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"We don't have time for that carry-on anymore" – Protest and the construction of space at Waitangi in the 1980s

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ABSTRACT: The 6th of February is New Zealand's annual day of cultural performance par excellence. It is not a rememberance and reflection of what is undoubtedly this country's most important historical moment, but instead an enactment of contemporary understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi by both Māori and the Crown.

Architecturally this performance is played out at, and between, Te Tii marae and the Treaty grounds at Waitangi. The partnership between Māori and the Crown is spatially expressed each year by symbolically important rituals being conducted and protocols observed at each specific site. People gather, welcomes occur, addresses are given, entertainment provided, bridges crossed, debates take place, demands are made, and protests held. The actions of the various parties are frequently beamed into households by the television networks and reported in the national newspapers, leading to a national construction of space that represents current perceptions of cultural and race relations.

The 1980s saw a significant shift in the construction of Waitangi as space. Following the rise of the land rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s, Māori activists focussed their efforts on Waitangi and Waitangi Day more than ever before. The government responded by denying access to the Treaty grounds, then retreating from Waitangi celebrations, and then eventually returning by the end of the decade. Waitangi as space became a pawn in a political contest, and its place in the national psyche moved with each action and counter-action.

Introduction

Protest and debate are nothing new to Waitangi. When Māori gathered in 1840 there were days of debate over what the Treaty meant and whether to sign. At the centennial celebrations in 1940 there were challenges to the government about Māori autonomy and Māori rights.[1]

But it was in the 1980s that Māori protesters made Waitangi and Waitangi Day a focal point of their activities. Groups such as the Waitangi Action Committee built on new protest tactics adopted by Ngā Tamatoa and the Maori Organisation for Human Rights in the 1970s, combining the new tactics of demonstrations, marches, and radical action with a concerted effort directed at Waitangi.

Protesters' express aim was often to disrupt official proceedings. While the state wanted to have Waitangi Day as a celebration of nationhood, protesters revealed the alternative view of there being nothing to celebrate, or even commemorate. By the 1980s increasing pressure was coming from a number of fronts for more to be done to honour the Treaty. This pressure came not just from protest movements, but also from organisations such as the National Council of Churches (who early in the decade openly questioned their role in "the celebrations" due to such considerations),[2] and also academics.[3]

The geography of Waitangi

The 507 hectares of the Waitangi National Trust Estate belong to all inhabitants of New Zealand thanks to the Waitangi National Trust Board Act 1932. The Estate lies between the lower tidal reaches of the Waitangi River and the eastern coastline that runs north to Wairoa Bay. Its status as a place of significance is reinforced by also being classed as a National Reserve under the Reserves Act 1977.

At the eastern end of the Estate, adjoining the

[1] Orange *Illustrated History*.

[2] "Waitangi Day 'Shameful' Say Churches" p 1.

[3] Hazlehurst *Political Expression and Ethnicity* p 19.

coast, sits the Waitangi Treaty Grounds Historical Precinct. Within the 4.8 hectares of the precinct are the spaces New Zealanders are most familiar with - the Treaty House, the whare rūnanga and the historic flag pole.

Colonial Resident James Busby built the Treaty House on land he purchased following his arrival in 1833. It was from here that Busby attempted to protect the interests of British settlers and traders, though he was provided with no powers or manpower to support him doing so. Despite this, Busby's diplomatic efforts alone meant he was able to bring groupings of Māori leaders together twice in his seven year term – the last being for the signing of the Treaty itself in the grounds in front of his home.

Nearly 100 years after the Treaty signing a whare rūnanga was completed on the Treaty Grounds. Standing alongside the Treaty House, the whare rūnanga was built to symbolise Māori involvement in the signing. Unlike the familiar meeting house which is tied to a specific iwi or hapū, the whare rūnanga was "national" in intent, its panelling and carvings representing the stories of many iwi and hapū across New Zealand.

Between the Treaty House and the whare rūnanga stands a 93-foot flagstaff funded and erected by the Royal New Zealand Navy in 1934 to mark the spot where the Treaty was signed.[4] It was the Navy who put up a large marquee made from sails and decorated with flags in 1840 to provide shelter for the signing.

South of the Treaty Grounds precinct, across the Waitangi River, sits Te Tii marae. It was here that Māori chiefs gathered, camped and debated in 1840 before crossing the Waitangi River to the Treaty Grounds and signing. Te Tii marae is often, incorrectly, called the "lower" marae, a statement of its relationship to the whare rūnanga on the Treaty Grounds which is often referred to as the "upper" marae. It is at Te Tii that Ngāpuhi will often greet visitors before the official ceremonies at the Treaty Grounds, with the marae being the site of festivities for two or three days before the 6th of February each year.

Cultural performances and the trifurcation of space

National days are public rituals – a type of cultural performance. Patrick McAllister states that they have three key features:

- reflexivity – they are stories that people tell themselves about themselves, enabling them to interpret who they are and where they fit
- art of, and linked to, wider social process – they are never divorced from the ongoing flow of everyday life and the social and political events that are taking place and have taken place
- not passive, but can transform things through establishing a certain reality – this someimes occurs incrementally, and at other times dramatic and immediately.[5]

What took place at Waitangi during the 1980s can therefore give us an understanding of wider race relations in New Zealand at that time. The cultural performances are symbolically rich stories, with the roles of the state and Māori told and expressed in a variety of ways. Architecture is one of these expressions – performances are intentionally conducted in specific spaces, with each space taking on meaning from the rituals undertaken. The juxtaposition of Te Tii marae on the south side of the Waitangi River to the Treaty Grounds to the north, added to the

[4] "Waitangi Day and the Navy" n.p.

[5] McAllister "Waitangi Day" pp 159-164.

differences in rituals undertaken at each of these spaces, leads McAllister to state that the "spatial dimensions of the commemoration of the Treaty perform a significant meta-communicative function, for it shows that the "landscape of nationhood" is symbolically bifurcated."[6]

Most of New Zealand participates in these cultural performances through the mass media. Sue Abel's critical examination of media constructions of Waitangi Day makes it clear that an ideology is presented which "serve[s] the interests of the dominant [Pākehā] group."[7] Her analysis showed that media coverage of Waitangi Day implicitly pushed the concept of national unity ("we are all one people," "we are all New Zealanders") and effectively marginalised and contained dissent by, for example, positioning protest action as a threat to the national interest ("celebrations turned nasty," "protesters taunted police lines"). This fits well with McAllister's assertion that the state "creates what it wants to present as a mirror image of an ideal society"[8] - in this case a national day that emphasises bicultural unity.

But Abel's analysis suggests that it is better to talk of a trifurcation of space at Waitangi, rather than McAllister's bifurcation – with the participants being the state, Ngāpuhi elders and those gathered at Te Tii marae, and protesters.[9] The latter two participants are often framed as "tame Māori" and "wild Māori" by the media. Tame Māori (or good Māori) fit into society without a fuss – polite, dignified, old, passive – are members of the business or professional classes, hold traditional and conservative beliefs, and take part in official welcomes, celebrations, or cultural performances.[10]

"Wild Māori" – bad Māori or stirrers – are mainly young, urban, aggressive and demanding malcontents who are not happy unless they make trouble, misleading sections of Māori society (a less affluent and more urbanised working class, mostly)[11] into thinking that they are hard-done-by.[12] They are not able to be controlled by tame Māori, and are the ones to be blamed for disrupting the state's attempts at creating a peaceful commemoration or celebration of the Treaty signing.

Architecturally, the Treaty Grounds are the key space for the state at Waitangi. This is where the formal ceremonies usually take place – speeches are made by the Governor-General or Members of Parliament, other dignitaries are present, and the Navy and police participate. Tame Māori are also participants at the Treaty Ground ceremonies, and are thus often portrayed by the media as part of "us," "incorporated into the "we are one people" discourse."[13]

Te Tii marae is tame Māori space, where the state usually must defer to the rules and procedures set down by the marae committee – to the point where police are generally excluded and control is exercised by Māori wardens.[14] Other roles are also reversed at Te Tii, with state dignatories needing to be invited to attend ceremonies on the marae. Te

[6] McAllister "Waitangi Day" p 169.
[7] Abel *Shaping the* News p 19. Abel's work focuses primarily on the sesquicentenary ceremonies at Waitangi in 1990.
[8] McAllister "Waitangi Day" p 163.
[9] Abel *Shaping the News* p 19. Sue Abel uses the distinction of "tame" and "wild" Māori.
[10] Abel *Shaping the News* p 119.
[11] Hazlehurst *Political Expression and Ethnicity* p 19.
[12] McCreanor "Talking About Race" pp 91-92.
[13] Abel *Shaping the News* p 123.
[14] McAllister "Waitangi Day" p 168.

Tii is also associated with iwi elders who seek a conservative engagement with the state – while they may harbour grievances and want these addressed, the preferred method of engagement is passive and polite.

Wild Māori do not have a place in the geography of Waitangi. They must either negotiate a position alongside the state in the Treaty Grounds, with tame Māori at Te Tii, or be part of the general public outside either of these places. The media will often place significant focus on wild Māori marching in from other areas, heightening the emphasis that they are externals to proceedings. Access via non-controlled entry points is also often associated with wild Māori – for example, trying to gain access to the Treaty Grounds through the surrounding bush or by climbing trees.

Protest and Waitangi in the 1980s

Over the 1980s there were considerable shifts in the spatial expression of goings on at Waitangi, with strong narratives around the trifurcation of space. The goings on were reported to a signficant portion of New Zealand's population through the *New Zealand Herald*, which during that decade had the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in the country. Examination of articles in the *New Zealand Herald* from 1980 through to 1989[15] reveals that the shifts took place in three phases:

(i) 1980 to 1982 – the rising focus on Waitangi and Waitangi Day by protesters caught the state and tame Māori off-guard and introduced new dynamics to the spatial relationships
(ii) 1983 to 1985 – a more organised response to the protests is presented, with explicit action to regain order (including spatial order)
(iii) 1986 to 1989 – a retreat from Waitangi is staged by the state in an attempt to create a new, nation-wide, way of commemorating Waitangi Day (that is, an attempt to escape the protests and controversy that filled the preceeding years).

Caught off guard, 1980 to 1982

Dissatisfaction with the Crown's inability to honour the letter and spirit of the Treaty was voiced at Te Tii marae by leaders such as Matiu Rata (a Member of Parliament who had recently left the Labour Party and formed the independent Mana Motuhake Party) and Dame Whina Cooper, but these debates did not challenge the established order at Te Tii being tame Māori space and the Treaty Grounds that of the state. Matiu Rata's call to boycott the official ceremonies at the Treaty Grounds was recognition of the symbolism of the space – the state's attempt at celebrating unity would be difficult if only one side was present.[16] Dame Whina disagreed with the boycott, seeing the Treaty Grounds as a place for harmony and peaceful celebration, and Wellington as the correct place for protest.[17]

The arrival of 30 protesters in 1980 drove a wedge between the established spatial order at Waitangi which would endure, and widen, throughout the rest of the decade. Comfortable with the existing spatial dynamic, the media initially had difficulty placing the protest element. Predominantly Māori, the protesters were firstly associated with Te Tii marae, though maintained a separate identity to tame Māori. Elders from the marae held discussions well into the night with protesters on 5 February 1980, supporting their right to have their views

[15] Dates searched for each year were 1 February to 8 February inclusive.

[16] "Mr Rata To Shun Celebrations" p 3.

[17] "Mr Rata To Shun Celebrations" p 3. "Maori Land March Leader Going to Waitangi Celebrations" p 3.

heard but hoping they "would not do anything foolish."[18] Similar exhortations would be made in subsequent years.[19]

In 1982 the reported association between the protesters and Te Tii marae had disintegrated to the point where a group of protestors were refused accommodation by marae elders.[20] Making it clear that protesters had to even negotiate access to Te Tii marae, and at times were refused, helps frame them more clearly as wild Māori in comparison to the elders at Te Tii who were seeking peaceful discussion and debate as part of commemorations. It also more clearly introduced the idea that the protesters stood outside the established spatial order, neither with the state at the Treaty Grounds or with tame Māori at Te Tii.

Reporting of demonstration action reinforced the occupation of in-between space by wild Māori. Protesters and their actions are almost always placed outside the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii marae – in 1980 they established a picket line at the front gate to Te Tii,[21] and in 1982 police formed a line some 40 metres from the entrance to the Treaty Grounds to keep protesters at bay.[22] Reporting of 1982 demonstrations also emphasised efforts by protesters to gain access to the Treaty Grounds through the bush reserve, another in-between space. Additional police had to be brought out from the Treaty Grounds to deal with "violent clashes"[23] with protesters, making it clear that these took place outside the well-controlled state space, thereby ensuring official proceedings "went smoothly"[24] and "were a scene of peaceful and colourful tranquility."[25]

Even when reports gave indications that wild Māori were close to, or inside, the Treaty Grounds or Te Tii marae, emphasis was placed on barriers and the crossing of these. Police action was required in 1981 when a protester crossed beyond a roped off area and approached the dais where the Governor-General stood. In 1982 the Governor-General was hit by a golf ball and an egg thrown from the someone standing behind the roped off aisle that dignatories walked down.[26]

Attempts were made by the state to respect the tame Māori space. When protesters were refused accommodation at Te Tii in 1982, police waited until invited by elders to enter the marae and then made arrests.[27] In 1981 police escorted the Governor-General to Te Tii, but were not allowed onto the marae where Māori wardens instead took over the duties of controlling the area.[28] However, this approach was not consistent throughout the period. In 1981 police effectively invaded Te Tii marae in an effort to prevent a protest becoming "a full-scale riot."[29] Police "quickly poured on to" the marae, apprehended the protesters and "dragged them off the marae to waiting vans."[30] This reporting gives the strong sense that the state was always lingering on the edges just in case tame Māori were unable to handle the protesters. Prime

[18] "Maori Land March Leader Going to Waitangi Celebrations" p 3.
[19] "Protesters, Elders Talk Peace" p 1.
[20] "Police Asked to Move Protesters" p 3.
[21] "Marae Jostle Sours Waitangi Day Festivity" p 1.
[22] "Sir David Hit By Golf Ball in Hostile Marae Protest" p 1.
[23] "Sir David Hit By Golf Ball in Hostile Marae Protest" p 1.
[24] "Calm Reigns In Spite of Protest" p 3.
[25] "Waitangi Marae in Uproar as Police Arrest Eight Protesters" p 1.
[26] "Sir David Hit By Golf Ball in Hostile Marae Protest" p 1.
[27] "Police Asked to Move Protesters" p 3.
[28] "Protesters, Elders Talk Peace" p 1.
[29] "Waitangi Marae in Uproar as Police Arrest Eight Protesters" p 1.
[30] "Waitangi Marae in Uproar as Police Arrest Eight Protesters" p 1.

Minister Muldoon commented that the protesters would become "outcasts" from the Māori people.[31] The dragging of protesters from Te Tii clearly symbolised that the protesters were quite already outcasts, and that the marae was not their space.

By 9 February 1982 the lead story in the *New Zealand Herald* reported that police may change their tactics for future commemorations.[32] The Commissioner of Police placed the need for more "stringent control on future demonstrations" at the feet of the "lunatic fringe."[33] No longer were wild Māori going to catch the state off guard and risk disruption on the country's national day. In spatial terms, this stringent control would see the focus shift from the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii, broadening to encompass the in-between which wild Māori occupied.

Controlling the space, 1983 to 1985

The control of space at Waitangi stepped up a gear between 1983 and 1985. Particular focus was placed on the spaces in-between the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii marae, such as the bridge over the Waitangi River and the formal approaches to the Treaty Grounds. The 7 February 1983 edition of the *New Zealand Herald* led with a front page image of the Governor-General's car tightly flanked by police in full riot gear (including carrying batons), with the caption clarifying for readers that the Governor-General was on route to the Treaty House from his hotel. Leaving the safety of his overnight accommodation, the Governor-General had to pass through a dangerous no-man's land to reach his destination. No longer was it sufficient to have an aisle of police at the Treaty Grounds, now escorts were required for dignatories to pass through the in-between spaces that had become associated with wild Māori.

That same edition also ran a front page story detailing how 99 protesters were arrested at Waitangi through pre-emptive police action.[34] The original intention (agreed between both parties) was for the protesters to be outside the Treaty Grounds at 5.30pm on Waitangi Day – on the day, however, they were late in crossing the bridge between Te Tii marae and the Treaty Grounds. The lingering presence of wild Māori in this in-between space led police to fear a potential blockade of the bridge (thereby disrupting formal ceremonies by not enabling the Governor-General to arrive at the Treaty Grounds). The need to control the in-between space was so intense that arrests were made in anticipation of potential disturbance of the peace – not because such a disturbance had actually occurred.[35]

This period also saw a step up in the level of control over space by the state at both the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii marae. Tight control over entry to the Treaty Grounds was implemented through bomb detector dogs searching bags and scouting the area, and searches of bags and pat downs of those entering being conducted by the 400 to 500 strong contingent of police present.[36] This level of control was attributed to "ensuring the celebrations were one of the quietest for several years."[37] The state was finally figuring out how to construct the image of a peaceful show of unity.

[31] "'They'll Be Outcasts' Says PM" p 1.
[32] "Police Ponder Extending Arm of Law at Protests" p 1.
[33] "Police Ponder Extending Arm of Law at Protests" p 1.
[34] "Police Swoop on Waitangi Protesters: 99 Arrested" p 1.
[35] A year later a District Court Judge upheld a complaint of unlawful arrest by one of the protesters. "Powers of Arrest 'Still Sufficient'" p 3.
[36] "Powers of Arrest 'Still Sufficient'" p 3.
[37] "Powers of Arrest 'Still Sufficient'" p 3.

At Te Tii marae Māori wardens were entrusted with keeping order in 1985, but the state had a strong influence over the use and control of space in a less direct fashion. Over 400 tame Māori gathered at Te Tii for the 1985 Waitangi hui, and the New Zealand Army provided accommodation in the form of 90 tents spread over three hectares. In a page three story headlined "Army Tents Draw Maori Fire," Ngāpuhi elder and academic Dr Pat Hohepa expressed disappointment at the arrangements – "I was absolutely shocked by the sight of sterile rows of tents that would make us, of Ngāpuhi, feel aliens on our own marae."[38] The arrangement of tents was also criticised in that the division of people into small tents did not allow the marae to function as a space where groups could gather to "eat, sleep, and talk together."[39] Seemingly oblivious to the fact that their efforts were effectively an attempt to control tame Māori space so that any activity by wild Māori would be limited, an Army spokesman justified the arrangements with "It has a military approach because it has been put on by military people, and that is the way we do things best."[40]

Not that this increased level of control by the state defused actions by wild Māori. The Governor-General was confronted by protesters at the entrance to Te Tii on 5 February – Māori wardens (tame Māori) blocked any attempted entry to proceedings on the marae by the protesters, who had "marched quietly up from rows of army tents."[41] On 7 February 1985 the front page of the *New Zealand Herald* ran a quarter page photograph of a seated Dame Whina Cooper[42] wiping her eyes with a hankerchief – the caption informing readers that Dame Whina had broken down into tears following disturbances at the Waitangi Day ceremony. "Ugly outbursts from chanting protesters"[43] threatened to drown out official speeches at the ceremony on the marae, and police had to intervene when Māori wardens were unable to prevent rubbish, a smoke canister, and a flare from being thrown toward the dignatories.[44] A clear sense of separation between tame Māori and wild Māori was presented – protesters were shouting from "behind a wall of Maori wardens" and police were brought in to "form a protective line."[45]

Disruptions did not cease once the official party left for the Treaty Grounds. An unofficial ceremony was formed only metres away from the official one when protesters began a haka.[46] Again, Māori wardens formed a barrier to prevent protestors pushing their way into the official ceremony, and were supported by members of the cultural welcoming party (tame Māori as they take part in official ceremonies).

Prime Minister David Lange sent strong signals at the 1985 Waitangi hui that a different way of commemorating the signing of the Treaty was needed – he was reported as saying that commemorations would continue, but would be more widespread than before.[47]

[38] "Army Tents Draw Maori Fire" p 3.
[39] "Army Tents Draw Maori Fire" p 3.
[40] "Army Tents Draw Maori Fire" p 3.

[41] "Haka Hecklers Meet Sir David" p 1.
[42] Sue Abel classes Dame Whina as a symbol of unity, a mediator who is able to work between both sides, in this case "tame Māori" and the state (Abel *Shaping the News* p 123). Reporting in the *New Zealand Herald* on 7 February 1985 ("History Gave Way to Hysteria" p 1) makes it clear that she is unable to bring together the third element, "wild Māori."
[43] "History Gave Way to Hysteria" p 1.

[44] "Smoke, Flares, Abuse Fly At Waitangi Celebrations" p 3.
[45] "Smoke, Flares, Abuse Fly At Waitangi Celebrations" p 3.
[46] "Smoke, Flares, Abuse Fly At Waitangi Celebrations" p 3.
[47] "Quick Look In On Hui" p 1.

The inability to control the wild Māori by both the state and tame Māori – despite increased efforts to do so between 1983 to 1985 – had set the stage for this shift.

Retreat from Waitangi – 1986 to 1989

The end of the decade saw the state retreat from Waitangi. Official ceremonies were relocated to Wellington in an attempt to ease tensions around Treaty issues.[48] The decision had been made to hold the official commemorations in Parliament's banquet hall, a space that very clearly symbolises the state and which can be controlled to a far greater degree – here it is very unlikely that missiles can rain in on dignatories or that demonstrators would be able to drown out proceedings by shouting abuse.

Prime Minister David Lange informed the 420 invited attendees at the 1986 ceremony that the shift to Wellington was "to make clear the distinction between our rememberance of the treaty [sic] and our celebration of New Zealand. It was perhaps too much to ask of one day to let it serve as both rememberance and celebration."[49] Lange had delivered a not-so-subtle indication that Waitangi had become associated with the past, and that conducting ceremonies in a new place (Wellington) would break this association and instead introduce a positive, future-focused, national day celebration.

Lange's statement was not directed at all participants at Waitangi, however. Invitations were sent and expenses-paid trips to Wellington were offered to selected Northland leaders to allow them to attend the official ceremony.[50] Tame Māori were therefore seen as capable of celebrating New Zealand, leaving wild Māori squarely in the camp of bitter malcontents who were stuck in the past.

But Waitangi elders did not take up the offers of attending official ceremonies in Wellington. The *New Zealand Herald* reported Mrs Amy Tatano of Northland as saying "We are not one people with some here and some in Wellington."[51] Sir James Henare, a prominent Northland elder, expressed a similar belief - "This is where I belong, I cannot leave my people and go to Wellington."[52] While the preceeding six years had seen a wedge driven between tame Māori and wild Māori, the state's retreat had suddenly resulted in Māori being reported as one people with one space – Waitangi. And with this shift, celebrations at Waitangi became low-key, scaled down affairs that were reported as creating "an oasis of calm."[53]

Not that these last years of the decade were devoid of protest action. At first the protesters followed the state, with Parliament subject to demonstrations in 1986 and 1987. Gathered in Parliament's grounds, protesters in 1986 attempted to block entry by invited dignatories to Parliament Buildings.[54] Protestors even managed to gain access to the banquet hall, though police tightened security the following year to avoid a repeat.[55]

In 1987 demonstrations returned to Waitangi in response to the Governor-General's presence.[56] While this was not the official ceremony (which continued to be held in Wellington by the Prime Minister), protesters still saw it as an important opportunity to

[48] "Clashes Mark New-look Treaty Celebrations" p 1.
[49] "Questions Can Be Key to Strength: PM" p 3.
[50] "Waitangi Witnesses Fierce Loyalty" p 3.
[51] "Waitangi Witnesses Fierce Loyalty" p 3.
[52] "Waitangi Witnesses Fierce Loyalty" p 3.
[53] "Ceremony Oasis of Calm" p 3.
[54] "Clashes Mark New-look Treaty Celebrations" p 1.
[55] "Tight Guard On Waitangi Day" p 2.
[56] "Majority Shaken by Protest" p 12.

voice their dissatisfaction. The state then began sending the Minister of Māori Affairs or other members of parliament to participate (such as the Leader of the Opposition in 1987), who also became subject to protest action.

Conclusion

Reporting of proceedings at Waitangi in the 1980s, including state's retreat from there in the later stages of the decade, clearly shows a trifurcation of space. While the official race relations policy was biculturalism, this was not how it was shown in the media or how it was received by New Zealanders. The state and tame Māori were joined by protesters – wild Māori – in what McAllister termed the "landscape of nationhood."[57]

Wild Māori were seen as a disruptive influence on the idea of unity, a fly in the ointment of official policy. It was clear that they did not fit with the established order, and this was spatially expressed through them having no legitimate space to occupy. Instead, they were placed predominantly as part of the in-between. While the established spatial order at Waitangi focuses on the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii marae, protesters during the 1980s resulted in more being made of the spaces between these two official areas.

The physical relocation of official ceremonies to Wellington was testimony to how fractured space had become at Waitangi. Arguably, the relocation indicated that bicultural unity as the concept behind New Zealand's national day was too bold – instead the symbolism shifted to nationwide celebrations of New Zealand.

The state did not return official ceremonies to Waitangi until 1990, when the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty was commemorated. Nearly 20 years after this, protest remains a prominent part of Waitangi Day proceedings, as does an awareness of its spatial representation. In preparation for 2009 celebrations, Ngāpuhi organisers talked of moving on and educating people on what the treaty means in sense of a true partnership (read biculturalism), working with discussion and friendship rather than being a place for protest. Tame Māori were restating their claim to Waitangi space, or as Rūnanga O Ngāpuhi chairman Rāniera Tau said, "We don't have time for that carry-on anymore."[58]

[57] McAllister "Waitangi Day" p 169.

[58] *A New Dawn this Waitangi Day* n.p.

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