.

As a result of this success, public opinion hardened further against South Africa and, with a South African team due to tour New Zealand in 1973, Prime Minister Kirk delivered an ultimatum to the Rugby Union to call the tour off (despite the fact that he had promised during the 1972 election campaign that a government led by him would not prevent the tour from taking place). Kirk's action was interpreted as a direct challenge to the freedom of New Zealanders to play sport with whomever they wished and it became an important issue in the 1975 election campaign won by National.

National's attitude to sporting contacts with South Africa was ambivalent. It recognized that adverse political consequences could result from allowing sporting contacts with South Africa to continue in the face of growing public opposition, but it also believed that its stance in favor of the freedom of the individual was likely to result in an electoral advantage. Thus, despite the public outcry, the government placed no barrier in the way of an All Black rugby football team touring South Africa in 1976. Two consequences followed: a boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games was staged by 30 African states, and the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting the following year drew up the Gleneagles Agreement, a document which obliged all Commonwealth governments to actively discourage sporting contacts of any kind with South Africa, although it was left to individual states to determine how best to achieve this objective.

Despite this commitment, the Third National Government took no positive steps to prevent the 1981 South African rugby tour to New Zealand, almost certainly because it believed that the political benefits in critical electorates would outweigh any disadvantages. As a consequence, for eight weeks during the winter of 1981, New Zealanders found themselves pitted against one another—both physically and emotionally—as anti-apartheid protesters opposed (and fought) with rugby supporters. Charged with maintaining law and order, the police were to be found between the two groups in full riot gear and armed with long batons. The siege-like environment was at times emphasized by the use of barbed wire and large

waste containers filled with gravel as a means of keeping protesters at bay. The political innocence of New Zealanders evaporated forever as a result of this experience. It was, however, an important step in New Zealanders' growing maturity as an independent nation that was prepared to speak out on important world issues that were not of immediate or direct concern. By the 1980s most New Zealanders saw themselves as citizens of an independent nation that could contribute to world peace and development.

### THE MAORI RENAISSANCE

For the greater part of the past 165 years Maori have been largely marginalized as a society in the face of the numerical, political, economic, social, and cultural dominance of European settlement. Although, as we have seen, the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed that Maori would continue to retain control of their land, forests, and fisheries, it also provided that the Crown was to have exclusive right of purchase where Maori owners wished to sell. Thus, in the earliest years of European settlement, the Crown became the primary vehicle for the transfer of land from Maori to settlers. In 1844, however, the Crown waived its right of preemption in the face of pressure from both Maori and Europeans.

Until 1860 Maori outnumbered European immigrants. The recent arrivals, living in the tiny, dispersed coastal settlements, were able to do so only because of Maori goodwill towards them. Although in the early years of European settlement there were a number of localized conflicts over land—principally at Wairau and the Bay of Islands—during the 1840s and 1850s Maori generally benefited from the settlers' presence through supplying them with many of the necessities of life and by gaining access to European skills and goods. For most of this period Maori were generally willing sellers of land, although they and Europeans held different concepts of the significance of land and their relationship to it.

Economic depression during the second half of the 1850s—stemming in part from declining trade with the Victorian (Australia) gold fields—resulted in a decline in Maori agriculture and growing Maori resistance to land sales at a time when pressure for access to land by settlers was increasing. Land thus became the focus for economic and political confrontation, a contest for possession of land in the physical sense as well as a contest for the imposition of *mana* (authority). The King Movement

and the so-called Maori land league, which sought to enforce a pan-tribal veto on land sales, represented attempts by Maori to turn back the inexorable tide of European colonization. This attempt to establish a nation within a nation was not acceptable to Europeans, and it met with only mixed success as cooperation gave way to competition and then conquest. War became the means whereby settlers acquired land and imposed their will on Maori. This Land War should not, however, be viewed as a “race” war, for a number of Europeans fought alongside Maori or lent them verbal support, while many Maori either fought with British or colonial soldiers or remained neutral.

Land confiscations followed war as the central government, directly and through the decisions of the Native (later “Maori”) Land Court (established in 1865 to decide who owned the land and to transfer ownership from communal ownership to individual titles), separated Maori from their land. Ultimately some 650,000 hectares (1.6 million acres) of Maori land was confiscated in Taranaki, Waikato, and the Bay of Plenty. Many confiscations were indiscriminate—some “rebellious” tribes went unpunished while other “friendly” or “neutral” tribes lost nearly all their land. Road and railway construction and new inland settlements became instruments of pacification. Although some was subsequently returned to Maori, by the 1890s only 16 percent of land remained in Maori ownership, most of it in the more remote parts of the North Island. By 1939 the proportion of land still in Maori ownership had declined to 6.1 percent; 35 years later it had diminished still further, to a mere 5 percent. The confiscation and subsequent alienation of Maori land became an enduring barrier to reconciliation.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, Maori population numbers continued to fall until, by 1896, they totaled only 42,000—about 7 percent of the country’s total population. *Pakeha* believed that Maori, as a race, were dying out; what they failed to recognize was that, despite this decline, Maori had survived as a distinct ethnic and social group. European politicians and administrators believed, however, that given time, Maori would be assimilated into the dominant culture through cohabitation and education.

The Maori renaissance dates from the later 1890s when a group of young professional men, mostly from the North Island’s East Coast and all educated at Te Aute College, formed the Young Maori Party. Apart from Apirana Ngata, all its leading members were noted for their wholesale adoption of European culture. They believed that the future



for Maori lay in the adoption of *Pakeha* practices and technology. While, as a group, the Young Maori Party was able to identify and articulate some Maori needs to *Pakeha* audiences, its overall influence was limited.

The revival of Maori as a vibrant ethnic and cultural group is highlighted by three key features. First, 1896 was the low point of Maori population numbers; since then their numbers have risen substantially, and by the 2001 census the number of people in the Maori ancestry group exceeded 670,000. Along with this population expansion have come improvements in health, hygiene, and education, although these are still below the overall standards enjoyed by the vast majority of the population. Second, “Maori identity” has become more important than tribal identity; although a strong sense of tribal identity remains, today Maori have developed a view of themselves as “Maori.” Third, in 1900 about 90 percent of Maori lived in small and often isolated rural communities; after 1950, a marked urban migration pattern emerged, and, today, Maori are a predominantly urban people.

Increasing contact and interaction between Maori and non-Maori has highlighted differences between the two. As a group, Maori are younger and less skilled, receive lower incomes, and have a higher birthrate than their non-Maori counterparts. Detribalization has, however, resulted in the development of a shared sense of Maori identity and the emergence of a number of young, articulate, generally well-educated, self-confident, and assertive Maori leaders who are proud of their Maori heritage and determined to secure a new deal for their people, including remedying long-standing grievances. In this respect the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) marked a new beginning. It established a new body, the Waitangi Tribunal, which was charged with responsibility for examining Maori grievances and making recommendations to the government for their resolution. Over recent years a number of significant advances have been made towards the goal of redressing Maori grievances, including substantial “full and final” settlements with some *iwi*, notably Tainui and Ngai Tahu; nevertheless, there is still some way to go before full redress is likely to be achieved.

In the context of race relations, assimilation implies the loss of a distinctive and discrete culture. The fact that assimilation was unlikely to eventuate was recognized in 1960 when a government report redefined government policy towards Maori as one of integration. Nowadays, gov-

ernment policy and many citizens increasingly acknowledge that, as *tangata whenua*, Maori people and their culture and traditions have a special place in New Zealand society, that long-standing grievances still exist and must be addressed, and that biculturalism must be actively fostered.

As a distinctive group, Maori have become more assertive. In 1985 the ability of the Waitangi Tribunal to consider claims and make recommendations for the redress of long-standing grievances was extended back to 1840. As a result many new claims have been, and continue to be, lodged, and the tribunal's findings have generally recommended that the government act to settle them. Maori are also using the legal system to assert their rights. In 1987 the Court of Appeal found in favor of the New Zealand Maori Council in a judgment that emphasized the special relationship existing between the Maori people and the Crown as a consequence of the Treaty of Waitangi. Two years later, it upheld the Tainui (Waikato) tribe's challenge to the right of Coalcorp (a state-owned enterprise—since renamed Solid Energy New Zealand) to sell off surplus land until the rights of the tribe (which, at the time, had a land claim before the Waitangi Tribunal) were protected.

In 1992 Maori claims to a share of New Zealand's fisheries were addressed, with the government providing \$150 million to assist Maori to purchase the largest New Zealand fishing company and its quota licenses; in return, Maori agreed to extinguish all further claims to fishing rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. A further 12 years, however, elapsed before broad—though by no means universal—agreement was reached on how the fishing quota and monetary compensation would be allocated and enabling legislation was passed by Parliament. In December 1994, the government proposed a plan for a “full and final settlement” of all outstanding claims against the Crown. Initial Maori reaction to the government's proposal was, however, divided: two separate *hui* organized by the paramount chief of the Ngati-Tuwharetoa tribe, Sir Hepi Te Heuheu, rejected the government's proposals outright, but in 1995 the Tainui *iwi* successfully completed negotiations for a full settlement of its historic grievances, including the return of land unjustly confiscated during and after the 19th-century Land Wars, a cash settlement to compensate for earlier wrongdoings, and a formal apology from the Crown. Since then a number of agreements have been negotiated between the Crown and Maori claimants, the most significant of which were settlements involving the Ngai Tahu (South Island) and Ngati Awa (Taranaki) tribes.

Over the past 30 years the Treaty of Waitangi has assumed a much more central role in New Zealand society. People are increasingly looking to the “spirit” of the treaty, as expressed in its principles, to decide what is the most appropriate course of action to take. There is, however, no general agreement as to what those principles are. A 1987 decision by the Court of Appeal emphasized the concept of partnership in which both parties have obligations. Two years later the Fourth Labour Government responded by setting out five principles—government acknowledgment that it has a responsibility to act fairly towards Maori, Maori self-management, equality between both parties, reasonable cooperation between *iwi* and the Crown, and redress for past wrongs—which would govern its future relationship with Maori. The New Zealand Maori Council has established its own set of principles, including making good past treaty breaches, protecting the Maori way of life, giving priority to Maori values, and acknowledging that the Crown has a duty to consult with Maori. For its part the Waitangi Tribunal holds that the right of the Crown to govern has been exchanged for an obligation on the Crown to protect Maori interests; that the treaty implies partnership and mutual obligations to act in good faith; and that while compromise is necessary, the principle of redress for historical and more recent breaches of the treaty flows from the Crown’s duty to act reasonably toward Maori. In essence the present-day interpretation of the treaty assumes that Maori have accepted the sovereignty of the Crown and the New Zealand Parliament and that, in return, the treaty principles will be applied in a manner that provides justice for all.

Today, relationships between Maori and *Pakeha* are driven largely by the concepts of biculturalism and partnership. The Maori language is now recognized as an official language of New Zealand, and political and other leaders now frequently meet with Maori on Maori territory, the *marae*. Partnership, as encapsulated in the Treaty of Waitangi, has become an important yardstick for determining fairness and equity in the relations between the two groups.

## ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CHANGE

Commencing in 1984 a political, economic, social, and administrative revolution swept New Zealand. A state which, for nearly a century, had

cosseted its citizens has been transformed from one of the most regulated to one of the freest and least regulated of any country in the world.

In 1984 New Zealand's economy was severely constrained by a plethora of regulations. Shortly after its election, the Fourth Labour Government dismantled financial controls and totally freed the exchange rate. Subsidies and protection, particularly those designed to encourage primary production, were abandoned; henceforth, it was essential for exporters to respond to marketplace signals if they wished to survive. Direct controls on wages were abolished and a determined assault was made on inflation. Long-standing state contributions to health, education, and welfare were curtailed and then removed as first Labour and, after 1990, the National government moved towards implementing a user-pays financial environment. Consistent with this move, the taxation regime was altered in favor of garnering a greater proportion of government revenue from indirect taxation and broadening the tax base.

At the same time, the public sector was overhauled. Many of the state's commercial activities were detached from their departments and reorganized as state-owned enterprises (SOEs) with commercial objectives and management. Henceforth, the government's responsibility was to be restricted to social considerations. Nor did the public service escape change: it was reorganized to establish a more direct relationship between minister and chief executive, and private-sector management practices were introduced wherever possible. The whole purpose of these reforms was to increase the efficiency and equity of the public sector and enhance the quality of life of the state's citizens.

The delivery of education, health, and social welfare benefits was also radically altered. The highly centralized state education system underwent radical change, the objective of which was to shift most of the decision-making power to local communities. By contrast, direct citizen input into the hitherto largely decentralized hospital system was abandoned in favor of a reorganization focused on a small number of appointed Regional Health Authorities (RHAs) which contracted Crown Health Enterprises (CHEs)—formerly hospitals—to carry out a specified range and number of operations. The failure of this reform to deliver the expected financial and health benefits resulted in the Fifth Labour Government reinstating a mix of public and government input into the health area through the establishment of partly elected, partly

appointed District Health Boards (DHBs). Nevertheless, criticisms that government funding of DHBs was insufficient to enable them adequately to fulfill the role assigned to them can still be heard. In 1992 the accident compensation scheme was amended to eliminate lump-sum payments (since restored in certain specified circumstances), although ongoing compensation for injuries sustained was retained. Increasing emphasis has been placed on primary health care, and entitlement to medical and other health benefits is now determined on the basis of an individual's or family's income and age. The objective of these changes is to improve the delivery of services, target need more precisely, and enhance accountability procedures. The principle of universality of entitlement is now largely a thing of the past.

One hundred years ago some overseas visitors to New Zealand described the country as a "social laboratory" and "the birthplace of the 20th century." With the benefit of hindsight, future historians may consider that the New Zealand of the last years of the 20th century has been an economic laboratory.

These sweeping changes were, however, not without cost. Unemployment rose dramatically between 1984 and 1993, reaching 10.1 percent of the labor force, and food banks, the modern equivalent of the 1930s soup kitchens, became commonplace in the larger urban centers. A mismatch of available jobs and the skills needed to undertake them also became more apparent. A decade later a sharp upturn in returns from exports between 1999 and 2004—a consequence of higher world demand and a sharply lower valued New Zealand dollar—saw official unemployment decline to 3.8 percent. Nevertheless, many smaller community hospitals in rural areas and smaller service towns were closed or were threatened with closure, as were small rural schools, a trend that is still continuing. And over the past three decades, in a country that has traditionally prided itself on equal opportunities for all, a new poor class—distinguished by its lack of educational achievement, long-term unemployment, poverty, and ethnicity—has emerged.

Since the 1980s public trust and confidence in New Zealand's politicians has been at a very low ebb, a situation exacerbated by the rapid and unexpected changes and the consequent economic pain since 1984. In 1993, almost in retribution it would seem, electors voted to replace the first-past-the-post electoral system with a new mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral system modeled on that adopted by West

Germany in 1949. In anticipation of the first MMP election in 1996, both the Labour and National parties experienced fragmentation of their caucuses as MPs assessed their electoral positions and regrouped.

The 1996 election was contested by 21 of the 22 registered political parties but only six won parliamentary representation and none achieved anywhere near a majority of the 120 seats. As a result, extended negotiations took place amongst the three numerically largest parties, out of which emerged a majority National-New Zealand First coalition government. The transition to an MMP environment was, however, still far from complete. Party fragmentation continued; in late 1998 the coalition government disintegrated and the National party completed the final year of the parliamentary term as a minority single-party government with the support of a disparate collection of MPs who had left parties under whose banner they had been elected in 1996.

In November 1999 the minority National Party government was ousted by the electorate but, again, no one party was able to command an absolute majority of parliamentary seats. Coalition talks between the largest party (Labour) and the 10-member Alliance Party were swift; because the two parties had been in regular communication with each other during the 18 months preceding the election, coalition negotiations were short and a minority Labour-Alliance coalition government was formed within two weeks of the election with support on confidence and supply (i.e., support on financial proposals) from the Green Party, which had formally separated from the Alliance before the election. Once again, however, problems within the Alliance's caucus culminated in a split that resulted in Prime Minister Helen Clark calling the 2002 election four months early. Although the Labour Party increased its parliamentary representation by three (to 52), it found it prudent to form another minority coalition government, this time with the two-MP Progressive Coalition Party led by former Alliance MP Jim Anderton, and with support on confidence and supply issues from the United Future Party.

Despite the apparent shift from a center-right to a center-left government in 1999, the coalition governments led by Labour have adopted a generally fiscally prudent budgetary strategy. It has, however, stepped back to some degree from the rigid orthodoxy of the Douglas and Richardson years. Since 1999, for example, the government has altered the national superannuation regime to ensure that married couples receive 65 percent of the average weekly wage after tax; abolished competition in

accident compensation cover; amended labor legislation to make it more friendly to employees; established a new bank—Kiwibank—to provide competition in the trading bank system now dominated by Australian banks; purchased an 82 percent share of Air New Zealand to prevent it from collapsing; and bought back the rail track network from new private owners, the Australian freight company Toll Holdings.

MMP has meant that governments have found it necessary to negotiate across party lines in order to secure the passage of contentious legislation. In 2003, for example, the country's Court of Appeal overturned a High Court decision that had denied the Te Tau Ihu (Marlborough) *hapu* the right to pursue a claim of "customary ownership" of the foreshore and seabed off the Marlborough Sounds. Fearing that customary title might be converted into Maori freehold ownership of the entire New Zealand coastline, the government moved quickly to introduce legislation to assert Crown ownership over the foreshore and seabed. Nevertheless, with Maori MPs now constituting 15.8 percent of parliamentary seats (and 21.1 percent of Labour's caucus) the passage of the legislation through the parliamentary process was tumultuous. The act finally passed in November 2004—but not before considerable soul-searching by the government's Maori MPs, culminating in the resignation as an associate minister, and from Parliament, of Te Tai Hauauru MP Turiana Turia and the formation of a Maori Party—with the support of the New Zealand First Party and despite the opposition of United Future New Zealand, which had pledged its support to the government on matters of confidence. MMP has brought crucial debates out from behind closed caucus room doors and into the open.

What is clear is that MMP is likely to result in coalition governments (whether majority or minority) being the norm in the foreseeable future. Governments are unlikely to be able to force their will on citizens unless they are able to build parliamentary majorities in support of individual pieces of legislation. The effect will be to slow down the legislative process and, in turn, this may ultimately lead to more carefully considered laws. However, the transition to MMP is still not fully over; more time is needed before a considered assessment can be made as to whether or not the change to MMP has, on balance, been beneficial.