He Mangōpare Amohia

STRATEGIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI

NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI AWA

HE KUPU WHAKATAKI
FOREWORD

Rukuhia te mātauranga ki tōna hōhonutanga me tōna whānuitanga.
Whakakiia ngā kete a ngā uri o Awanuiārangi me te iwi Māori whānui
ki ngā taonga tuku iho, ki te hōhonutanga me te whānuitanga
o te mātauranga, kia tū tangata ai rātou i ngā rā e tū mai nei.

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā karangatanga maha, tēnā koutou i te āhuatanga o tēnei pūrongo rangahau, e kīa nei, *He Mangōpare Amohia*. Kei te tangi te ngākau ki a rātou kua hinga atu, kua hinga mai, i runga i ngā tini marae o te motu. Koinei hoki te kotahi tau o te ngaronga atu o te mangōpare nei, a Parekura Horomia, o Hauiti tangata, o Hauiti rohe. Haere atu rā e Pā, moe mai rā i te mātotorutanga o te tangata. Kāti. Hoki mai rā ki a tātou te hunga ora, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou.

Nau mai, haere atu rā ngā mihi ki a koutou e aronui nei ki tēnei kaupapa, ko te ōhanga me te oranga o ngā whānau, ngā hapū me ngā iwi. Ka mihi hoki ki ngā iwi e whā, arā, ki a Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Whānau-a-Apanui me Ngāpuhi. Nā rātou i whakaae ki tēnei kaupapa, i kaha tautoko hoki i tēnei rangahau me āna kaimahi. Ko te tūmanako ia, ka whai take ngā kōrero nei, kia tū tika ai ngā whare maha o te motu, kia tupu ora ai te tangata, kia tutuki hoki ngā wawata o ngā whānau, o ngā hapū, o ngā iwi. Mā reira, ka whakatinana te whakataukī a Metekingi o Whanganui: Whāia te pae tawhiti, kia tata; whakamaua te pae tata, kia tīna.

> *We cannot have a sustainable socio-economic revolution within Māori communities without a prior or simultaneous education revolution; such a revolution must build on our own models of transformation that appropriately respond to our aspirations to engage with the whole world while simultaneously growing our cultural and iwi citizenship responsibilities. (Smith, 2013)*

This research project has been undertaken with the support and research funding from Ngā Pae o te

Māramatanga. It focused on how the emerging Māori economy must move from an over-emphasis on description and theory to a more even balance that also accentuates enactment and practice.

Our thanks to the participating iwi and organisations, and our researchers, namely:

- Ngāti Awa: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, Jeremy Gardiner[1], Leonie Simpson, Dayle Hunia, Dr Joe Mason, Enid Ratahi-Pryor, Mate Heitia;
- Ngāti Kahungunu: Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, Kahungunu Asset Holding Company Ltd, Kahungunu Economic Development Board, Jodie Hamilton, Rawinia Kamau (Programme Manager);
- Te Whānau-a-Apanui: Te Rūnanga o Te Whānau, Rikirangi Gage, Rob Whitbourne;
- Ngāpuhi: Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, Tame Te Rangi, George Riley, Karleen Everitt, Dr Te Tuhi Robust;
- Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga: Daniel Patrick, Dr Marilyn Brewin, Dr Joseph Te Rito, Dr Dan Hikuroa, Professor Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, Associate Professor Tracey McIntosh, Sir Tipene O'Regan;
- Researchers: Richard Jefferies, Dr Lyn Carter, Dr Mereana Barrett.

A key consideration of this overall programme has been the need to shift from narrow conceptions of iwi economic development – for example, an over-emphasis on the metrics of wealth creation and subsequent descriptive analyses of the pathologies derived from high and disproportionate levels of social and economic underdevelopment of Māori and iwi. We argue for a more intentional emphasis on transforming outcomes that embrace the interconnected themes of economic, social and cultural development as the basis for improving Māori and iwi well-being. This project examines 'best practice' insights from four iwi and also canvasses a broad range of literature on these matters.

Our interest in the notion of the evolving Māori economy is twofold. First, the practical implementation of transforming ideas with respect to Māori and iwi economic development; that is, moving from the 'concept' or 'ideas' level to the 'practical enactment'. Second, how core intervention elements identified in successful practice models (and the literature) might become more portable and therefore transferable across different sites of Māori and iwi need. In this sense, our concern is the more universal issue of how good ideas are 'bought into' by the population at large, or put another way, how might we shift from an over-emphasis on 'expert', 'top down' change models, to more inclusive, participatory 'buy-in' from the very communities for whom the changes are purportedly developed.

While all iwi that we examined understood the 'colonising' potential of uncritically accepting western economic models, most did not have confidence in shifting away from the old 'patronising' models of development. These forms of colonial development have been challenged, for example, within the critiques of Pacific Island scholars (Halapua, 1993). A key issue for Māori and iwi is for greater self-determining influence over the models of development that they utilise, and to ensure that these models appropriately reflect not only their economic interests but also their social and cultural development aspirations. The power to self-develop is a key strategy. Māori already have some experience in the education arena around the enactment of self-development, as seen for example in the alternative education revolution initiated with the Kōhanga Reo movement in 1982. A key element in the success of this initiative was the uptake of the 'language nest' idea by Māori more generally, and by iwi, hapū and whānau. A constant concern since its beginning has been the potential domestication of the intervention promise of this alternative education and schooling movement by dominant Pākehā 'cultural interests', and its subsequent diminishment by incorporation into the 'status quo' system and structures. To emphasise the point we are making here – there is a need to get beyond shallow, descriptive accounts of the Māori economy. Self-development strategies and models need to be defended at the levels of both theory (logic) and practice (implementation). Moreover we need to give more attention to its enactment, its ownership by the people, and therefore its transforming potential of the persisting high and disproportionate levels of Māori social, economic and cultural underdevelopment.

An important issue for self-development of iwi has been

[1] We acknowledge the initial work of Jeremy Gardiner, who at the time was the Chief Executive Officer of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, and was subsequently appointed to a new position in another organisation.

to ensure that the governance of the iwi, and therefore control by iwi, was maintained and not totally devolved to sub-groups such as economic sub-committees. An issue here is the capacity and capability of the governance group itself and the necessity to have economic expertise at the rūnanga level, in order to maintain an authority and direction over those responsible for growing and sustaining the wealth of the iwi. Put more succinctly, we raise the concern of insufficient attention by some iwi leadership to social and cultural outcomes for its iwi members versus a narrowly defined accent on the metrics associated with wealth creation. While all areas (economic, social and cultural development) were considered important – in some contexts the potential for the 'trickle down impact' of wealth into supporting the social and cultural domains was neither clear nor articulated coherently.

We draw attention to the purpose of this research programme – transforming Māori/iwi economic development – and argue the need to be critically reflective about all of these terms and 'what counts' in terms of their meanings. While we ought to critically understand what we mean by each of these individual terms, there are further complications created by different combinations, such as Māori economic development; Māori economics; Māori development, etc. An overt intention of this research programme is to enhance positive and proactive Māori and iwi economic advancement through research-informed initiatives that draw on and support Māori social and cultural aspirations. This particular research is one of a cluster of interlinking projects, each with their own set of objectives. The first project sought to establish an aspirations framework for Māori economic development. The second project identified transforming principles that underpinned a range of strategies and models that have been used by iwi and Māori organisations, and to subsequently identify a framework of principles for both developing effective economic planning and also monitoring effective economic progress. The third project summarises some 'best practice' insights from within the iwi samples that work within culturally preferred frameworks, and which have potential to assist the economic development aspirations and well-being outcomes for other Māori interest groups and iwi.

All of these projects, individually and collectively, will assist iwi to embrace and to enact the Māori economy within their own culturally defined parameters, as opposed to relying on borrowing narrowly defined models of economic development that are usually working to reproduce dominant cultural expectations and interests. To be more precise, existing economic models do not fully embrace Māori or iwi expectations in regard to what might count as being important or relevant. In this sense, Māori and iwi expectations are not simply focused on the bottom line; they are also simultaneously focused on the impacts on the people and culture. The bottom-line calculation must also be considered against its impact on the people. When economic, cultural and social outcomes of success are attained as 'joint outcomes' then we are more likely to be achieving Māori well-being.

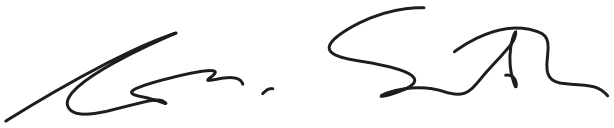
This research brings together multiple sets of information from iwi interviews, observations, policy documents, other research reports and literature sources to enable the projection of a potential futures framework. The futures framework is three-dimensional, and calls for the simultaneous consideration of economic, social and cultural impact as part of both implementing strategic intervention, and monitoring what has been engaged (and what has not). This multi-dimensional approach to transforming Māori and iwi economic development is a more holistic approach, and moves beyond the disaggregated, generalist approach currently employed in various settings. We term this a 360-degree intervention approach, following the use of this concept in the education and schooling domain (Smith, 2011; 2013). A key understanding is that Māori needs are multiple, and as a consequence our responses or interventions also need to be multiple. As a result of this, it follows that we frequently need to be engaged in multiple sites, employing multiple strategies, often simultaneously. There is a need, therefore, to move beyond the single project approach; beyond the one-size-fits-all policies; beyond the 'silver bullet' intervention models. The lessons in the education field are also lessons for Māori and iwi economic development. One-off interventions have had limited success or have not worked at all; as Smith (2013) has put it: while one hole in the dam is blocked, water is often pouring through a number of other holes. Our development of the futures framework, with consideration of the economic, cultural and social elements of Māori underdevelopment, is an attempt to respond to these multiple sites of development need, in a more in-depth and profound way.

An important component of this research programme is that we are asking critical questions that are derived from iwi and which reflect the interests of Māori, iwi and community as a contribution that adds to what we may already know. In saying this, we are not attempting to create an oppositional dichotomy between Pākehā models and Māori models as an either/or choice. Our intention is to fill the significant silence and absence of Māori and iwi answers to the question of 'what counts as transforming Māori and iwi economic development?'

To conclude, below is a brief summary of some key points that position this study:

- There cannot be a sustainable social and economic revolution for Māori without a simultaneous or prior educational revolution;
- Tribal governance needs to have economic skillsets in their rūnanga complement and maintain control and influence of 'what counts' as economic development to embrace the triple concerns of economic, cultural and social growth of the iwi;
- Our concern is also for the prosperity of the nation – but this will not happen without a major overturn of Māori social, cultural and economic underdevelopment;
- Paraphrasing Freire's (1972) insight – we can't just free ourselves, we also have to free the 'system'; in this sense we need to also educate the iwi at large about the strategy and plan for 'transforming Māori and iwi economic development' in order to gain genuine buy-in from the community and iwi members for whom we are purporting to make change on their behalf; and
- The answers are within ourselves; our struggle should not be so much for self-determination as it should be to be self-determining; that our struggle for change should be ongoing, an every-day, every-moment concern.

Kāti, tēnā anō koutou i runga i te au o mihi.



Distinguished Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith
Principal Investigator
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

HE RĀRANGI ŪPOKO KŌRERO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

1. **HE TŪWHERATANGA KŌRERO**
INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of this research programme was to identify critical success factors for Māori economic development from an iwi perspective, and to develop appropriate economic development templates. These included aspirational frameworks, models and scenarios, and key principles and considerations that inform a futures-oriented framework for Māori and iwi economic development. Information was gathered from four participating iwi. This information has subsequently been used to identify best practice and indicators of success. Key questions were generated to guide the researchers. Iwi researchers[2] were then asked to canvas these questions, where appropriate, and to also gather other relevant information and detail that iwi themselves had produced. From these answers and other information gathered, a set of critical factors have been aggregated.

These critical success factors identified from within the data of the four iwi sites provide insight into the social, cultural and economic imperatives that need to inform the futures framework.
There are also four key generalisations which inform this report and which underpin the framework:

- That Māori/iwi economic growth must coincide with Māori social and cultural well-being. These two trajectories are brought together by Māori economic development (see Figure 20);
- That for iwi specifically and Māori generally, self-development is an important factor;
- That iwi desire to grow their economic potential and sustainability in order to enhance their social and cultural well-being; and
- That Māori development (generally) and iwi development (specifically) are to be engaged with simultaneously.

This chapter introduces the research question, identifies related projects, and provides the programme objectives. Furthermore, background information pertaining to the overall research programme, partners and participating iwi are provided, and connections made to other research that was conducted alongside this research programme. Finally, an outline of the structure of this report is presented.

2 It is noted that iwi researchers used different methodologies to engage with their research domain, as each of the four iwi have different social, cultural, political and economic contexts that needed to be negotiated. This is explained in 2. Ngā kaupapa me ngā tikanga rangahau: Research methodology & methods.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The overarching research question was: What are the critical success factors for Māori economic development?

The scope of this research was to develop a range of frameworks, tools and scenarios that could assist in harnessing the opportunities for the Māori economy. These frameworks, tools and scenarios are grounded by iwi aspirations, guiding principles and key considerations, all of which inform critical success factors for Māori economic development.

1.2 RESEARCH PROJECTS

The research programme consisted of three research projects, which involved:

- Ascertaining iwi aspirations with respect to economic development;
- Identifying models and scenarios of success within four different iwi contexts; and
- Building a futures framework for iwi economic and social development.

These three projects were augmented by other sources of information, including: the generation of a preliminary literature review (Carter, Kamau & Barrett, 2011); hosting two Māori economic development symposia, as well as presenting at other conferences and seminars; establishing links with regional and national economic development strategies; and the utilisation of focus groups. Additional reports on iwi projections (BERL, 2012) and demographic and economic well-being trends (Patrick, von Randow & Cotterell, 2014a; 2014b; 2014c) were also commissioned to supplement the information gathered through the research projects, and, where appropriate, inform the models and scenarios of success for the four participating iwi.

1.3 PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES

The three research projects above were also the expected outputs for this research programme. The programme objectives were as follows:

- To build an evidence base through the collation of existing information that will guide and inform the programme design;
- To design a self-defined aspirational framework for Māori economic development through a process of strategic stakeholder engagement; and endogenous development methodology;
- To explore the hypothesis that creativity and innovation are key enablers for increasing economic returns from Māori owned or controlled assets;
- To design innovative models and scenarios to strategically inform Māori economic development;
- To enhance understanding of the context of Māori economic development nationally and internationally, informing through other indigenous perspectives;
- To create and deliver a futures framework that inspires and enables transformative change through a robust process of dissemination; and
- To support and develop a number of outstanding researchers in Māori economic development.
- These research programme objectives were achieved, as discussed and illustrated throughout this report.

1.4 **BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH**

This research programme, originally entitled *Te Pae Tawhiti*, commenced in March 2011, following the signing of a three-year contract between Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence, based at the University of Auckland) and two research partners: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, both based in Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty. The term *Te Pae Tawhiti* was adopted by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga to distinguish two significant research programmes. The first was focused on the contribution of te reo Māori to economic development, cultural identity and social cohesion, and was conducted by Associate Professor Poia Rewi (University of Otago) and Associate Professor Rawinia Higgins (Victoria University of Wellington). The second programme involves this research on critical success factors that empower Māori economic development. As the programme progressed, the research team based at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi embraced the term *Te Tupunga* as the title for the research. The term reflects growth across all spheres of Māori development, including Māori economic development, and signals the aspirations of iwi participating in the research to nurture, strengthen and increase economic and socio-cultural imperatives.

1.5 **RESEARCH PARTNERS**

The research partners involved in this research programme are Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, along with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

1.5.1 **TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI AWA**

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa is the mandated iwi authority for Ngāti Awa, an iwi grouping based in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Initially established as a Trust Board in 1988, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa was responsible for seeking redress for Ngāti Awa grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi (Federation of Māori Authorities & Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005). These historical claims were settled with the passing of the Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005, and in the same year, specific legislation was enacted to establish Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa as the post-Treaty settlement governance entity. As such, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa administers cultural, social, environmental and economic functions for the collective benefit of all descendants, and is driven by the 2010-2015 vision:

> *Strengthening the bindings of the adze: Our culture, our environment, our resources, our people (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 6).*

The strategic framework for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa is underpinned by the guiding principles of Ngāti Awatanga (language and culture), kaitiakitanga (guardianship for future generations) and manaakitanga (caring for each other), with key strategies focusing on culture, well-being, leadership and development, and resources (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010).

Leadership at Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa identified a need for further research on models for Māori economic development, and approached Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi regarding this research and to be a research partner. As Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi is a participating research entity of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and has the research and academic capability and capacity, it became the host for this research programme.

1.5.2 **TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI**

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi was established and incorporated by Ngāti Awa in 1992, and was confirmed as one of three state-funded Wānanga tertiary institutions in 1997. As a Wānanga, and in accordance with the Education Act 1989, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi is responsible for promulgating research and teaching, underpinned by mātauranga Māori, and within the context of tikanga and āhuatanga Māori (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2014). The name Awanuiārangi is linked to the whakapapa of Mataatua waka that landed at Whakatāne, and many iwi claim descent from both the ancestor, Awanuiārangi, and the waka, Mataatua. Those iwi include: Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and Ngāi Te Rangi.

The vision of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi is:

> *Rukuhia te mātauranga ki tōna hōhonutanga me tōna whānuitanga. Whakakiia ngā kete a ngā uri o Awanuiārangi me te iwi Māori whānui ki ngā taonga tuku iho, ki te hōhonutanga me te whānuitanga o te mātauranga kia tū tangata ai rātou i ngā rā e tū mai nei.*
>
> *Pursue knowledge to the greatest depths and its broadest horizons. To empower the descendants of Awanuiārangi and all Māori to claim and develop their cultural heritage and to broaden and enhance their knowledge base so as to be able to face with confidence and dignity the challenges of the future (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2014, p. i).*

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi offers a range of undergraduate and graduate degrees to 3,497 EFTS (approximately 7,004 students), across three sites (Whakatāne, Auckland and Northland), delivered and supported by 148 staff, which includes the highest number of Māori doctoral staff of any institution (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2014). Research endeavours and practices are well-informed and address key priority areas for Māori with the view of improving daily lives and informing policy affecting Māori.

This research programme has allowed Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi to develop a profile with other indigenous people and has informed the development of undergraduate and postgraduate papers, thus contributing to research-informed teaching in a new and emerging discipline: Māori and indigenous business and management.

1.6 **PARTICIPATING IWI**

The overarching approach of this research programme was to capture the potential of the emerging Māori economy through the lens of iwi researchers and their participating iwi. Initially, there were six iwi participating in the research: Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa. As the research evolved, Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa became involved in other important foci, including the Rena shipwreck and oil spill, and settlement of Treaty of Waitangi grievances, so were unable to continue as participants in the research programme. However, the remaining four iwi – Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāpuhi – engaged and endorsed four researchers, who had whakapapa connections to these iwi.

Research with iwi is diverse and complex, thus iwi researchers were required to navigate through the politics associated with iwi research, and utilise their experience and knowledge to gather iwi data and information for analysis. Enquiry into the iwi context has led to the development of four unique aspirational frameworks and distinctive models and scenarios that inform iwi economic development. Furthermore, the futures framework presented in this report – *He Whare Tupu Tangata* – draws on guiding principles and critical components that were evident throughout the four participating iwi, and which may also have relevance for others.

This research programme has provided an opportunity for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi to build iwi capacity through research, encourage inter-iwi interactions, explore iwi leadership, management styles and decision-making, and support the endurance of inter-iwi relationships.

1.6.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

Ngāti Awa is an iwi located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, and consists of a youthful but growing population of 16,179 people in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). In 2006, Ngāti Awa was recognised as the tenth largest iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a). There is a large number of iwi members living in the Bay of Plenty area, but this has been declining slightly over time. In 1991, nearly half (49 percent) of the Ngāti Awa population lived in the Bay of Plenty region. In 2006, this declined to 45 percent (Patrick et al, 2014a), and in 2013, the figure was 43 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). The iwi comprises 22 hapū (including two urban hapū in Auckland and Wellington) and 19 marae, located in and around Whakatāne, Te Teko, Matatā, Mōtītī Island and Auckland.

The hapū and marae which affiliate to Ngāti Awa (J. Mason, personal communication, 20 August 2014) are presented in the following table (Table 1):

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Iramoko	Te Tāwera	Te Paetata	Iramoko
Kōkōhinau (Tuhimata)	Te Pahipoto	Oruataupare	Waipunarangi
-	Te Kahupaake	-	-
Mataatua	Ngāti Awa ki Tāmaki Makau Rau	Awanuiārangi	Tuteiere
Poroporo	Ngāti Pūkeko	Pūkeko	Rangimamao
Puawairua	Ngāti Hikakino	Puawairua	Pirau Whenua
Rewatū	Ngāi Tamapare	Ueimua	Tapa
Ruaihona	Ngāi Tamaoki	Ruaihona	Mahanga-i-te-rangi
Tamatea-ki-te-Huatahi (Te Rua Kopiha)	Ngāti Maumoana	Tamatea-ki-te-Huatahi	Hinewai
Te Hinga o te Rā (Te Karioi)	Ngāti Maumoana	Te Hinga o te Rā	-
Te Hokowhitu Atu ki Te Rāhui	Ngāti Hokopū ki Hokowhitu Ngāti Wharepaia	Te Hokowhitu	Te Rau Aroha
Te Mānuka Tūtahi	-	Mataatua	Te Aroha o Ngāti Awa
Te Māpou	Ngāti Hāmua	Rongotangiawa	Te Kiriwera Hana
Te Pāhou	Ngāti Rangataua	Rangataua	Hinekete
Te Pāroa	Ngāi Taiwhakaea	Taiwhakaea	Toanatini
Te Rangihouhiri	Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri	Te Rangihouhiri	-
-	Ngāti Awa ki Pōneke	-	-
Te Whare o Toroa	Ngāti Hokopū Ngāti Wharepaia	Wairaka	Tamatea-ki-te-Huatahi
Tokitareke (Warahoe)	Te Warahoe	Te Puna o Te Orohi	-
Toroa (Pūpūaruhe)	Te Patuwai	Toroa	Kakepikitua
Tūariki	Ngāti Tūariki	Tūariki	Wairere-Ahiahi
Tūteao	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Whakaruru mai o te Rangi
Uiraroa	Ngāi Tamawera	Uiraroa	Tauwhitu

Table 1: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai of Ngāti Awa (J. Mason, personal communication, 20 August 2014).

The mandated iwi authority and post-Treaty settlement governance entity for Ngāti Awa is Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa – one of the partners involved in this research programme. As at November 2013, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa had 19,598 registered members (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2013). In 2005, Ngāti Awa received a Treaty settlement valued at $42 million, which included 77,000 acres of land, buildings and cash. In under 10 years, the asset base of Ngāti Awa has grown to approximately $110 million, which includes interests in agriculture, fisheries, forestry, equities and property. Ngāti Awa Group Holdings Ltd is responsible for all commercial activities on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2013).

1.6.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Ngāti Kahungunu is the third largest iwi in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, with 61,626 members (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). Between 1991 and 2006, Ngāti Kahungunu people gradually moved away from the Hawke's Bay region, which forms part of the iwi rohe (Patrick et al., 2014b), and in 2013, 28 percent of iwi members lived within this region, and 1,293 people had returned to New Zealand after living overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). The wider iwi rohe encompasses a large area along the eastern coast of the North Island, stretching from Paritū and the Wharerata ranges (south of Gisborne) to Tūrakirae and the Rimutaka ranges (east of Wellington) (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2013).

The iwi is organised into six regional areas, or taiwhenua:

- Te Wairoa;
- Te Whanganui-a-Ōrotu;
- Heretaunga;
- Tamatea;
- Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua; and
- Wairarapa.

Within the taiwhenua are hapū who affiliate with other iwi resident within the rohe, some of whom precede Ngāti Kahungunu settlement in the rohe. Ngāti Kahungunu has approximately 90 marae, and several hapū (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014), as listed below (Tables 2-7).

TE WAIROA

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Aranui	Ngāi Tamaterangi, Ngāti Peehi	Arapera Te Poho o Ngāpera	
Erepēti	Ngāti Hingānga, Te Aitanga o Pourangahua	Pourangahua	Whongariki
Hinemihi	Ngāti Hinemihi	Te Poho o Hinemihi	
Huramua	Ngāi Tānemitirangi	Huramua Memorial Hall	
Iwitea	Ngāi Tahu, Matawhaiti, Ngāti Ruapani, Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Hineringa, Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Patutai, Ngāti Matuahanga, Ngāi Teki, Ngāti Pōkino, Ngāti Kahina, Ngāi Te Koara, Ngāi Te Ariari	Te Poho o Tahu	Takutaimoana te Rohe
Kahungunu	Ngāti Pāhauwera	Te Maara a Ngata	Te Maara a Ngata
Kahungunu (Te Tahinga)	Rākaipaaka	Kahungunu	Rongomaiwahine
Kaiuku (Oku-ra-renga)	Ngāi Tū, Ngāti Tama, Rongomaiwahine	Kiwi	
Kihitū	Ngāti Kahu	Te Rauhina	Te Aio
Kurahikakawa	Ngāti Pāhauwera	-	-
Māhanga (Rongomaiwahine)	Ngāi Tū, Rongomaiwahine	Te Poho o Rongomaiwahine	Rapua-i-te-rangi
Pākōwhai	Ngāti Mihi	Te Huinga o Te Aroha	
Pūtahi	Ngāti Hinepehinga	Te Poho o Hinepehinga	
Putere	Ngāti Pāhauwera, Ruapani	Pareroa	
Rangiāhua	Ngāi Tamaterangi	Te Poho o Tamaterangi	Tahora
Raupunga	Ngāti Pāhauwera	Te Huki	-
Ruataniwha	Ngāi Te Kapuamātotoru	Te Poho o Riria	Te Poho o Te Omana
Ruawharo	Ngāti Tama, Rongomaiwahine	Ruawharo	Ngā Nūhaka
Taihoa	Ngāti Kurupakiaka, Te Kāwiti	Te Ōtāne	Taihoa
Tākitimu (Waihirere)	Ngāi Te Apatu, Ngāti Moewhare	Tākitimu	Tātau Tātau
Tamakahu	Rākaipaaka	Tamakahu	
Tāne-nui-a-Rangi	Rākaipaaka, Ngāti Rangi	Tāne-nui-a-Rangi	Maata Parae
Te Kotahitanga	Rākaipaaka	Unity Hall	
Te Manutai	Rākaipaaka	Te Manutai	Hineahi
Te Mira (Whetū Mārama)	Ngāti Mākoro	Mākoro	
Te Poho o Te Rehu	Rākaipaaka	Te Poho o Te Rehu	Katea
Te Rākatō	Ngāi Te Rākatō		
Te Reinga	Ngāti Hinehika, Ngāti Kōhatu	Tuarenga	Hinekōrako
Tuahuru	Ngāi Tū, Ngāti Tama, Rongomaiwahine	Hine te Rongo	
Waipapa-a-Iwi	Kurahikakawa, Ngāti Pāhauwera	Te Kahu o Te Rangi	Rongomaiwahine
Whaakirangi	Ngāti Mātangirau	Whaakirangi	Waimahuru
Whakakī	Ngāi Te Ipu, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Hinepua	-	-

Table 2: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Te Wairoa (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

TE WHANGANUI-A-ŌROTU

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Hamuera (Moteo)	Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu	Rangimārie	Hamuera
Kohupātiki	Ngāti Hōri, Ngāti Toaharapaki	Tānenuiārangi	Hineahuone
Petane	Ngāti Matepu, Ngāti Whakaari, Ngāi Te Ruruku o te Rangi	Te Amiki	Te Awhina
Pukemokimoki	Ngā Hau e Whā	Omio	Te Ipu
Tangoio	Marangatuhetaua, Ngāi Tātara, Ngāi Te Ruruku o te Rangi, Ngāti Kurumōkihi, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Moe	Punanga a Te Wao	Tangitū
Te Hāroto	Ngāti Hineuru	Te Rongopai	Piriwiritua
Timi Kara	Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu	Te Whānau Pani	Timi Kara
Waiohiki	Ngāti Pārau	-	-
Whararangi	Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu, Ngāi Tāwhao,	Manahau	Te Whanga

Table 3: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Te Whanganui-a-Ōrotu (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

HERETAUNGA

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Houngarea	Ngāti Ngarengare, Ngāti Papatuamāro, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Te Rehunga	Houngarea	Tawirirangi
Kahurānaki	Ngāi Te Rangikoianake, Ngāti Whatuiāpiti	Kahurānaki	Te Whakaahu
Korongatā	Ngāti Pōporo, Ngāti Whatuiāpiti	Nukanoa	Matariki
Mangaone (Winiata)	Ngāi Te Ohuake, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki	Tautahi	Hinemanu
Mangaroa	Ngāti Rahunga, Ngāti Pōporo	Hikawera II	Hinetemoa
Matahiwi	Ngāti Hāwea, Ngāti Hori, Ngāti Kautere, Ngāti Hinemoa	Te Matau a Māui	Hina Taranga
Mihiroa	Ngāti Mihiroa	Mihiroa	Pukepuke Tangiora
Moawhango	Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Whiti	Whitikaupeka	Te Rina
Ōmāhu	Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Honomokai, Ngāti Mahuika	Kahukuranui	Ruatapuwahine
Ōpaea	Ngāti Tamakōpiri, Ngāti Tama	Tumakaurangi	Te Puawaitanga o Ngā Tūmanako
Ruahāpia	Ngāti Hāwea, Ngāti Hōri	Karaitiana Takamoana	Winipere
Rūnanga	Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Mahuika	Te Aroha	Te Puanani
Taraia	Ngāti Taraia, Ngāti Hōtoa	Taraia	-
Te Aranga o Heretaunga	Ngā Mātā Waka	Te Muka Tangata	Ngā Whitau
Te Āwhina	Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Mahuika	Te Huinga o Te Aroha	Te Āwhina
Te Riu o Puanga (Ōruamātua)	Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Whiti	Ōruamātua	-
Waimārama	Ngāti Kurukuru, Ngāti Hikatoa, Ngāti Urakiterangi, Ngāti Whakaiti	Taupunga	Morehu Te Amohaere
Waipatu	Ngāti Hāwea, Ngāti Hinemoa, Ngāti Hōri	Heretaunga	Waipatu Centennial Hall

Table 4: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

TAMATEA

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Mataweka	Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāi Toroiwaho	Nohomaiterangi	Rangitawhiti
Pourerere	Ngāi Te Oatua, Ngāti Tamaterā	-	-
Pukehou	Ngāi Te Whatuiapiti, Ngāi Te Hurihanga-i-te-rangi, Ngāi Te Rangi-te-kahutia, Ngāti Pukututu	Keke Haunga	Kauhehei
Rakautātahi	Ngāi Te Kikiri o te Rangi, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Toroiwaho, Ngāi Te Rangi-te-kahutia, Rangitotohu	Te Poho o Te Whatuiāpiti	Te Rau Aroha
Rongo o Tahu	Ngāi Tahu	-	-
Rongomaraeroa	Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Manuhiri, Ngāti Hinetewai, Ngāti Pihere, Tamatea Hinepare	Te Poho o Kahungunu	Te Uaua Tamariki
Tapairu	Ngāti Mārau	Te Rangatahi	Amiria
Te Whatuiāpiti	Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti	Te Whatuiāpiti	Te Huhuti
Waipukurau	Ngāti Parakiore, Ngāti Tamatea	-	-

Table 5: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Tamatea (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

TĀMAKI-NUI-A-RUA

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Kaitoki	Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāti Pakapaka	Kaitoki Memorial Hall	
Mākirikiri	Ngāi Te Rangiwhakaewa, Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāti Pakapaka, Ngāti Te Rangiwhakaewa	Aotea Tuatoru	Te Kurairirangi
Pāpāuma	Te Hika o Pāpāuma, Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāti Pakapaka	Pāpāuma	-
Te Ahu a Tūranga i Mua	Ngā Hau e Whā	Te Huinga o Ngā Waka	Te Ōkei
Te Aroha o Aohanga	Te Hika o Pāpāuma, Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāti Pakapaka	Te Aroha o Aohanga	Ngarutai
Te Kōhanga Whakawhāiti	Te Hika o Pāpāuma, Ngāti Hāmua, Te Kapuārangi	Te Kōhanga Whakawhāiti o te Iwi	Manaakitanga
Whiti Te Rā	Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāti Pakapaka	Whiti Te Rā	

Table 6: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

WAIRARAPA

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Ākura	Ngāti Te Ahuahu, Ngāti Te Hina	-	-
Hau Ariki	Ngāti Hikawera	Te Whare Wānanga o Tūpai	Ngā Waka a Kupe
Hurunui o Rangi	Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tāneroroa, Ngāti Kaiparuparu, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Parera, Ngāti Rangitataia, Ngāti Rangitehewa, Ngāti Tatuki, Ngāti Te Tomo	Hurunui o Rangi	Tapitapi
Kohunui	Ngāti Hinewaka, Ngāi Rākaiwhakairi, Ngāti Rākairangi, Ngāi Tūkoko	Tuhirangi	-
Motuwairaka	Ngāi Tūmapuhia-a-rangi	-	-
Ōkautete	Ngāi Tūmapuhia-a-rangi	-	-
Pāpāwai	Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Kahukuranui, Ngāti Meroiti	Hikurangi	Te Waipounamu
Pouakani	Ngāti Rākaiwhakairi, Ngāti Hinetauira, Ngāti Tūmanuhiri, Ngāti Maahu, Ngāti Whatangarerewa, Ngāti Muretu, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Te Aokino, Ngāti Whakamana, Ngāti Rangiakau, Ngāti Pā Te Ika, Ngāti Pakuahi, Ngāti Komuka, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tūkōkō, Ngāi Hangarākau, Ngāi Tūkaihara, Ngāi Tāneroa, Ngāi Te Rangitāwhanga, Ngāi Te Aomataura, Ngāi Tūtemiha, Ngāti Kahukuraawhitia, Ngāti Rākaihikuroa, Tū mai te Uru, Ngāti Hakeke, Ngāti Parakiore, Ngāti Tauiao, Ngāti Tūmanawa	Tamatea Pōkai Whenua	Hinehuirangi
Te Oreore	Kahukuraawhitia, Ngāti Kahukuranui, Ngāti Te Hina, Tamahau, Whiunga	Ngā Tau e Waru	
Te Rangimārie	Ngāti Kahukuranui	Nukutaimemeha	Taranga

Table 7: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai within Te Taiwhenua o Wairarapa (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2014).

The mandated iwi authority is Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, and Kahungunu Asset Holding Company Ltd manages the Treaty of Waitangi fisheries settlement on behalf of Ngāti Kahungunu (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2013). At a hapū and taiwhenua level, Treaty settlements are currently progressing, and will be managed by post-Treaty settlement entities that reflect the aspirations of marae, hapū and/or taiwhenua (He Toa Takitini, 2014; Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa-Tāmaki nui ā Rua Trust, 2013).

1.6.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

Located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty also, Te Whānau-a-Apanui is a coastal tribe, with a population of 12,948 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). Approximately 36 percent of the iwi population resided in the Bay of Plenty region in 2006 (Patrick et al., 2014c), and in 2013, this had decreased slightly to 34 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c). Around 85 percent of those living within the iwi rohe are of Te Whānau-a-Apanui descent (Whitbourne, 2013).

At present, the iwi has 13 marae and associated hapū (R. Ruha, personal communication, 21 August 2014), as presented in the table below (Table 8).

Marae	Hapū	Tipuna Whare	Wharekai
Maraenui	Te Whānau a Hikarukutai	Te Iwarau	Tūmatauenga
Maungaroa	Te Whānau a Kaiaio	Kaiaio	Te Ikiwā o Rehua
Ōmaio	Te Whānau a Nuku	Rongomaihuatahi	Te Rau Aroha
Ōtūwhare	Te Whānau a Rūtāia	Te Poho o Rūtāia	Tā Apirana
Pāhaoa	Te Whānau a Kahurautao	Kahurautao	Kiritapu
Pōtaka	Te Whānau a Tapuaeururangi	Te Pae o Ngā Pakanga	Ruatārehu
Te Kaha	Te Whānau a Te Ehutū	Tūkākī	Rangiwhakapunea
Te Maru o Hinemaka (Ōrete)	Te Whānau a Pararaki	Pararaki	Hineterā
Tunapahore (Hāwai)	Te Whānau a Haraawaka	Haraawaka	Turirangi
Waiōrore	Te Whānau a Toihau Te Whānau a Hinetekahu	Toihau	Hinehaurangi
Wairūrū	Te Whānau a Maruhaeremuri	Hinemāhuru	Maruhaeremuri
Whangaparāoa	Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia	Kauaetangohia	Te Whatianga
Whitianga	Te Whānau a Tūtāwake	Tūtāwake	Rangitetaetaea

Table 8: Marae, hapū, tipuna whare and wharekai of Te Whānau-a-Apanui (R. Ruha, personal communication, 21 August 2014).

Te Rūnanga o Te Whānau is the representative organisation for 12 of the 13 hapū groupings listed above, and is involved in a number of social and economic development initiatives, such as fisheries, forestry and information technology (Paora, 2009).

1.6.4 **NGĀPUHI**

Ngāpuhi is the largest iwi in Aotearoa, based in Northland, with 125,601 people, or 18.8 percent of the total Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). The 2006 Census found that 85 percent of Ngāpuhi descendants resident in New Zealand live in the North Island, with 61 percent living in the Auckland and Northland regions (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b). The figure for those living in the Auckland and Northland regions has decreased slightly to 60 percent, and 2,589 people of Ngāpuhi descent had returned to New Zealand after living overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d).

The Ngāpuhi iwi rohe is divided into eight areas or takiwā:

- Te Takiwā o Ngāpuhi ki Whangārei;
- Te Rōpū Takiwā o Mangakāhia;
- Ngāpuhi ki te Hauāuru;
- Ngāpuhi Hokianga ki te Raki;
- Ngā Ngaru o Hokianga;
- Taiāmai ki te Marangai;
- Te Rūnanga o Taumārere ki Rākaumangamanga; and
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hine.

There are also two Auckland-based Ngāpuhi Taurahere, based in Manurewa and Waitākere (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009). Ngāpuhi marae and hapū (I. Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014) are listed below (Tables 9-16) under each of the takiwā.

TE TAKIWĀ O NGĀPUHI KI WHANGĀREI

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Akerama	Ngāti Hau	Huiarau Ruapekapeka	Rangi-pini-ngauru
Ngāraratunua	Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kahu o Torongare, Te Parawhau	Te Paea Soldiers' Memorial	
Ōtetao Reti (Ōtetao)	Te Kapotai	Hoori Reti	Huhana
Pehiaweri	Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Hao, Te Parawhau, Te Urioroi	Te Reo o Te Iwi	Te Reo o Te Ora
Takahiwai	Te Patuharakeke	Rangiora	
Toetoe	Te Parawhau, Te Uri o Hau, Te Urioroi	Toetoe	
Whakapara	Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Hao	Te Ihi o Nehua	Te Tawaka

Table 9: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Te Takiwā o Ngāpuhi ki Whangārei (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

TE RŌPŪ TAKIWĀ O MANGAKĀHIA

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Korokota	Te Parawhau	Tikitiki o Rangi	Te Rau Awhina
Maungārongo	Ngāti Te Rino	Maungārongo	
Parahaki	Ngāti Toki, Ngāti Whakahotu, Te Kumutu	Parahaki	
Parakao	Ngāti Horahia, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Te Rino, Ngāti Toki, Te Parawhau	Te Aroha	
Tangiterōria	Te Parawhau	Tirarau	Pihirau
Te Kiore	Ngāti Whakahotu	Te Kiore	
Te Oruoru	Ngāti Horahia, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Te Rino, Ngāti Toki, Te Kumutu	Te Oruoru	
Te Tārai o Rāhiri	Ngāti Horahia, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Te Rino, Ngāti Toki	Nukutawhiti	

Table 10: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Te Rōpū Takiwā o Mangakāhia (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

NGĀPUHI KI TE HAUĀURU

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Kaingahoa (Mataraua)	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Waoku	Tumanako	
Kohewhata	Ngāti Kura, Takoto Kē, Te Uri o Hua	Puhimoanaariki	
Ngāi Tāwake	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Waoku	Ngāi Tāwake	Te Hononga o Te Aroha
Ōkorihi	Ngāti Hinemutu, Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāti Ueoneone	-	
Parihaka	Ngāti Hinemutu, Ngāti Tautahi	Parihaka	
Paripari	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Waoku		
Pukerata	Ngāi Tāwake, Ngāitū te Auru (Ngāitū)	Te Rau Tawainui	
Te Huehue	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Waoku	Te Huehue	Kare Ariki
Te Hungāiti	Ngāti Moerewa, Ngāti Rangi	-	
Te Huruhi	Ngāti Māhia, Ngāti Hine	Ngāti Māhia	Raumati
Te Iringa	Ngāti Hinemutu, Ngāti Tautahi	Parihaka	
Te Kotahitanga	Ngāti Whakaeke	Te Kotahitanga	
Te Maata	Ngāti Moerewa, Ngāti Rangi	Te Whare Huinga	Matewai
Te Ringi	Ngāti Moerewa	Māhūhū ki te Rangi	Puhikairarunga
Ururangi	Ngāti Māhia	Ururangi	

Table 11: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Ngāpuhi ki Te Hauāuru (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

NGĀPUHI HOKIANGA KI TE RAKI

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Mangamuka	Kōhatutaka, Te Uri Mahue	Puhi Moana Ariki	Te Whaea
Mataitaua	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana, Te Honihoni	Ngāti Toro	
Mokonuiārangi	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana	Mokonuiārangi	
Paremata	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana	Paremata	
Piki Te Aroha	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana, Ngāi Tāwake ki te Tuawhenua, Ngāti Hao	Whakapono	Te Tumanako
Puketawa	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana, Ngāti Hao, Te Honihoni		
Tauratumaru	Ngāi Tāwake ki te Moana, Ngāti Hao, Te Honihoni	Tahere	
Te Arohanui (Mangataipa)	Kōhatutaka, Te Uri Mahue	Te Arohanui	

Table 12: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Ngāpuhi Hokianga ki Te Raki (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

NGĀ NGARU O HOKIANGA

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Kokohuia	Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Te Pou, Ngāti Whārara	Te Whakarongotai	
Mahuri	Ngāti Pākau, Te Māhurehure	Mahuri	Te Kopua
Mātai Aranui	Ngāti Parenga, Ngāti Kerewheti, Ngāti Tuapango, Te Hikutu, Ngāti Kairewa, Ngāti Whanauwhereo	Mātai Aranui	
Mātaitaua	Ngāti Toro	Ngāti Toro	
Moehau	Te Māhurehure	Moehau	
Mokonuiārangi	Ngāti Toro, Te Ngahengahe	Mokonuiārangi	
Mōria	Ngāti Te Pou, Te Hikutu	Mōria	
Motukiore	Ngāti Toro, Te Māhurehure, Te Ngahengahe	Arohamauora	
Ōmanaia	Ngāti Te Pou	Te Piiti	Toukahawai
Ōtātara	Te Māhurehure	Ohinewai	
Pā Te Aroha	Ngāti Te Pou, Te Hikutu	Pā Te Aroha	-
Pākanae	Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Whārara	Maraeroa	
Paremata	Ngāti Toro	Paremata	
Piki Te Aroha	Ngāti Toro	Whakapono	Te Tumanako
Rangatahi	Ngāti Toro, Te Ngahengahe	Maraeroa	
Tāheke	Ngāti Pākau, Ngāti Rauwawe, Te Māhurehure	Tāhekeroa	
Tauratumaru	Ngāti Toro	Tahere	
Te Whakamaharatanga	Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Te Pou, Te Roroa	Whakamaharatanga (Memorial Hall)	Punga o Te Ora Wai
Tuhirangi	Te Māhurehure	Tuhirangi	
Waiwhatawhata	Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Whārara	Te Kaiwaha	

Table 13: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Ngā Ngaru o Hokianga (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

TAIĀMAI KI TE MARANGAI

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Hiruhārama Hou	Ngāti Rēhia	Hiruhārama Hou	
Korokota	Ngāti Rēhia	Tikitiki o Rangi	Te Rau Awhina
Kororāreka	Te Kapotai	-	
Matauri (Te Tāpui)	Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Miru	Ngāpuhi	Te Puawaitanga
Mātua	Ngāti Rēhia, Ngāti Whakaeke	-	
Maungārongo	Ngāti Rēhia	Maungārongo	
Ngāwhā	Ngāti Kiriahi, Ngāti Mau, Ngāti Rangi, Te Uri Huatau, Te Uri Taniwha	E Koro Kia Tutuki	
Oromāhoe	Ngāti Kawa, Ngāti Rāhiri	Ngāti Kawa	Kuiapo
Parawhenua	Ngāti Hineira, Ngāti Korohue, Te Uri Taniwha, Te Whanauwhero	Parawhenua	
Rangatahi	Te Popoto	Maraeroa	
Rāwhitiroa	Ngāti Hineira, Te Kapotai, Te Popoto, Te Uri Taniwha	Rāwhitiroa	
Tākou	Ngāi Tūpango, Ngāti Rēhia, Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāti Whakaeke	Te Whetū Marama	
Tauwhara	Ngāi Tāwake, Ngāti Hineira, Ngāti Rēhia, Ngāti Tāwake ki te Tuawhenua, Whanautara	Te Rangiawhiowhio	
Te Raukura	Te Māhurehure	-	
Te Tii Waitangi	Ngāti Kawa, Ngāti Rāhiri	Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Te Ngākau Aroha
Waikare	Te Kapotai	Te Huihuinga Te Aranga o te Pā	Arohanui
Waitangi National	Ngāti Moko	Te Whare Rūnanga	
Wharengahere	Ngāti Torehina	-	
Whitiora	Ngāti Rēhia	Te Rangatiratanga	

Table 14: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Taiāmai ki te Marangai (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

TE RŪNANGA O TAUMĀRERE KI RĀKAUMANGAMANGA

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Kaingahoa	Patukeha		
Karetu	Ngāti Manu	Ngāti Manu	
Kororāreka	Te Kapotai	-	
Pakaru-ki-te-rangi	Ngāti Manu	-	
Te Rauwera	Te Rauwera	-	
Te Rāwhiti (Omakiwi)	Ngāti Kuta, Patukeha	Te Pere – Te Mauri o Patukeha me Ngāti Kuta	Te Rāwhiti War Memorial Dining Hall
Waihaahaa	Te Kapotai	-	
Waikare	Te Kapotai	Te Huihuinga Te Aranga o te Pā	Arohanui
Waimangō	Te Uri Ongaonga	-	

Table 15: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Te Rūnanga o Taumārere ki Rākaumangamanga (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI HINE

Marae	Hapū	Tupuna Whare	Wharekai
Horomanga	Ngāti Hine	Horomanga	
Kaikou	Ngāti Hine	Eparaima Makapi	Te Kauta
Kawiti	Ngāti Hine	Te Tāwai Riri Maihi Kawiti	Maata Matekino Kawiti
Matawaia	Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngāherehere, Te Kau i Mua	Rangimārie	Miria
Maungārongo	Ngāti Hine	Maungārongo	
Miria	Ngāti Hine	Te Rapunga	Te Hahaunga
Mohinui	Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kahu o Torongare	Hohourongo	Te Waiora
Motatau	Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Te Tāwera	Manukoroki	Mihiwira
Ōtiria	Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kōpaki, Ngāti Te Ara	Tūmatauenga	Te Puna i Ketereki
Tau Hēnare	Ngāti Hine, Te Orewai	Tau Hēnare	Pipiwai
Te Aroha	Ngāti Hine	Te Aroha	
Te Rito	Ngāti Hine	Te Rito	
Tere Awatea	Ngāti Hine	Tere Awatea	

Table 16: Marae, hapū, tupuna whare and wharekai within Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hine (I Peters, personal communication, 1 September 2014).

Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, based in Kaikohe, is responsible for protecting and growing the collective asset base of the iwi, through its subsidiary: Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company. Furthermore, Te Rōpū o Tūhoronuku has been established to facilitate discussions regarding the Treaty settlement process for Ngāpuhi (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2013).

1.7 KEY QUESTIONS FROM IWI

From the outset an endogenous development methodology provided the nexus for the various iwi engagements through wānanga and hui. These initial hui began in August 2011 and were utilised to determine key questions for the overall research programme, and supplementary questions were added where specific iwi deemed them relevant. Essentially these wānanga and hui set the parameters from an iwi perspective on what they wanted answered for the benefit of their people.

An aggregation of key questions that eventuated from these tribal discussions were:

- What is your definition for Māori economic development?
- What strategies or scenarios will help Māori economic development?
- What are the characteristics of Māori economic development strategies that make them Māori or iwi centred?
- What are the critical success factors of Māori economic development?
- How should tikanga Māori be incorporated into economic development?
- How can Māori communities and organisations collaborate most effectively to facilitate and accelerate Māori economic development?

Responses to these key questions emanating from our four participating iwi are reflected in this report.

1.8 REPORT STRUCTURE & OUTLINE

The report is comprehensive and descriptive, detailing all aspects of the research programme and its outcomes. The following chapters give structure to the information gathered and analysed throughout the research programme:

- Ngā kaupapa me ngā tikanga rangahau: Research methodology & methods;
- He tirohanga rangahau: Literature review;
- Ngā hua i puta mai: Insights from iwi settings;
- Critical success factors for iwi/Māori economic development;
- Aspirational frameworks for iwi/Māori economic development;
- Models & scenarios for iwi/Māori economic development;
- Futures framework;
- He kōrero whakakapi: Conclusions;
- He aronga whakamua: Future directions (including practical and more immediate outcomes and outputs); and
- Ngā puna kōrero: Bibliography.

1.8.1 NGĀ KAUPAPA ME NGĀ TIKANGA RANGAHAU: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & METHODS

The methodology chapter describes the theoretical perspectives underpinning the research programme, as well as the distinctive methods that were employed by the iwi researchers when engaging with the four participating iwi. Iwi researchers drew on their own personal experiences of their iwi context, disciplinary training and professional networks. They used a variety of methodologies, and conducted themselves in very different ways as they navigated through their specific iwi contexts. Therefore, the research methods used to collate information to support the three research projects are presented as well as reflections from the research team. Consequently, this chapter offers an insight into research for, by, with and about iwi, and contributes to the expanding literature on Kaupapa Māori research, and, in particular, iwi research.

1.8.2 HE TIROHANGA RANGAHAU: LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2011, an initial literature review was conducted by the research team (Carter, Kamau & Barrett, 2011), within which an historical overview of economic development and Māori economic development was presented. The review included current economic models and international case studies on economic development, to determine whether any models could be translated and adapted to a Māori context. The literature review also assessed current measures that are employed when determining the composition and extent of the Māori economy, which in 2010 was estimated to be worth $36.9 billion (BERL, 2011a).

This report extends on the work of Carter et al. (2011) and explores some of the 'silences' that were identified in the initial literature review, including:

- The perceived disconnect between the Māori economy and Māori well-being;
- Appropriate frameworks, measures and indicators of Māori economic development; and
- Balancing social, cultural and economic development.

This is preceded by a review of economic theories and methodologies utilised in economic development contexts, which include classical economic theory, as well as well-being economics, happiness economics, and development economics. Finally, literature pertinent to the key research themes, as determined by participating iwi, is also explored in this chapter. These themes are revisited within the findings chapter of this report, where the views of and responses from the four iwi on these themes are expressed and analysed.

1.8.3 **NGĀ HUA I PUTA MAI: INSIGHTS FROM IWI SETTINGS**

Participating iwi identified key questions that were of interest to them, and the responses gathered from iwi members by the iwi researchers are presented in this chapter. These key themes have also been explored in the literature review; however, the voices and perspectives of iwi members themselves are offered here, and are organised and analysed under each of the relevant participating iwi.

Those themes include:

- Definitions of Māori economic development;
- Characteristics of Māori economic development;
- Strategies and opportunities for Māori economic development;
- The interface of tikanga and economic development; and
- Collaboration in economic development.

1.8.4 **CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTORS FOR IWI/MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

This chapter captures the iwi responses to the overarching research question on the critical success factors for Māori economic development. The critical success factors discussed here are organised under each of the participating iwi, as in the following diagram (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Critical success factors for Māori economic development, informed by four participating iwi

1.8.5 **ASPIRATIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR IWI/MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The first research project – aspirational frameworks for Māori economic development – is described in this chapter. Again, each participating iwi held specific views, priorities and ambitions for the future, and these are reflected in the aspirational frameworks that have been developed. For Ngāti Awa, an aspirational framework is based on the tribal asset base, consisting of whānau, assets, and contributing entities. Upon this foundation, four components of the Ngāti Awa aspirational framework are proposed: aspirational outcomes; economic goals; energising and enabling process of economic development; and the Ngāti Awa approach and pathways to success. For Ngāti Kahungunu, their aspirations are enacted in their iwi economic development strategy, and are focused on three areas: jobs; business development; and asset development and wealth creation. A Te Whānau-a-Apanui aspirational framework is built around certain cultural values, namely whanaungatanga, mātauranga, mana and kaitiakitanga. Opportunities for economic development within the tribal region are based on these core values. For Ngāpuhi, the iwi vision articulates the aspirational framework for all strategic goals and activities, including economic development. This vision refers to the 'sacred house of Ngāpuhi standing firm', a concept that lends itself well to a futures framework for Māori and iwi development generally.

1.8.6 **MODELS AND SCENARIOS FOR IWI/MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The second research project involved exploring scenarios, developing models, frameworks or templates that would best support economic development for each participating iwi. For Ngāti Awa, this involved the use of a political, economic, social, technological, environmental and legal (PESTEL) framework, to determine certain driving forces, as well as their level of impact and certainty. From there, scenarios and their implications were generated for the iwi context. Te Whānau-a-Apanui scenarios and models again reflected core cultural values as the basis for scenario building. This was considered appropriate given the high level of land ownership, and the extensive involvement in traditional and contemporary economic activities. Key scenarios highlighted the need for improved governance and managerial capacity; vertical and horizontal integration (thus, more involvement in decision-making); and the use of three-dimensional models to map and plan development within the iwi rohe, incorporating geographical, ecological, cultural and economic information. For both Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāpuhi, employment and productivity models were developed towards 2031, where potential benefits and opportunity costs under various scenarios are demonstrated through gains in employment.

1.8.7 **FUTURES FRAMEWORK**

The third and final research project – a futures framework – synergises the key issues emerging from both the literature review and iwi responses. The framework, depicted as a wharenui (meeting-house), consists of the following dimensions:

- Guiding principles that underpin commercial as well as cultural and social imperatives;
- Vertical (iwi-specific critical success factors) and horizontal (Māori-general indicators) priorities for economic development; and
- An aspirations framework, consisting of socio-cultural and economic outcomes.

The aim of the proposed futures framework reflects an appreciation of where the iwi are at in terms of economic development, and what they are striving to achieve. Thus the framework understands the cultural context more fully and better reflects iwi and Māori aspirations. Iwi have some profound differences that reflect their environment, their history, and their current cultural and socio-economic circumstances. Finally, the futures framework can be utilised as a practical tool, easily modifiable depending on the iwi context, with the view it enables iwi and Māori to both measure progress and help shape decisions regarding economic development.

1.8.8 **HE KŌRERO WHAKAKAPI: CONCLUSIONS**

An extensive array of factors have emerged that influence understandings and the enactment of economic development within the iwi context. The conclusions summarise the key findings, and provide commentary on the key dualities identified through this research programme, which impact on iwi and Māori economic development.

1.8.9 **HE ARONGA WHAKAMUA: FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

Directions for future research and work are offered with the aim of informing policy for Māori and iwi economic development. There needs to be some urgency in extending current understandings of iwi economic development, as non-Māori, Māori and iwi views do not always align. Therefore, establishing an iwi-focused national forum on economic development would advance and increase Māori and iwi participation in thinking on economic development issues. The report highlights the need to grow iwi leadership capacity and capability, and place similar emphasis on the development of culturally and contextually-appropriate economic development models and strategies. There is still a clear role for government to provide continued support for Māori economic development, as a Treaty of Waitangi obligation to Māori citizens remains after full and final settlement. Finally, iwi identified that there is a case for the establishment of iwi-based economic intelligence units, harnessing the collective intelligence of whānau, hapū and iwi.

1.8.10 **NGĀ PUNA KŌRERO: BIBLIOGRAPHY**

A full bibliography, containing literature and other sources referred to throughout the research report and programme, is provided.

2. **NGĀ KAUPAPA ME NGĀ TIKANGA RANGAHAU**

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & METHODS

The main focus of this chapter is to outline the methodology that was employed throughout the research programme, and, in particular, the theoretical perspectives that underpin this research. Unique methods were utilised by each of our iwi researchers within their own iwi contexts to collate information that would support the development of three research projects: iwi aspirational frameworks, innovative models and scenarios, and a futures framework for Māori economic development.

2.1 **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Underpinning the three research projects was the 'taken for granted' assumption that the methodological approach utilised to fulfil the research objectives should support and embrace Māori ways of knowing, seeing, doing and enacting being Māori (Smith, G.H., 1997). Accordingly, key principles underlying this research project included the concept of indigeneity (Te Rito, 2007; Graham, 2009) and 'Kaupapa Māori', a theory based around the idea of centralising the focus of the research on Māori that is, unequivocally, undertaking research 'for, by and with Māori' (Smith, L.T., 1999; Smith, G.H., 2005; Selby & Moore, 2007; Eketone, 2008). Other key principles have derived from Doherty (2009), whose research has focused on iwi development. Doherty (2009) makes reference to mātauranga-a-iwi or tribal knowledge as the link between one's iwi and their whenua (land). It is essential to understand and recognise that Māori and iwi members place great importance on the knowledge of one's own people and their relationship to whenua and place. Such relationships are couched in concepts that connect people to place, such as the pito (umbilical cord) of a new-born, often buried on ancestral lands, and urupā (burial grounds), where generations of whānau and hapū members have been laid to rest. Doherty (2009) claims that through whakapapa three important elements – people, land and knowledge – are inextricably linked, providing the context for each to exist. Furthermore, tribal knowledge needs to be understood as contextual and lived phenomena.

While this Kaupapa Māori research approach provides a foundation to this research, the programme also embraced an endogenous framework. This reflects what iwi themselves are doing – they utilise different forms of research approach including non-indigenous research theories, methods and tools – more often in concert with Kaupapa Māori perspectives. An insight to endogenous research[3] can be drawn from Haverkort, van 't Hoft & Hiemstra (2003) and Haverkort's (2009) work. Elsewhere the research refers to the endogenous research approach as an eclectic research approach. In contemplating the research design and the iwi-based research component, the research team initially (and mistakenly) assumed that all the iwi researchers would adhere to the same methodological approach. It soon became obvious that an eclectic approach was required. The aim of the research was to collect information to provide a profile for each participating iwi. Upon recognising that the iwi context was very different and that the information was in a variety of forms and places, it became clear that each of the iwi researchers needed to adapt their own unique approach to the particular circumstances that they were dealing with. As a consequence, the research team re-formed its thinking and approach accordingly. The key element was that each of the iwi researchers would take a pathway that accommodated the contextual components of their own iwi environment. The important and overriding concern for the research programme was that each of the iwi researchers was able to collect the same data sets for each iwi.

The diagram below (Figure 2) shows how endogenous research methodologies support community development outcomes.

Figure 2: Iterative nature of consultation with iwi

Endogenous development involves:

> *… locally available resources, local knowledge, culture and leadership. Endogenous development is open to integrating traditional as well as outside knowledges and practices. It has mechanisms for local learning and experimenting, building local economies and retention of benefits in the local area (Haverkort, van 't Hooft & Hiemstra, 2003, p. 256).*

Moreover, a conduit-endogenous research approach was acknowledged; that is, the people would find local solutions to their own local challenges (Gifford & Boulton, 2007; Haverkort, 2009; Kennedy & Cram, 2010).

Although ethics for this project were approved in mid-2011 by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee (refer ERCA 11006 MED), it was not until April 2012 that the information sheet and consent form were ready for the iwi researchers to proceed with their interviews.

Given the number of iwi participants and their unique positions in the Māori economy, the following sub-sections describe the activities and the research process that was undertaken by each of the four participating iwi.

2.1.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

The research process for Ngāti Awa is summarised in the following diagram (Figure 3) and explained below.

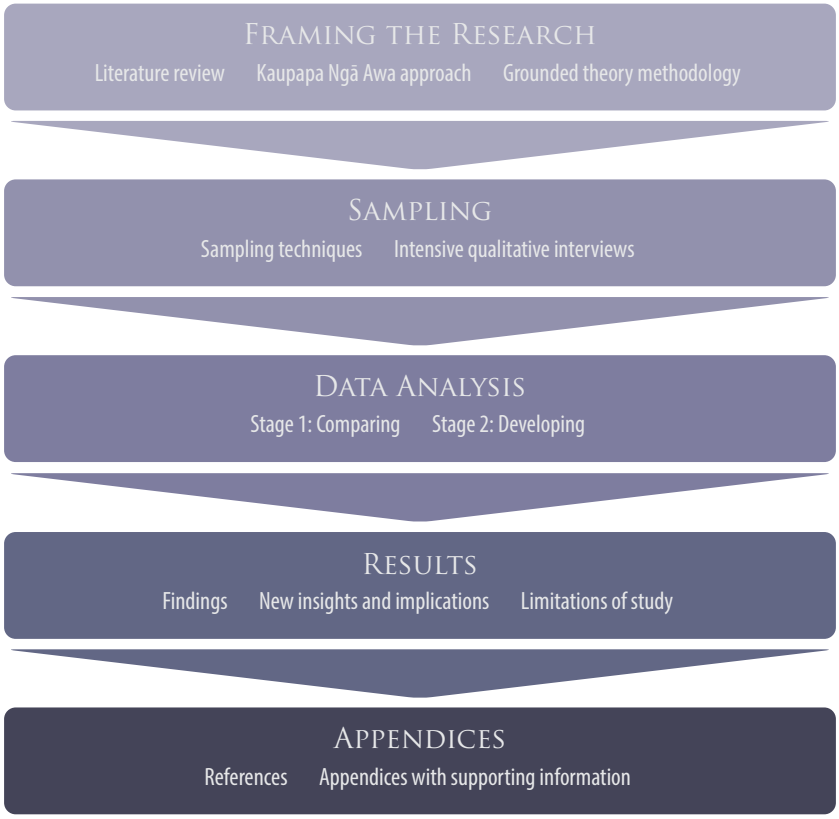


Figure 3: Ngāti Awa research process (adapted from Fenton, 2012a, p. 11).

The Ngāti Awa research methodology drew from a Kaupapa Ngāti Awa research framework and an inquiry-based, grounded theory methodology (Fenton, 2012a). A Kaupapa Ngāti Awa methodology aligns with a Kaupapa Māori approach to research, where Māori values, attitudes and practices are privileged, and a tikanga-based approach to research is employed (Paenga, 2009).

At the centre of a Ngāti Awa research methodology, therefore, are Ngāti Awa values, principles and practices, as illustrated in the diagram below (Figure 4).

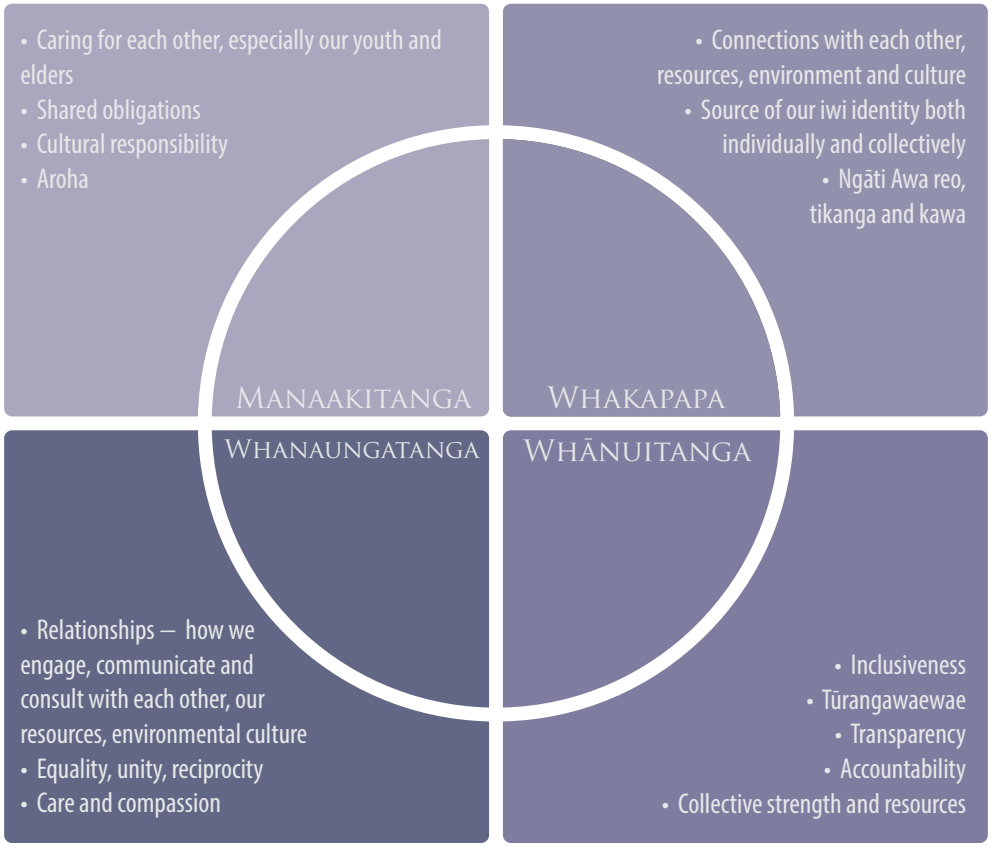


Figure 4: Kaupapa Ngāti Awa research approach (Simpson, 2010, cited in Fenton, 2012a, p. 4).

Grounded theory methodology was adopted to facilitate theory generation within an emerging research area (Fenton, 2012a). Grounded theory is a "systematic, inductive and comparative approach for conducting inquiry" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 1), where evidence gathered in practitioner settings becomes the source of theory generation. It seeks "people, events, or information to illuminate and define the boundaries and relevance" of generated theory (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189) that is grounded in the data (Glaser, 1978), and holds that reality is created through communication, and that knowledge is generated through social interaction (Fenton, 2012a, p. 11). Grounded theory, therefore, allows the researcher to focus on discovering relevant theories and concepts, pertinent to the area of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1965).

A literature review was also undertaken throughout the research programme, with the aim of critically evaluating relevant research on Ngāti Awa economic development.

Interviewees were purposefully selected from a list of those who were actively involved in economic development – both internal and external to Ngāti Awa. Participants possessed a range of skills and experience, and were drawn from various organisations, including: Ngāti Awa post-settlement governance entities (for example, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa), other Ngāti Awa entities (for example, Development Ngāti Awa), land-based incorporations and trusts, small to medium enterprises, local and central government, national Māori organisations, and educational institutions. The iwi researcher

conducted 13 individual interviews with participants, utilising kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) and video-conferencing approaches. Questions were open-ended and semi-structured, and following the interviews, discussions with participants were transcribed.

A thematic inductive analysis approach was undertaken, which involved the identification and extraction of key phrases in the participant interviews. A series of generative questions were applied to support the naming of substantive codes, and theoretical codes or 'concepts' were then identified, which reveal connectivity and co-variances between the substantive codes. These 'concepts' were then assigned to categories that contribute to understandings of Ngāti Awa economic development.

Findings were used to contribute to a working definition and framework for Ngāti Awa economic development, as presented in this report. A summary of the key findings arising from the analysis is presented in the figure (Figure 5) below.

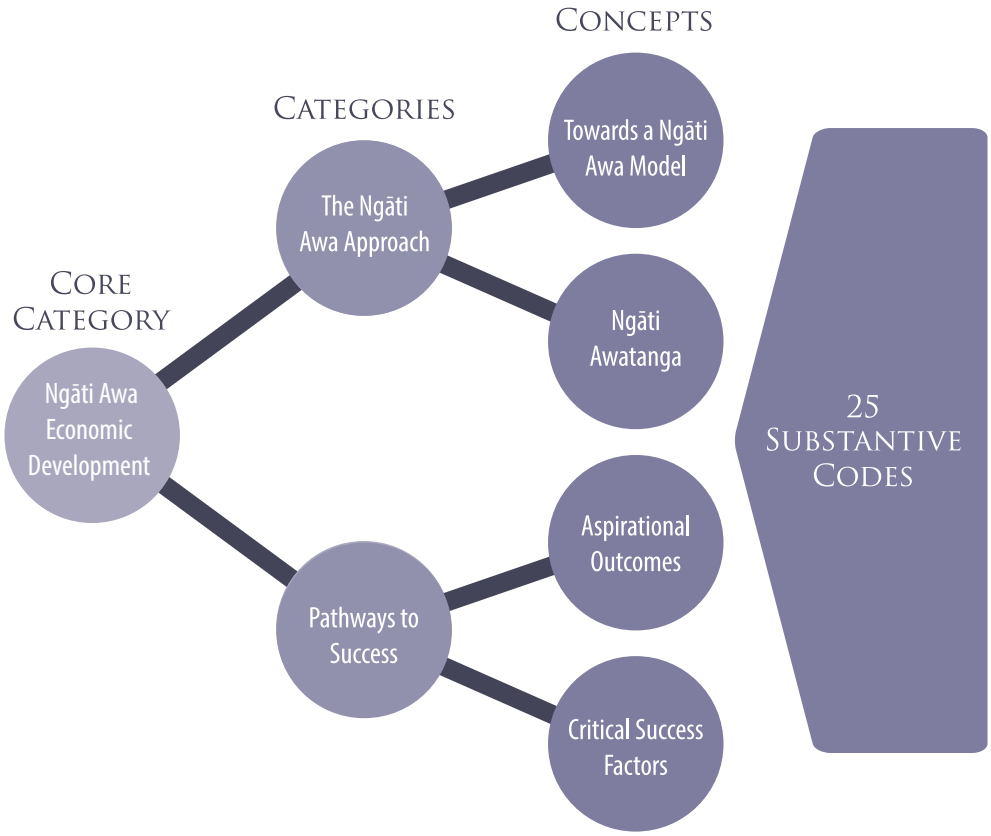


Figure 5: Summary of key findings arising from grounded theory analysis (Fenton, 2012a, p. 33).

There is an ongoing process of dissemination of research results, to iwi and community forums. Given a Kaupapa Ngāti Awa approach, an iterative process is implied, whereby connectedness and relationships are actively maintained.

Supporting information, including academic references, and explanations and examples of research tools utilised throughout the research process, were presented by the iwi researcher in the Ngāti Awa research reports.

2.1.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

The Ngāti Kahungunu Economic Development Board was established by Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated to progress economic development for Ngāti Kahungunu iwi. The research was led by the directors of Ngāti Kahungunu Economic Development Board, and the research process involved: identifying economic aspirations of iwi members, undertaking analysis to identify potential opportunities to achieve those aspirations, and informing a strategy to fulfil the economic vision of the iwi.

Key research processes used included:

- Reviewing strategic documents pertinent to Ngāti Kahungunu economic development;
- Aligning with the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated vision, as well as the activities of other iwi-based entities within the Ngāti Kahungunu rohe;
- Identifying key personnel within each of the taiwhenua (regional) areas of Ngāti Kahungunu;
- Utilising semi-structured interviews and wānanga within each of the taiwhenua and small-medium enterprises throughout and beyond the tribal rohe, as well as amongst Ngāti Kahungunu Economic Development Board members;
- Consultation on the draft framework and feedback to participants, and regular communications with senior management and governance within Ngāti Kahungunu regarding development and implementation of an economic development strategy; and
- Engaging external research organisations to provide quantitative base-line data to inform the implementation of the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Economic Development Strategy (BERL, 2012).

Participatory action research (Reason & Bradbury, 2008) is manifested in the research approach undertaken by Ngāti Kahungunu. The approach emphasised community participation and action, whereby "communities of inquiry and action evolve and address questions and issues that are significant for those who participate …" (Reason & Bradbury, 2008, p. 1). An extension of the iterative process of action research was undertaken by Ngāti Kahungunu. The implementation phase of the economic development strategy was initiated, as illustrated in the figure (Figure 6) below.

Figure 6: Ngāti Kahungunu research implementation process

2.1.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

For Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the iwi researcher established links (through whanaungatanga) with participants, and developed a broad understanding of mātauranga-a-iwi across the four interdependent layers of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui economy. Those four layers included: te taiao (the terrestrial and marine environment), te iwi (human community), te mahinga (economic practices) and te aru moni (commercial activity) (Whitbourne, 2013).

Further elements of the research approach used within a Te Whānau-a-Apanui context include:

- Wānanga, observations and discussions throughout the iwi rohe, though formal data collection methods were used sparingly;
- Reviewing primary and secondary literature, including iwi, local and central government documents, industry-specific reports and geographical and environmental information;
- Analysing data throughout the research process; and
- Investigating international frameworks, theoretical models and practical tools, and how they apply in a Te Whānau-a-Apanui setting.

Approximately 40 members of Te Whānau-a-Apanui participated in this research, and individuals were approached utilising personal networks and purposive sampling methods, including snow-ball sampling, and key informants from the community. Given the research context, it was necessary for the researcher to appreciate the relationships between diverse economic situations and whānau, hapū and the iwi of Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

2.1.4 **NGĀPUHI**

The Ngāpuhi researcher applied a triangulated methodology to this project. This is presented in the diagram (Figure 7) below.

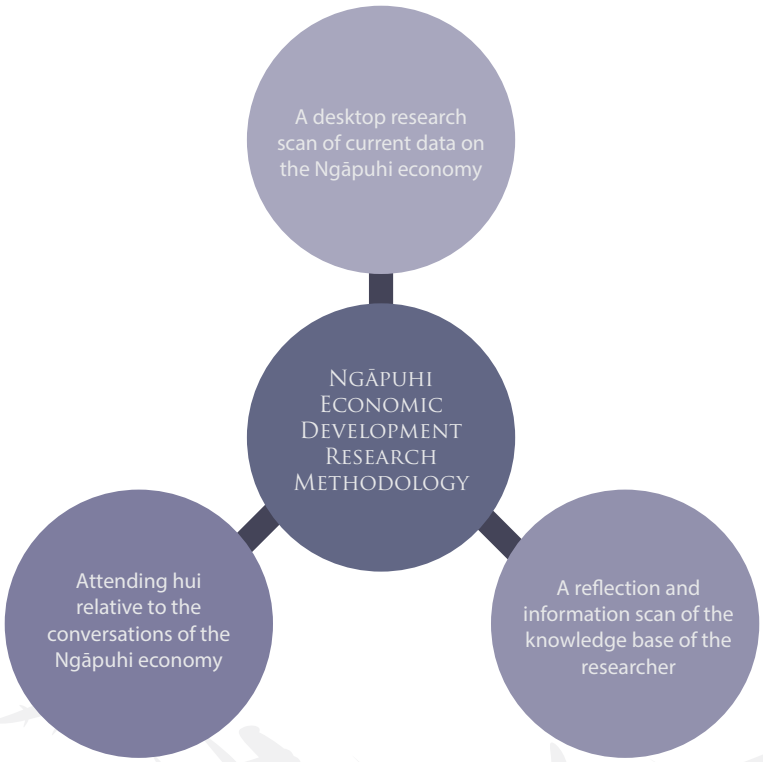


Figure 7: Ngāpuhi research process

Due to the timeframes of the research programme, the iwi researcher examined data that spoke to the subject matter directly, and this formed the first aspect of the research methodology for Ngāpuhi, whereby three desktop scans were completed. The first examined the annual reports, strategic public documents and business plans of the following iwi organisations: Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hine, Ngātiwai Trust Board, Te Uri o Hau, Te Roroa, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua, Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, Te Rūnanga o Whaingaroa. Accompanying these sets of documents were reports on Māori collectively owned lands and other asset organisations, such as incorporations, trust boards and privately owned businesses. The second desktop scan also included reports on Māori-specific industries in Northland, such as forestry, agribusiness, fisheries, tourism and horticulture. The third desktop scan was based on local, regional and national organisations that were generating data on both Māori and the wider economy. These reports were sourced from local government: the Far North District Council, the Whangārei District Council, the Kaipara District Council and the Northern Regional Council. Other organisations such as Statistics New Zealand, Te Puni Kōkiri, Northland Inc, the Federation of Māori Authorities, Te Ohu Kaimoana, Northland Economic Advisory Group and the James Hēnare Research Centre provided supplementary information. All of these documents informed a literature review, describing the historical, demographic and current status of Ngāpuhi socio-economic activity. A commissioned, quantitative report (BERL, 2012), focused on Māori economic data within the Northland area, also informed the research, particularly the economic models and scenarios presented later in this report.

The second aspect of the research methodology for Ngāpuhi involved coordination and attendance at various hui pertinent to Ngāpuhi economic development. The iwi researcher convened an initial hui attended by 12 participants, at which high-level discussions were conducted on the overall view of the current Ngāpuhi economy.

Additionally, research parameters were agreed to, focusing on three specific levels in the Northland region:

- Iwi economic development;
- Collective assets held by Māori authorities; and
- Private Māori businesses.

Other hui were convened in which deliberations on improving the Ngāpuhi economy were held with individuals and groups, based on Kaupapa Māori philosophy and Ngāpuhi tikanga (customs). Furthermore, the researcher attended Waitangi Tribunal hearings for Te Paparahi o Te Raki regional inquiry, where whānau and hapū presented evidence on a number of historical injustices that have affected Ngāpuhi. The importance of early trade and economic engagement, and the loss of cultural and social well-being and economic wealth, were common themes across the various whānau and hapū submissions. Other views were garnered from those presenting at professional conferences relative to the wider Northland economy, and the Ngāpuhi economy.

The third and final aspect of the triangulated research methodology for Ngāpuhi included a reflection and information scan of the researcher's own knowledge on Ngāpuhi economic development, given the researcher's engagement in the sector as both a private business owner and also having been raised within the Ngāpuhi rohe.

2.2 KEY EVENTS

2.2.1 2011 SYMPOSIUM: OPTIMISING MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTORS

In 2011, a symposium on Māori economic development was convened by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, in collaboration with the programme team. The themes of the symposium were informed by the research team, based on four critical factors that optimise Māori economic development, namely: aspirations; capacity and capability; local solutions and local opportunities; and collaboration. Presenters included a range of representatives from Māori trusts and incorporations, iwi rūnanga, and domestic and international practitioners in economic development. Conference delegates contributed towards definitions for Māori economic development, and identified strategies to build capacity and capability for Māori in Māori economic development. The symposium talks and proceedings are published on the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Media Centre and aspects were used to inform this research and programme (see http://media-centre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/2011-symposium).

2.2.2 2013 CONFERENCE: KO TE AMORANGI KI MUA, KO TE HĀPAI Ō KI MURI – DUALITIES IN INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The importance of both indigenous leadership and economic development is encapsulated in the following whakataukī, which lent itself to the title of a conference, held at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in November 2013:

> *Ko Te Amorangi ki mua; Ko Te Hāpai Ō ki muri: The emblem of leadership is to the fore; the carrier of provisions and resources follow.*

Co-hosted with Te Pourewa Arotahi: Post-Treaty Settlement Futures Institute (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi), the first day of the conference focused on indigenous leadership (Te Amorangi), and brought together two collectives whose settlements were subsequent to the early settlements: Ngāti Awa and Te Uri o Hau. The conference provided an opportunity for leaders from these two settlement entities to share and discuss the narratives emerging from their settlements, offering current perspectives and future aspirations for whānau, hapū and iwi within a post-Treaty settlement context. The second day of the conference explored some of the dualities, and possible tensions or competing dynamics, that exist within indigenous and economic development (Te Hāpai Ō), as identified through this research programme.

These included:

- Culture and commerce;
- People and place;
- Individualism and collectivism; and
- Western notions of law and Māori law (or lore).

2.2.3 **COMMUNICATION, DISSEMINATION & OTHER ACTIONS**

Regular feedback and information-sharing delivery modes were utilised with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and key partners throughout the programme. Consultation with iwi participants and the wider public involved kanohi-ki-te-kanohi hui and site visits, and written reports and presentations at conferences and symposiums became part of both information sharing and feedback, and information dissemination.

Other specific actions included:

- Ongoing review of literature;
- Collating quantitative and qualitative information;
- Analysis and interpretation of data, and the identification of common themes;
- Designing aspirational and futures frameworks, and analysing scenarios and tools for the four participating iwi;
- Supporting iwi researchers (as doctoral students) to attend research-related courses;
- Writing academic papers for conferences; and
- Financially supporting a Ngāti Awa intern to complete a stocktake of Ngāti Awa assets.

2.2.4 **COMMISSIONED SUPPLEMENTARY REPORTS**

In 2012, BERL completed a brief to provide baseline data and scenario projections to the year 2031 on economic development for Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahungunu (BERL, 2012). This work provided the research team with information on economic development projects and prospective employment opportunities. Later in 2013 and with the assistance of COMPASS, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga produced further reports looking at the demographic and economic well-being trends for the four participating iwi, using census data from 1991-2006 (Patrick et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; 2014d). These projects were undertaken to identify the suitability of census data to illustrate socio-economic indicators for Māori well-being, using four iwi (Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāpuhi) as samples.

With the agreement of the participating iwi, these reports have been extended to include the more recent 2013 New Zealand Census data that was made available to the research team in May 2014.

3. **HE TIROHANGA RANGAHAU**
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a review of economic theory, models, and methodologies utilised in current economic development contexts. Leading on from there, a brief recap of an initial review of literature in relation to Māori economic development by Carter et al. (2011) is presented. Three 'silences' in the literature were identified by Carter et al. (2011) and are explored further in this chapter.

The silences were:

- The disconnection between commentary on the Māori economy and Māori well-being;
- Lack of cohesion and synergy across research domains and the practical application of appropriate indicators and measures for Māori economic development; and
- The need to balance and blend tensions across social, cultural and economic imperatives, to be inclusive of aspirational outcomes of Māori and iwi.

Literature pertinent to the key research themes and determined by participating iwi provide some unique insights around aspects of economic development and aspirations of iwi.

In the same vein the themes are reflected within the findings chapter of this report, where the views of and responses from the four iwi are expressed and analysed, and include:

- Definitions of Māori economic development;
- Characteristics of Māori economic development;
- Strategies and opportunities for Māori economic development;
- The interface of tikanga and economic development; and
- Collaboration in economic development.

3.1 **AN OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC THEORY**

It is commonly agreed that the theory of economics originated with Adam Smith's 1776 The Wealth of Nations (cited in Beugelsdijk & Maseland, 2012). Although economic activity, even as we know it, was evident in ancient civilisations, it was about survival of the fittest societies. At the core of Smith's theoretical claims was the notion of individual effort (labour) being at the heart of economic wealth. Every individual can contribute to economic development in some way, and also receive the appropriate benefits from that contribution. Commercial activity was deemed necessary for civilisations to grow, and with this would come social order and prosperity. Cultural and social imperatives were noted by Adam Smith to be an important part of developing prosperous nations where all people would benefit (Smith, 1759, cited in Beugelsdijk & Maseland, 2012). While his original ideas around economics were sincere and all- encompassing, it has been the ways in which nations have chosen to apply those theories in practice that have been most challenging. Even Jeremy Bentham's philosophy of utilitarianism, based on the proposition that Government legislation and the aim of human activity should be to "maximise the overall happiness of the general public" (Heilbroner, 1965, cited in Ubel, 2009, p. 16), has in many respects been erased from western views of economics.

Furthermore, classical economics and the work of, for example, Karl Marx focused on profits; where everyone was to be treated the same regardless of class. Consequently a 'one-size-fits-all' scenario provided the basis of Marxism (Keen, 2011). Towards the end of that century, neoclassical theorists such as Jevon, Walras, Menger and Marshall also focused on mathematics to produce economic models (Keen, 2011). Walras' 'equilibrium' and Marshall's 'law of demand' models are central tenets of the neoclassical time period. What became clear was that neoclassical/mathematical models were effectively erasing the 'people' factor from the equation. Unfortunately, it was also during this phase of economic theory development that the idea of 'culture' in economics was lost, and no longer a feature in the models that appeared.

Following the Great Depression and World War II, economic models and government policies were introduced in an attempt to regulate the market place and their sophistication increased (Keen, 2011). For example, the Great Moderation (caused by recessions and expansions), and others, such as the Efficient Market Hypothesis (finance-driven capitalism), new classical economics (economic shocks create equilibrium in the market place), the trickle-down effect (the rich will help the poor), privatisation (handing the balance of power to private companies), and austerity (where the government balances its books and eventually the private sector will recover) were all economic theories or policy programmes implemented by many western governments in an effort to minimise public debt and risk.

However, these ideas, theories, models and/or programmes have over time failed and in the main have had detrimental effects on the economic development of many people and cultures, including indigenous people (Black, 1994; Kerins, 2012). For example, the economic growth model (a westernised approach) driven by the need to exploit non-renewable resources in order to meet GDP and GNP measures, has had far-reaching repercussions for environmental and human well-being, including "social justice and global citizenship" (Black, 1994, p. 5). In response, the First Nations Development Institute in the United States proposed a holistic framework called the Elements of Development. The framework reflects indigenous cultural thinking and is underpinned by indigenous values, aspirations and priorities (Black, 1994).

While the trickle-down theories mentioned earlier were engineered to create more equality in terms of income, health, education and political power, they have had the opposite effect (Quiggin, 2010). Inequalities in society have widened as a result of neo-liberalistic policies, and Jackson (2011) suggests that inequalities are higher now than ever before. Recent market failures and financial crises show the influence, greed, and power of the financial markets and their impact internationally (Keen, 2011). Proponents of new approaches to economics (Keen, 2011; Quiggin, 2010) suggest the dire need to rethink economics and economic growth and what it means for all nations and their peoples. Quiggin (2010) states: the focus of today's governments should now be on "realism, less on rigour; equity, less on efficiency; and humility, less on hubris" (Quiggin, 2010, p. 244).

Some economists (Beugelsdijk & Maseland, 2012; Sen, 1999; Jackson, 2011; Akerlof & Kranton, 2010) support the return of a cultural or social benefit factor in economics; as a result, well-being, happiness, and identity economics have emerged. Identity economics focuses on why people make the choices they do, even where there are no economic benefits. Often the social good of decisions provides more valued and realistic benefits. These sentiments are in keeping with more recent economic thinking, where a greater emphasis on sustainable economic development is required to effectively manage global resources, given the implications and constraints of escalating population growth, rich and poor differentials, and rising levels of poverty (Jackson, 2011).

Buen Vivir or 'the good life' is a philosophy applied by the people of the Andes. It places indigenous communities at the core of economic discussions, and includes pluralities such as ancestral and traditional knowledge, a collective (versus individual) focus, and human and environmental relationships, which provide the conceptual glue to ensure harmony and the non-abuse of resources (Fatheuer, 2011). Thus a new vision for prosperity is purported where people can flourish, and greater social cohesion is achieved, which in turn increases human well-being; and at the same time there are fewer resource impacts on the environment.

Currently, New Zealand still follows the privatisation model of divesting public assets, which is of concern to Māori and iwi, who see the sale of public and privately owned and controlled assets being sold into foreign hands. Therefore, the following section focuses on Māori and some of the key drivers in terms of economic growth for iwi. It shows that Māori and iwi aspirations and strategies for economic development do take into account factors such as well-being, rather than purely fiscal objectives.

3.1.1 **WELL-BEING ECONOMICS**

Well-being economics is "the expansion of the 'capabilities' of people to lead the kind of lives they value, and have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p.18). This expansion of capabilities refers to a person or a community's ability to be able to achieve well-being if they have access to education, health care, social safety nets, and the freedom to make choices for themselves. As such, political and social freedoms are often stated as being key drivers of economic growth, and are strengthened if they are built on collective capabilities (Sen, 1999). In addition, social interactions with those who share similar values and common interests are the central element in determining identity (Akerlof & Kranton, 2010), and true values and goals. This in turn provides opportunities for collective action towards economic freedom. In essence, Sen's approach supports Māori and their drive for self-determination, and closing the divide between rich and poor. The ability for people to flourish is one of the key capabilities that Jackson (2011) promotes, and refers to Sen's (1984) concepts of: opulence that stems from accumulating material goods; utility, provided by those material goods; and the capabilities for flourishing (through health, food, education, employment and housing). Such thinking around flourishing whānau is supported in recent reports (Kingi, Durie, M.K., Durie, M.H., Cunningham, Borman & Ellison-Loschmann, 2014). Both Jackson (2011) and Kingi et al. (2014) suggest that in order for people to prosper and flourish, they require real capabilities that are three-dimensional, such as physical, financial and emotional capabilities. Essentially, an economy should be delivering earnings and sources of income to enable participation in society, a certain level of security, a sense of belonging, and the ability to engage in a common good (Jackson, 2011).

3.1.2 **HAPPINESS ECONOMICS**

Layard (2011, p. 234) similarly suggests that "a society cannot flourish without some sense of shared purpose and … a concept of the common good". The 'happiness index' is based on surveys that attempt to ascertain whether richer countries are any happier than poorer ones. According to Layard (2011), having more money does not always make for happier nations. Ideally, the notion of increased wealth should lead to a higher quality of life, and a rising per capita GDP should lead to greater prosperity. Even with greater increases in GDP over the past 60 years, countries like the United States and Britain are not any happier (Layard, 2011). This, then, highlights questions as to whether economic growth is still a realistic goal for wealthy countries and whether prosperity can occur without growth.

Dalziel & Saunders (2014) state that New Zealand could lead the way in well-being and happiness economics, because they have unique ways of measuring economics. However, the domestic economy would need to meet certain conditions (for example, financial security is achieved) before well-being can be appropriately measured. They suggest considering value-added growth, and other ways of measuring GDP. According to Dalziel & Saunders (2014), work still needs to be done on building an economic well-being scorecard to measure a nation's progress – one that assesses the capability of all people who participate in the economy, not just the wealthy few.

3.1.3 **DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS**

Nair's (2011) analysis of the recent economic crisis raises further questions in relation to the excessive consumption behaviours of Western nations. Nair observed that western nations' consumption of vast amounts of resources led to their own demise and suggested that perhaps it was now the turn of Asian countries to rise as economic power houses. However, he warns of similar results occurring if Asian nations follow in pursuit of 'consumption-driven capitalism'. Even so, Nair (2011) is advocating for change, suggesting Asia has the opportunity to reshape capitalism and set new objectives in how resources are consumed.

At the pinnacle of Nair's argument is how to protect the environment, and to ensure that adequate supplies of non-renewable and renewable resources can be passed to future generations.

Nair (2011) prescribes three tenets:

- Resources are constrained; economic activity must be subservient to maintaining the vitality of resources. The goal here is for sustainable development and the setting of priorities for all society, not just government;
- Resource use must be equitable for current and future generations; collective welfare must take priority over individual rights. This refers to everyone having equal access to water, food, sanitation, housing, education and health care; and
- Resources must be re-priced; productivity efforts should be focused on the resources, not people. This relates to limiting or banning the demand for resources like land or fish, which are causing the depletion of rainforests and fish species (Nair, 2011).

Nair recommends the management of resources through "constraints – i.e. via fiscal and other economic tools, and command and control measures such as emission and resource taxes" (2011, p. 156).

While there are different tribal priorities for economic development, Duffy & Stubben (1998, p. 72) suggest that in order "to be successful economic development must place communal or tribal concerns above efficiency, routinisation, secularity, differentiation and, if need be, over profits". Economic development imperatives (profits) need not necessarily be ignored "but if they are secondary to community concerns and values (the traditional, cultural aspects) and the survival of the tribe" (Duffy & Stubben, 1998, p. 72), then the communal elements must take priority. This may mean that financial returns to tribes may be less than expected, but will have positive effects on environmental imperatives, employment growth and achieving other tribal priorities (Duffy & Stubben, 1998).

3.2 **THE DISCONNECTION BETWEEN COMMENTARY ON THE MĀORI ECONOMY & MĀORI WELL-BEING**

There is a perceived disconnect between the growth in the Māori economy and Māori well-being. Evidence points to studies and commentaries of the Māori economy (BERL, 2011a; Federation of Māori Authorities, 2013; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2014; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010) and Māori well-being (Cram, 2014; Cunningham, 1996; Durie, M.H., 1996; Durie, M.H., Fitzgerald, Kingi, McKinley & Stevenson, 2002; Durie, M., Black, Cunningham, Durie, A., Palmer & Hawkins, 2005; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Kingi et. al, 2014; Māori Economic Taskforce, 2012; Maynard, 1999; Morgan, 2004; Ratima, Durie, M.H., Allan, Morrison, Gillies & Waldon, 1995; Te Pūmanawa Hauora, 1995; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013) as isolated areas of work, where researchers and practitioners either focus on one or the other, and merely allude to likely avenues of connections.

Some of the literature on the Māori economy is problematic, because of its mono-cultural standpoint and paternalistic views and commentary, and it is unfortunate that some of this earlier work has contaminated ensuing research and thinking. This report is highly critical of deficit approaches to the Māori economy, economic development and well-being, and instead privileges literature and frameworks that align with Māori worldviews, aspirations and diverse realities.

3.2.1 **MĀORI ECONOMY**

The first models of the Māori economy came from the discipline of anthropology. Firth (1973) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1950) recognised the existence of a pre-contact Māori economy and concepts of Māori economic development. These concepts included: natural resources, such as land and waterways; social structures and institutions, including whānau, hapū, marae; industry, motivation and work ethic; organisation of economic activities, based on specialisation, integration and hierarchy; cultural nuances, such as tapu, rāhui, mauri, utu and koha; obligations and reciprocities; and the impact of colonisation on economic activities and understandings (Firth, 1973; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950). Therefore, considering well-being factors as part of an economic framework is not a new phenomenon for Māori. These behaviours were part of everyday life, and economic, social and cultural activities were intertwined, which suggests a holistic approach to Māori life and development. Based on the observations of both Firth and Te Rangi Hiroa, it is concluded here that Māori were a vibrant, sophisticated, structured people, with levels of knowledge and awareness that extended across generations, time, space and place.

At first, the arrival of the European had a positive effect on Māori communities, who willingly engaged in trade, alliances and new enterprises, inter-marriage, and embracing of new technologies, with a view to enhancing the well-being of Māori (Consedine, 2007; O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008; Petrie, 2006; Warren, 2009). Early Māori economic success has been attributed to the capability of Māori to manage their own resources, to function by shared values of ownership, to add to known practices, and to barter where appropriate (Warren, 2009). Coleman, Dixon & Maré (2005) state that in 1840, identifying the Māori economy would have been relatively easy, as Māori economic activities were conducted separately from those of the European. However, the Treaty of Waitangi and settler governments failed to protect the status of Māori. Land alienation, state policy and war had a negative impact on what was a thriving Māori economy, as well as Māori social structures and cultural tenets (Coleman et al., 2005; Consedine, 2007; O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008; Pool, 1991). Later, the emergence of leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata saw several initiatives advanced to assist Māori with land development, health, housing and education (Rose, Sanderson, Morgan, Stuart & Andrews, 1997).

A later impact on social, cultural and economic factors were two World Wars, where leadership in Māori communities was diminished (Soutar, 2008), and further land was acquired for the resettlement of predominantly non-Māori war veterans (Gould, 1992). To add insult to injury, the urban drift after World War II and other factors worked to dismantle whānau, hapū and marae, and as

a result, the social, cultural and economic deprivation that Māori suffer continues to be a reality for whānau (Barcham, 1998; Coleman et al., 2005; Durie, 2003; Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010; Marriott & Sim, 2014). The current challenge that Māori and iwi face is emigration of members – not just to urban centres in Aotearoa, but to Australia and other global contexts (Durie, 2004). Kukutai & Pawar (2013) reported that 128,430 Māori individuals were resident in Australia. This may pose problems in the future for whānau, given the vulnerability of Māori living in Australia, who generally have lower-skilled jobs, lower educational attainment, and limited access to social security (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013).

Over the past decade, descriptions of the Māori economy have been forthcoming (Davies, 2007; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a, 2005, 2007), suggesting that the Māori economy can be analysed similarly to regional or national economies. Although initially there was thought to be some difficulty in distinguishing Māori economic interests within the wider New Zealand economy (Coleman et al., 2005; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a), a definition for the Māori economy was offered.

The Māori economy can be defined as the assets owned and income earned by Māori – including collectively-owned trusts and incorporations, Māori-owned businesses (e.g. tourism, broadcasting, and the self-employed), service providers (especially in health and education), and the housing owned by Māori. The wages and salaries earned by Māori workers are also part of this definition (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a).

The Māori Economic Development Panel (2011) endorses this view, and suggests that the Māori economy encompasses the activities of all those who self-identify as Māori. Furthermore, they suggest that the differences between the Māori and New Zealand economies include "demographics, cultural values and traditional knowledge" (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2011, p. 11).

In the past five years, commentaries on the Māori economy (Awatere, 2014; Bay of Connections, 2013; Carter et al., 2011; Federation of Māori Authorities, 2013; Luke & Cole, 2009; Māori Statutory Board, 2013; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2011, 2012; Te Tumu Paeroa, 2013) have moved beyond a description of the Māori economy and identification of potential growth arising from the Māori asset base, to forming strategies for Māori economic development. Such commentary and new research programmes focusing on the Māori economy and economic development have become widespread, and include those who work in the public and private sectors (local, regional and national levels), academics, researchers and iwi. Luke & Cole (2009) indicated that a dual economy exists in New Zealand – Māori and non-Māori – and that a Māori economy gives expression to kaupapa (Māori values) through tikanga (Māori practices). The Māori Economic Development Panel (2011) suggests that whānau are the cornerstone of the Māori economy, and Māori enterprises and collectives can assist whānau to realise their aspirations. Drawing on the research by BERL (2011a), the Māori Economic Development Panel (2011) concurred that whānau economic potential was unrealised, and that Māori household expenditure exceeded income. The strengths, however, included: the potential of the Māori workforce; cultural values that permeate Māori thinking and endeavour; and an inter-generational focus, which drives the achievement of multi-faceted outcomes (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2011).

Government agencies and advisors now see the relevance and impact of the Māori economy and economic development in a wider range of sectors, as there are numerous inferences to Māori economic development throughout their strategies and policy documents (Land Information New Zealand, 2013; Ministry for the Environment, 2009; Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2014; Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2013b; Ministry of Education & Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2014; The Treasury, 2014). Furthermore, Māori and iwi have commissioned research to quantify the Māori contribution to the overall New Zealand economy, to assist in making apparent to wider audiences the significance and size of the Māori economy and the future potential that exists for economic development (BERL 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2014).

Neo-classical economic analysis of the Māori economy is now used as a reference point, rather than a key component of current Māori economic development strategies. Attempts to measure beyond GDP include targets for improved educational attainment and household

income increases (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012), as well as goals for improved leadership and governance (Bay of Connections, 2013). The inclusion of Māori values in those strategies is unique, and provides a point of difference in the way in which the Māori economy and Māori economic development is being reported. Recent research (Awatere, 2014) suggests that Māori knowledge and economic theory can coexist, and can inform a decision-making framework for Māori collective assets. As a result of the growing interest in the Māori economy, it is likely that further contributions to the literature will be forthcoming.

3.2.2 **MĀORI WELL-BEING**

Kingi et al. (2014) present an extensive review of models and measures of well-being, drawn mainly from the health and development sectors, and provides examples from an international context. These include, but are not limited to: Wraparound Milwaukee (community-based measures of progress, focused on at-risk populations); Gross National Happiness Scale (a holistic measure of national progress); He Ōranga Hapori (a model for Māori communities to address the global recession); Te Ngahuru (focused on social service delivery and Māori indicators and targets); Hua Oranga (a model to assess the effectiveness of Māori mental health services and care); The Mauri Model (used to measure environmental well-being); He Anga Whakamana (a framework for the delivery of disability support services for Māori); and Te Pae Mahutonga (a guide for health promotion). While these are mainly applied in the health sector, the models and measures are holistic and incorporate a wider spectrum of Māori notions of well-being.

Objective measures of well-being, utilising census data as the main source, have been used to assess Māori well-being alongside non-Māori. However, early writers, including Te Rangi Hiroa (1950) and Firth (1973) acknowledge that there were subjective measures that were likely to be more appropriate in measuring Māori well-being. It was not until the 1960s that the concept of subjective well-being became more prominent and acceptable amongst western social scientists (Ganglmair-Wooliscroft & Lawson, 2008). Today, government agencies, health and social service providers, and Māori and iwi organisations comment on, and are concerned with, improving well-being for Māori, and incorporate both objective and subjective measures, but to different degrees of emphasis (Cram, 2014; Cunningham, 1996; Durie, et al., 2002, 2005; Durie, M.H., Gillies, Kingi, Ratima, Waldon, Morrison & Allan, 1995; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Kingi et al., 2014; Kooyela, 2007; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2008, 2010; Morgan, 2004; Ratima et al., 1995; Statistics, 2014f; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013; Whitehead & Annesley, 2005).

Durie (2006) proposes a framework for measuring Māori well-being that focuses on individuals, collectives and populations. While Durie (2006) uses universal measures, he places emphasis on the inclusion of Māori-specific measures, which take account of the diverse realities of Māori and the impact on well-being. The 2010 Social Report (Ministry of Social Development, 2010) refers to international literature that looks beyond GDP as a default measure of well-being, to include subjective measures of well-being: "an umbrella term for measures that tap people's own opinions and feelings about their lives" (Ministry of Social Development, 2010, p. 124). Other researchers (Cram, 2014; Durie et al., 2002; Palmer, 2004) put a case for the inclusion and application of subjective measures of Māori well-being, and Te Kupenga, a Māori well-being survey conducted by Statistics New Zealand (2014), provided for subjective measures based on Māori views of well-being. Cultural measures included how Māori felt about spirituality, tikanga, te reo and social connectedness, and other social and economic well-being measures are yet to be released (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Despite recent developments to incorporate Māori subjective measures, what appears to remain absent from the literature are whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives on well-being (Kooyela, 2007).

Research conducted by and for Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine hapū of Rānana, Whanganui River, looked at issues that affected well-being of this hapū community, based on the lived experiences and perspectives of kuia (elderly female) and koroheke (elderly male).

The study focused on health, environmental, social and cultural well-being, where well-being was found to be:

> *… an all encompassing phenomenon that embraces a holistic philosophy and positively describes a Māori view of the world; a world where human beings are at one with the natural world – in equilibrium (Tinirau, R.S., Tinirau, R., Gillies, Palmer & Mako, 2007, p. 2).*

Thus, factors affecting well-being cannot be separated or compartmentalised, and major findings include: the inextricable link between people, the environment and natural resources; tikanga in a contemporary context remains relevant and need not be compromised; opportunities for social interaction and connectedness are embraced; and a focus on improving socio-economic conditions and broader perspectives is required to advance well-being (Tinirau et al., 2007).

For the iwi of Ngāi Tai in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, the following framework (Table 17) was proposed to monitor iwi well-being.

IWI VITALITY OUTCOMES FRAMEWORK

Iwi values: Te reo me ōna tikanga, Wairuatanga, Tino Rangatiratanga, Manaakitanga, Whanaungatanga, Kotahitanga, Kaitiakitanga

Outcomes	Characteristics	Indicators
Secure identity	• Te reo Māori use and proficiency • Iwi knowledge • Customary practices • Access to natural environment	
Intergenerational sustainability	• Intergenerational planning • Intergenerational transmission • Capacity for care • Succession planning • Engagement of youth	
Collective cohesion	• Maintain the ahi kā • Communication systems • Active participation • Regular iwi events • Representative structures	
Environmental stewardship	• Valuing of natural resources • Prioritisation of environmental concerns • Retention of lands • Quality of natural resources • Environmental management capacity	
Self determination	• Strategic vision and planning • Decision-making and accountability • Human resource capacity and capability • Service provision • Critical awareness	
Economic prosperity	• Financial planning • Asset base • Financial performance • Sustainable economic development • Financial investment	
Whānau health and well-being	• Whānau development • Whānau decision-making • Health status of whānau • Socio-economic determinants • Effective health and social services	

Table 17: Iwi Vitality Outcomes Framework (Porter, 2013, p. 112).

Iwi values permeate throughout the framework, with each value directed to one or more outcomes. Seven outcomes, and five characteristics for each outcome, emerged through the research, as listed in the framework above. Indicators were not included; however, four selection criteria (alignment, impact, responsiveness and quality) were explained, against which each potential indicator needs to be considered and interrogated before it is included and adopted (Porter, 2013).

Another project, He Ōranga Hapori (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011a), aimed to highlight the progression of well-being related to Māori communities in Kāpiti/Horowhenua, and Te Papaiōea. The report places emphasis on local solutions and strategies to address the impacts of global recession on these Māori communities. Using growth, relationship and descriptive indicators to measure Māori well-being, the report concluded that giving expression to kaupapa tuku iho (inherited values) is a positive experience, and that tikanga can be methodically designed and effectively measured by Māori communities (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011a).

Thus, as whānau, hapū and Māori communities perceive well-being in dissimilar ways to non-Māori, the corresponding measures of well-being will need to account for these differences. Furthermore, Sibley, Harré, Hoverd & Houkamau (2011) studied the gap in subjective well-being of Māori and Pākehā between 2005 and 2009. The research found that the gap widened over this period, due to the economic recession. They also found that further detailed cultural-specific and psychological measures of Māori well-being should be identified and included in future studies of subjective well-being.

3.2.3 **RECONCILING MĀORI ECONOMY AND MĀORI WELL-BEING**

Literature that clearly articulates the relationship between the Māori economy and well-being is sparse, but is emerging. Te Rangi Hiroa (1950) and Firth (1973) advocated that economic activities of early Māori were centred on social and cultural factors, and, therefore, the well-being of the community. Today, there appear to be tensions between competing social, cultural and economic views, and that Māori must choose between maximising financial returns or expressing Māori values (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011a).

However, Durie (2006) proposes that integrated development is of immense significance to Māori:

> *Sectoral development, in which economic, social, environmental and cultural policies are developed in parallel rather than from a common starting point, is inconsistent with indigenous world views where integration and holistic perspectives outweigh piecemeal approaches (Durie, 2006, p. 13).*

Architects of current Māori economic development strategies (Bay of Connections, 2014; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012) have endeavoured to establish connections between Māori well-being and economic development, which is promising. Although social and economic factors are incorporated into such strategies, the inclusion of cultural imperatives is required, if an integrated approach to development is to be achieved. Furthermore, Harmsworth, Barclay Kerr & Reedy (2002), in their paper on Māori sustainable development, highlight the need for cultural and social assessments in determining the condition of cultural health and Māori well-being.

Whitehead & Annesley (2006, p. 2) state that "implicit in the concept of economic development is the idea that economic participation is a key means by which people can enhance their wellbeing". Thus there appears to be a positive correlation between economic activity and participation, and well-being. However, the Sovereign Wellbeing Index (Human Potential Centre, 2013) urges for care, given that traditional measures such as GDP "fail to reflect whether people's lives are prospering in line with economic growth" (Human Potential Centre, 2013, p. 8). Furthermore, negative impacts that national economic imperatives have on people's lives have been identified, and include, but are not limited to, adverse environmental effects, increasing personal debt and decreased social connectedness (Michaelson, Abdallah, Steuer, Thompson & Marks, 2009; Stoll, Michaelson & Seaford, 2012, cited in Human Potential Centre, 2013). There is a need, therefore, to draw closer alignment between the Māori economy and Māori well-being, to ensure that the growth in the Māori economy contributes to enhancing Māori well-being.

3.3 COHESIVE AND PRACTICAL INDICATORS AND MEASURES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Carter et al. (2011) found that indicators and measures of Māori economic development were often dominated by classical economic models, using GDP as the primary measure. More recently, both government and Māori have attempted to develop models that go beyond GDP. For example, the Higher Living Standards, developed by New Zealand Treasury (Karacaoglu, 2012) does not incorporate specific Māori indicators, but does extend thinking beyond GDP. The framework identifies four key 'capitals' that underpin standards of higher living. These are financial and physical capital (financial wealth, housing, etc.), natural capital (natural resources etc.), social capital (institutions, trusts, etc.) and human capital (capacity building, health, etc.). There are five domains that assess the ability of New Zealanders to access these four key capitals. These are economic growth, sustainability, social infrastructure, managing risks and increasing equity (Karacaoglu, 2012). Given the earlier discussion around Māori well-being, an element not considered in current models is cultural capital, and, for Māori, this element would be considered the most germane for overall Māori well-being. The following review, therefore, takes into account indicators and measures for Māori economic development, and the potential links to Māori well-being.

3.3.1 INDICATORS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

An indicator, as the term suggests, directs attention to the status of something, and as such can be used as a marker to gauge progress or success. Kooyela (2007, p. 13) suggests that indicators can be either quantitative or qualitative in nature, and "provide evidence for a concept or theory", though it is also acknowledged that indicators might be contradictory to what a concept or theory purports.

The following diagram (Figure 8) outlines the process for developing indicators.

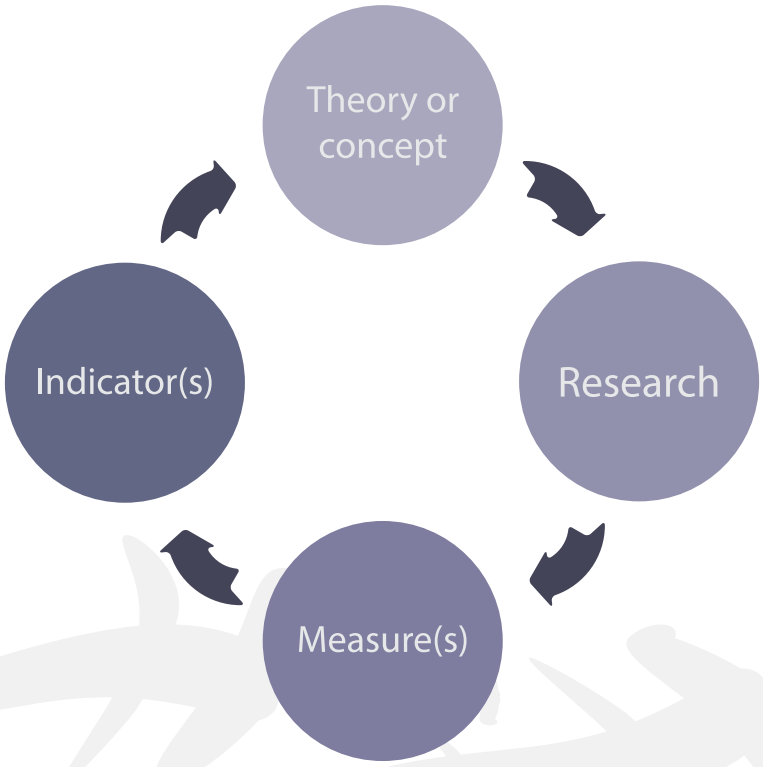


Figure 8: The Indicator Development Process (Kooyela, 2007, p. 13).

As alluded to earlier in this report (section 3.2.2), Porter (2013) offers four selection criteria against which proposed indicators should be tested before being included in a framework for iwi well-being. The four criteria are summarised (Table 18) below.

Criteria	Explanation
Alignment	Indicators must be aligned to outcomes that iwi are seeking to achieve
Impact	Indicators must have substantial positive impacts for iwi
Responsiveness	Indicators must be responsive to intervention by iwi
Quality	Indicators must be subject to data that is of sufficient quality

Table 18: Criteria for selecting proposed indicators (adapted from Porter, 2013, p. 114).

Kooyela (2007) identified 'lead' quality of life indicators for Māori, and were described as economic (household income; tamariki in early childhood education; school leavers; tertiary education participation; highly skilled occupations), cultural (iwi affiliation; participation in cultural activities; ability to speak te reo Māori; tamariki in Kōhanga Reo; tamariki in Kura Kaupapa Māori), social (life expectancy at birth; unpaid work involvement; housing tenure; candidates in local and central government, and school boards of trustees), and environmental (participation in Resource Management Act 1991). One of the issues identified by Kooyela (2007) was the poor quality or lack of data on distinctive Māori indicators. This concern was also shared by Coleman et al. (2005), though based on the availability of limited historical data, they were able to provide commentary on the following Māori wealth and economic development indicators: Population size and age structure; life expectancy at birth; land ownership; urbanisation; educational attainment; participation in the paid labour market; attainment in the labour market; and levels of te reo Māori proficiency (Coleman et al., 2005). As recognised by Coleman et al. (2005), limited analysis on Māori cultural development was conducted.

As mentioned in previous chapters of this report, much traction has occurred, and Māori-specific data that is culturally relevant and more useful to Māori is being acknowledged and collected by public agencies (Ministry of Social Development, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2014f), and private organisations, including iwi. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Apa (2011) have developed indicators of progress and achievement for the iwi, and these suggest that a view of Māori or iwi economic development exists within the broader context of development. These indicators include: autonomous, thriving, and self-developing hapū communities; cultural confidence and competence for hapū members; self-sustaining, prosperous, healthy papakāinga, where ahi kā is maintained; connectedness across whānau, hapū, iwi and marae, and with externally-resident uri; accessible, flourishing, protected food sources; strong, relevant leadership, where succession is evident; relationships and collaborations with other iwi are manifest across sectors and domains; collective interests in natural resources are managed in accordance with tikanga; and evidence that iwi well-being is improving (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Apa, 2011). It can be deduced that in this context, Māori or iwi economic development exists to improve and enhance the well-being of Māori and iwi, utilising resources within the Māori or iwi economy. This does not mean, however, that the wider New Zealand economy is not accessible or that it should not contribute to Māori well-being. Furthermore, a clear distinction between iwi indicators and general Māori indicators is evident, such as with Ngāti Apa, who have aligned their indicators to their own iwi aspirations – they have identified where the indicators will have the strongest impact, and how responsive (rather than reactive) the indicators are to iwi needs. Finally, that the measures utilised to assess progress (Porter, 2013) are relevant, useful, meaningful and take account of the complexities of the iwi and Māori development context. Such measures are discussed in the next section.

3.3.2 **MEASURES OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The term 'measure' suggests that the importance or value of something can be ascertained or assessed in an accurate way. Understandings of the Māori economy have in the main been based on classical economic theory, using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a primary measure (BERL, 2011; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2007; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009), which includes household incomes and levels of net savings. Furthermore, a report prepared for the Ministry for Primary Industries (2013) explored the benefits that Māori, and New Zealand generally, could gain from increased productivity of Māori freehold land. Whilst these strategies and reports have sound methodology from a classical economic perspective, they focus on GDP and productivity, and are void of any Māori cultural consideration. Moreover, there are a number of weaknesses in utilising GDP as a measure of economic development, because it disregards disadvantage, as well as other social and cultural differences (Bargh, 2007; Kooyela, 2007; Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011a). Another tool utilised in reports on Māori participation in the New Zealand economy is the Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003b, 2007), which was modified for use in a Māori context, and included: 10 industries/commodities, where it was considered Māori were most active; three factors of production; and six institutional factors, including Māori households and producers (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2007). It is unlikely, therefore, that current notions, which isolate economic development from other life factors, truly reflect Māori worldviews, whereby issues "must always be contextualised and examined holistically (Bargh, 2007, p. 33).

O'Sullivan & Dana (2008) state that in measuring the success of Māori economic development, two pertinent issues must be addressed: first, pre-conditions must be acknowledged before developing appropriate measures; and second, measures need to be defined. One of the pre-conditions is Māori community involvement in strategy formulation to ensure that the defined measures are appropriate to the community (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013; O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013). Furthermore, O'Sullivan & Dana (2008, p. 373) state that alongside financial considerations, social and cultural advancement should be considered "as key measures for Māori economic development plans". This is consistent with earlier discussions in this report on Māori well-being, and the need for alignment across development imperatives, as well as an integrated, holistic approach to development (Durie, 2006; Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013; Porter, 2013). As such, previously suggested measures of Māori well-being are potential measures for Māori economic development.

The Māori Economic Taskforce (2011a) proposes a model that is cast against a range of kaupapa: whakapapa, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, kaitiakitanga, pūkengatanga, ūkaipōtanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, manaakitanga and te reo (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011a). Furthermore, local and central government strategies (Bay of Connections, 2014; Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012) attempt to incorporate Māori-relevant measures, including levels of education, income, housing and health. Of these strategies, the Independent Māori Statutory Board (2013) provide a comprehensive, all-encompassing plan for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau, and outline key directions and indicators, spread across cultural, social, economic and environmental domains.

The Bay of Connections (2014) proposes two types of measures for Māori economic development. First, outcome measures are considered long-term, and align directly with the vision and mission of an organisation, such as well-being, wealth, education and employment. Second, process measures allow for the assessment of smaller, incremental steps towards the achievement of broader goals, for example, the establishment of an owner strategy and preparation of detailed action plans (Bay of Connections, 2014). At a regional level (Bay of Connections, 2014; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009), a framework and strategy for Māori economic development that aligns with a national Māori economic development strategy has been advanced. It expressly proposes measurements of the current asset base within the region and provides model scenarios for future growth.

Measures of Māori economic development, therefore, include general and traditional economic measures, such as GDP, but also involve more holistic, Māori-specific measures that encompass social and cultural imperatives, as well as context-specific measures, which align with whānau, hapū, iwi and community aspirations. Their involvement in determining appropriate measures for Māori economic development is endorsed through the literature.

3.4 **BALANCING TENSIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL, CULTURAL & ECONOMIC IMPERATIVES**

Harmsworth et al. (2002), New Zealand Institute for Economic Research (2003a) and Mather (2014) argue that Māori economic development approaches must consider a range of social, cultural and economic imperatives, and advancement in these domains should not be viewed as being attributed to Māori economic development exclusively. Progress in other areas of Māori development must also be made and synergised, in order to capitalise on the energies and developments emanating from and within whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The complexity of balancing competing imperatives is not new to Māori, and Māori organisations and collectives continue to develop competencies and confidence to negotiate the terrain and conditions that exist within and beyond both the Māori economy and New Zealand economy. Māori organisations operate in two worlds, balancing legal requirements as well as the cultural expectations of Māori stakeholders (New Zealand Institute for Economic Research, 2003). There is a heightened awareness of these factors by stakeholders, who increasingly request their organisations to be more responsive to socio-cultural imperatives of whānau, hapū and iwi.

3.4.1 **SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC & ENVIRONMENTAL IMPERATIVES**

Existing Māori economic development strategies (Bay of Connections, 2014; Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012) identify a number of social, cultural, economic and environmental imperatives. Social imperatives include access to key services, engagement in educational initiatives, safe communities, participation in decision making, and good health. Cultural imperatives encompass cultural values, te reo and tikanga Māori, connectivity to whānau, hapū, iwi and marae, Kaupapa Māori initiatives and Treaty partner activities. Economic imperatives incorporate income, investment opportunities, workforce capability, employment, and sector or industry involvement. Finally, environmental imperatives include protection of natural resources and wāhi tapu, environmental projects and restoration of mahinga kai. Unfortunately, strategies concerning these imperatives are discussed in isolation to one another, though an attempt to synthesise and produce a comprehensive strategy that incorporates all four dimensions is The Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013). However, the connection between different imperatives, and the impact that one may have on another, is not examined in any of the reviewed Māori economic development strategies, but forms a part of decision-making processes within Māori institutions.

Whilst there have been warnings around prioritising economic imperatives over others, in some situations, compromises may exist:

> *There is increasing debate within Māoridom about the appropriate balance between profits, people, culture and environment protection, as well as equitable access to the benefits of development(Loomis, 1999, p. 10).*

3.4.2 **TENSIONS AROUND BALANCING COMPETING IMPERATIVES**

Whitehead & Annesley (2005) acknowledge that collectively-held assets are complex and sensitive, given that assets, such as land, are viewed as more than an economic resource: "Land that is collectively owned by iwi, hapū and whānau has a spiritual and cultural value as well as commercial one" (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005, p. 26). This spiritual and genealogical connection between indigenous peoples and their lands, and the role that they play as kaitiaki, is also acknowledged by Bargh (2010). Whitehead & Annesley (2005) view the inability to trade and use land as collateral for economic development as a restriction, because there is often an intergenerational view in which assets such as land are retained for future generations. In some instances, Māori authorities might ascertain which assets should be set aside for cultural or spiritual reasons, and which assets are for economic purposes (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a). In other situations, Māori organisations may utilise cultural assets for economic and social gains, though sometimes these situations necessitate protection mechanisms, such as the recognition and/or safeguarding of wāhi tapu (Federation of Māori Authorities & Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003, 2004, 2005). Sometimes, tensions between social, cultural, economic and environmental imperatives are industry specific, for example, the protests by Te Whānau-a-Apanui against oil exploration in the Raukūmara basin (Takitimu, 2011).

3.4.3 **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL**

Carter et al. (2011) revealed the manifestations of social capital and therefore the importance that iwi place on the shared collective well-being of marae, whānau, and hapū. Generally, iwi documents highlight the social and cultural aspirations of members and these permeate iwi visions, mission statements and objectives. However, the imperative to grow the asset base first has meant that, for most iwi, "the profit-making mandate has become a powerful vision …" with a "principal emphasis … on generating a profit from the settlement funds" (Mikaere, 2000, p. 18). New analysis (BERL, 2011a; Carter et al., 2011) suggests that while economic development initiatives are seen by iwi as the means to facilitate social and cultural growth, the practical application and implementation of economic initiatives has often not aligned with the shared well-being of marae, hapū, and whānau. There is no doubt that economic development and economic growth is important, and a clear objective of iwi,

but it also needs to be balanced with human development goals (Ranis & Stewart, 2005). While the addition of human development or the socio-cultural elements in economic growth models adds a range of complexities and challenges, it is not in opposition to Māori and indigenous aspirations for sustainable economic development. It is also being acknowledged in wider society that social and cultural elements cannot be excluded from notions of economic growth indefinitely. Economies that relentlessly follow the profit-making ideology of neo-classical economics cannot be sustained in the long term (Ranis & Stewart, 2005). The 2008 global financial crisis is an example where such economic theories work only to benefit the few and not the majority of people. In the late 1980s and through the 1990s, it became clear that successful indigenous and Māori development occurs only when these groups self-determine and self-manage their own development. Devolution policies that began in the early 1980s were successful on one hand, as they seemingly gave the power back to the people; but on the other, the resources that were supposed to come with it failed to materialise for Māori. What it highlighted for Māori, though, was the shortage of skills in the Māori population to manage resources; therefore there was a need to focus on developing social capital through capacity and capability building (Durie, 1998; Loomis, 1999; Loomis, Morrison, & Nicholas, 1998).

On a global stage, a generally accepted definition of social capital includes the higher-level elements of good governance, institutions that legitimise social order of societies, social cohesion (for example, the World Bank), networks, institutions, codes, and values (for example, the United Nations) – all of which focus on bringing nations together to achieve mutual benefits. At local iwi and regional levels, similar notions appear to have relevance but in different contexts. For example, iwi/Māori networking and making connections are embedded in whakapapa and based on Māori values of whakawhanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana and kaitiakitanga. Building social capital in this sense is an extension of culture and the focus is on increased efforts in capacity and capability mainly achieved through increasing levels of Māori participation in education. As with Māori organisations (Davies, 2007), a goal for iwi is for members to have dual competencies that confidently allow them to live in two worlds, and participate in these worlds at the levels they desire.

There is a context for indigenous peoples and one for non-indigenous. The prevailing context for all development, including economic development, is driven by a non-indigenous agenda, for the 'good of all', a universal 'one-size-fits-all' approach. Therefore even when there are clear acknowledgements for a need to include notions of social and cultural capital in the mix for economic development, it does not include a consideration of indigenous cultural and social nuances. Ecological economics comes close, and so too does sustainable development thinking, but they fall short of including indigenous perspectives, arguing that indigenous perspectives are focused on traditional thinking (old) and therefore are irrelevant in a contemporary world (Loomis, 1999; Loomis et al., 1998).

Thus, social, cultural and economic imperatives are of immense significance to Māori, and decision-making processes must balance competing interests and imperatives to achieve outcomes for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori generally. Social, economic and cultural realms can benefit directly from Māori economic development. However, Māori economic development does not occur in a vacuum; other components of development must also be advancing Māori social, economic and cultural aspirations for Māori communities to fulfil their unrealised potential. There is a need to better balance sometimes 'competing' interests and to build understandings and frameworks that allow for social, cultural and economic imperatives to engage simultaneously.

3.5 **DEFINITIONS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

There is no universal definition or description of the Māori economy or Māori economic development, and this is an area that requires ongoing debate, research and scholarship. Given the emerging nature of the disciplines of Māori business and Māori economic development in the tertiary education sector, there is limited literature with Māori contribution (Scott, Martin & Rennell, 2006). Various entities, both Māori and non-Māori,

private and public, use the terms Māori economy and Māori economic development in different ways to mean different things. Some support notions of a focus on economic costs and benefits, whilst others incorporate cultural and social elements.

Whitehead & Annesley (2005) argued that in contemplating Māori economic development, an insight into economic development is required. They suggest that economic development is a system that incorporates conventional change or adaption, leading to economic opportunities that enhance individual and collective well-being (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005). Furthermore, they assert that for the achievement of Māori aspirations, Māori economic development and other initiatives must be led by Māori. The New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (2003a) and Coleman et al. (2005) suggest that because the Māori economy is located within the New Zealand economy, it is difficult to distinguish Māori economic activity from other forms of activity. Coleman et al. (2005) therefore suggest that Māori economic activity might be determined by considering Māori individual and collective resources, engagement, outcomes and well-being (Coleman et al., 2005). O'Sullivan & Dana (2008), after conducting research with Māori in the Canterbury region, arrived at a definition for Māori economic development.

They surmised that Māori economic development is:

> *… a change process involving the Māori community, brought about through traditional cultural and political institutions seeking to restore sovereignty or self-government – tino rangatiratanga – in order to achieve greater wellbeing (O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008, p. 376).*

They purport greater recognition of the community, their aspirations, culture, and self-development.

Other attempts to define or describe Māori economic development have resulted in a range of keywords or statements being used, as opposed to a definition. These key words include: Māori business (although issues arise when attempting to define Māori business) and enterprise; collective assets; governance; whānau, hapū and iwi; financial stability; wealth creation; education; entrepreneurship; work and employment; quality of life and well-being; and core Māori values, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and tino rangatiratanga. What is apparent is that the dominant aim of Māori economic development for whānau, hapū and iwi is tino rangatiratanga (O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008), which incorporates economic independence, wealth creation (social and cultural), and improved or enhanced well-being. A Māori perspective of economic development is therefore broad and all-encompassing, and considers the range of socio-cultural, political, technological and environmental factors and the diverse realities of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori generally. Another common element inherent within the literature includes the need for ideological and structural change to neo-liberalist thinking, which has dominated economic theory discourse and practice in the western world.

For both non-Māori and some Māori, there is an obsession with defining anything remotely Māori, which is clearly distracting and impedes Māori economic development momentum; but if it expedites general acknowledgement of a Māori economy or Māori economic development, then definitions for these terms may be necessary. Māori are pragmatic and proactive, evidenced through the development and implementation of recent Māori economic development strategies and responses (Bay of Connections, 2014; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012), regardless of whether agreement over the terms Māori economy or Māori economic development have been reached. However, another possible reason why there are few definitions for Māori economic development in the literature from a Māori perspective is that, as with Māori business, much of the action "takes place beneath the surface or away from the public view" (Davies, 2007, p. 20).

This is in keeping with the frequently articulated Māori proverb:

> *E kore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna reka: The kūmara never tells how sweet it is.*

3.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In developing an agenda for Māori economic development, Whitehead & Annesley (2005) provided the 2005 Hui Taumata with some key considerations, linked to its three main themes. First, developing people involved improving educational and training outcomes for Māori, where skills and qualifications must have direct economic benefits through improved access to employment opportunities and higher incomes. Second, developing enterprises includes improving governance and management, increasing capital investment, and encouraging innovation and collaborations in order to improve productivity. Third, developing assets involves careful consideration of both cultural and commercial imperatives. These three themes capture a number of pertinent characteristics of Māori economic development, some of which have already been discussed in some depth in earlier sections of this literature review.

3.6.1 DEVELOPING PEOPLE

On occasions, iwi have identified the need for economic development initiatives to be cognisant of the aspirations of whānau, hapū, and iwi. While the aspirations of iwi are wide-ranging, a focus on increasing capacity and capabilities within iwi highlight a required emphasis on people development through education and training, and employment. Whitehead & Annesley (2005) suggest that skills and education will have the most positive impact on economic productivity because they are likely to simultaneously improve and increase "entrepreneurial ability; managerial capability, and technical skills" and therefore increase opportunities for "employment, income, improved wellbeing, increased political participation, trust, and direct measures of happiness" (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005, p. 12). Furthermore, Whitehead & Annesley (2005) maintain that increased participation in education will, in the long run, support the ability of individuals to withstand 'adverse economic shocks', be more engaged socially, be more likely to positively effect intergenerational capacity building, and result in a stronger propensity for people to become more socially connected. Statistics already show that the number of Māori youth leaving secondary school with qualifications has improved slightly (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012), though Māori participation in tertiary education has grown substantially (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2012). While there are other factors that impact on people development, there is wide agreement that skills, education, employment, and positive participation in wider society is likely to improve overall Māori economic wellbeing (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a; Smith, GH, 2011; 2013).

3.6.2 DEVELOPING ENTERPRISES

There has been steady growth in the development of Māori enterprises (Battiste & Gillies, 2008; Gillies & Battiste, 2009; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012), and in the general population business owners are considered to be the 'engine' of economic development. This is certainly true of the contribution made by Māori enterprises to the Māori economy as discussed in the next section. Specifically, growth in enterprise development contributes in different ways to economic development. These include increases in the output of goods and services and therefore GDP. Scenario building exercises are used to highlight the potential gains from increased productivity in terms of increased participation in the labour market (employment), and therefore the wider positive impacts on wages for workers and increased material and social well-being for whānau (BERL, 2011a; BERL, 2014; Whitehead & Annesley, 2005).

Key drivers of productivity that can be utilised by enterprises were identified from the work of Whitehead & Annesley (2005). These included capacity and capability building in leadership and management, and investing in people through upskilling; and building relationships through networking and collaborations. Whitehead & Annesley (2005) conceded that there was very little information about practices within Māori-owned enterprises, and that more research is required in this respect. More recent research and commentary has involved Māori capital investments (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010); innovation and technology (Lam-

bert, 2012); leadership and management, where blending tikanga Māori, values and practices with modern business concepts, legal systems and governance occurs (Tinirau & Gillies, 2010); balancing competing and current demands with the requirements of future generations (Federation of Māori Authorities, 2013; Porter, 2013); and institutions and policies, such as the impacts of legislation on Māori enterprise development (Consedine, 2007).

3.6.3 **DEVELOPING ASSETS**

Approximately $26.2 billion of the Māori asset base in 2010 was attributed to Māori self-employed and Māori employers (not including collectively held assets of Māori authorities), or 71% of the Māori economy (BERL, 2011a). Whitehead & Annesley (2005) also suggest that the drivers for Māori economic development include innovation and technological change, entrepreneurship, investment, skills and talent and sound institutions, and that these drivers "are the same across all people and countries" (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005, p. 30). For Te Puni Kōkiri (2007b, 2009), discussions around the Māori economy are centred on the Māori asset base, its growth and its composition (industries), with mention of changing Māori demographics. Further, BERL (2011) suggests that the Māori economy is described as having many dimensions. It explicitly looks at the Māori economy from the perspective of the asset base, income, spending and GDP, and identify linkages to the wider economy.

The Māori Economic Development Panel (2012) maintains that:

> *Growing a more productive, innovative and internationally connected Māori economic sector will deliver prosperity to Māori, and resilience and growth to the national economy (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012, p. 4).*

Such undertaking will be achieved by "lifting per capita income and improving export performance" of the Māori economy (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012, p. 4). This is in contrast to earlier views in the discussions of well-being, happiness and development economics, as well as other Māori and indigenous perspectives of well-being and economic development. In such cases, the focus is on aligning economic growth with cultural and social advancement.

In considering an agenda for the Māori Economic Taskforce, the Federation of Māori Authorities stresses that an increased effort in economic development will lead to increased well-being:

> *Ensuring that Māori asset holders are able to grow their enterprises, returning greater dividends and benefits to their shareholders makes sound economic sense. This strategic approach resonates with both Māori and mainstream economic leaders alike, and is the starting point for ongoing discussions about successful Māori economic development that leads to intergenerational wealth and wellbeing (cited in Federation of Māori Authorities, 2013, p. 5).*

History, however, has shown that neo-classical models, which have a sole focus on fiscal implications, will not necessarily result in increased wealth and well-being for the majority of citizens (Nair, 2011; Sen, 1999).

3.7 **STRATEGIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Begay, Cornell, Jorgensen & Kalt (2007) state that indigenous peoples are tasked with three key economic responsibilities:

- To initiate opportunities for their people, which will produce economic benefits and support for their families;
- To create conditions where social and cultural values, practices and relationships are preserved; and
- To advance progress towards self-governance, so there is less dependency on others.

In this section on strategies and opportunities, it is demonstrated that Māori have sought and continue to seek better ways to improve opportunities for the economic development of whānau, hapū and iwi.

3.7.1 **STRATEGIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Traditionally, leaders were responsible for the well-being of the whānau, hapū and iwi, and the attributes of a Māori leader in contemporary times depend largely on the situation and context within which that particular person operates and leads. Walker (1993, p. 23) succinctly describes Māori leadership as a "contradictory mix of tradition and modernity", and Mead (1995) has identified a number of pūmanawa or leadership qualities, based on the traditional ideologies of Tikitū (Ngāti Awa) and Te Rangikaheke (Te Arawa). It can be argued that many of these pūmanawa can be applied to Māori leaders today, particularly those involved with leading strategies for Māori economic development.

The concept of mana tangata is based on the precept that before a leader can be considered as such, they must be recognised by their own whānau, hapū, iwi or representative group as a leader. This may be determined by a variety of factors, including whakapapa, background, formal or informal education, and/or gender (Mahuika, 1981). This recognition is crucial, and contributes significantly to the profile of the person, adding to their mana. The notion of humility – ngākau whakaiti – can be regarded as a trait worthy of mention, and implies that leaders lead from the front when required, but encourage others to lead when and where appropriate. Versatility is an important quality that whānau, hapū and iwi leaders have always needed, as situations arise where diversification in thinking and action is required. Thus, whakaaro ake links to the pūmanawa suggested by Tikitū and Te Rangikaheke, involving being a good strategist (Mead, 1995).

The ability to articulate vision is an important skill, which entails the quality of foresight, thus tirohanga whakamua is of relevance. Aspirations are considered vital for any strategy, as they contain the hopes and ambitions of the whānau, hapū and iwi.

As such, aspirations:

> *… Effectively determine the goals of development. Values, sustainability and the role of self-determination are important here. The fit with aspirational objectives is likely to be an essential element in any vision, although it has been recognised that cultures are not static and change over time (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003b, p. 24).*

Being able to care for others – manaaki tangata – is an important responsibility that many Māori leaders possess. This links with the notion "he kaha ki te mahi kai", in that being able to provide for one's whānau, hapū and iwi will enable the cohort to survive and prosper (Mead, 1995, pp. 4-5). Looking after visitors well – "he atawhai tangata" – will also add to the ethos of the leader (Mead, 1995, p. 4). If hapū or iwi development is the focus, then knowledge of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are both mandatory. Although not considered as a concern in the time of Tikitū and Te Rangikaheke, this is now an appropriate quality to have and maintain. Furthermore, leaders and strategists of Māori economic development must also possess knowledge and skills that are relevant to future contexts, and the capacity to take on board rapid advances in our social, cultural, economic and environmental development. As citizens of the world, Māori must have confidence in grasping the opportu-

nities that are apparent in a number of situations. This quality can be termed mātauranga whānui, where competence in many areas and across domains is required. Thus, a key strategy for Māori economic development is to ensure that iwi and hapū leadership is functional, recognisable, has authority, has competence both in a cultural context and in economic development, and has buy-in from the community it is purporting to lead.

It is useful here to consider the inextricable link between leadership and governance. Interestingly, Cornell and Kalt (1992) suggest that tribal organisations that separate governance issues from the daily management of an operation do remarkably better than those that are administered by their tribal councils. Essentially, the success of any strategy undertaken is considered to be strongly reliant on the people and institutions that are involved with the process. Rather than concerning themselves with administration, Durie (2009) proposes that safeguarding the Māori estate for successive generations and visualising the future will become core competencies of those in leadership positions:

> *Technological change, demographic trends, potential trade opportunities in New Zealand and abroad, Māori aspirations for the future will all be important aspects of forward-thinking governance (Durie, 2009, p. 14).*

Likewise, the importance of leadership qualities was highlighted by Te Puni Kōkiri (2007a), which also identified three key strategic drivers that will affect Māori participation in the economy: a shift towards the innovation economy (where opportunities exist to improve Māori well-being, through technological advances, research and development, and education); the transferal of global economic power (from the west – United States & Europe – to the east – Asia); and environmental impacts and resource limitations (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a). It was argued that strategies for future Māori economic development should be focused on increasing Māori participation in the economy, increasing and expanding the Māori asset base, and extending opportunities and activities for Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a). Durie (2009) acknowledges the role of forums such as the Hui Taumata, the Federation of Māori Authorities, and more recently the Iwi Leaders Forum, which purports to provide a collective voice for various Māori groups, based on and around particular kaupapa, including Māori economic development. Although a "high-level 'futures leadership forum'" was considered critical by Durie (2009), the perspectives of whānau, hapū and iwi must continue to resonate, given that each is critical to Māori economic development and the enhancement of Māori well-being.

Three government-appointed panels were established to progress Māori participation in Māori economic development policy, planning and leadership, over a period of five years. First, the Māori Economic Taskforce (established in 2009) was borne out of the Māori Economic Summit, which was held to address the impact that the global recession had on Māori (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2010). The Māori Economic Taskforce was responsible for endorsing initiatives that encouraged Māori economic activity (post-recession), and in the quest for Māori economic prosperity, promoting Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred frameworks (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011b; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Research and work of the Māori Economic Taskforce has focused on a number of areas, proposing various strategies and commentary on: investment, capital and enterprise; small and medium-sized enterprises; collective and tribal assets; primary sector; education and training; social and community infrastructure; and Māori, science and innovation (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Within each of these work streams, the Māori Economic Taskforce has sought to investigate and address strategies and opportunities that enhance Māori well-being through Māori economic development (BERL, 2011a, 2011c; Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010; Māori Economic Taskforce, 2010, 2011a).

Second, the Māori Economic Development Panel (founded in 2011) was charged with formulating an economic strategy based on a Crown-Māori partnership. The strategy, *He Kai Kei Aku Ringa*, recognised strengthening whānau capabilities, facilitating collaborations amongst Māori collectives, enterprises and others; increasing connectivity with the private sector; and the need for more responsive policy and support from government (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2011). Within the strategy, there were few details concerning the Crown's responsibilities to Māori economic development, though there is potential for resourcing from Government for Māori entities engaged in Māori economic development to achieve relevant objectives, support existing activities and develop new initiatives. Government agencies may be assigned responsibility for parts of the strategy, without additional resource, while others may already be conducting projects that

align to the strategy, but were conceived either before, or are independent of the strategy. Issues around the absence of an articulate, Māori framework for measuring success, and the continued adoption of general measures, such as GDP and OECD averages, have been discussed in earlier commentary.

Third, the Māori Economic Development Advisory Board (launched in 2013) is responsible for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the action points arising from *He Kai Kei Aku Ringa*. The strategy is underpinned by six goals: increased educational uptake and achievement; a proficient and effective workforce; improved financial literacy and increased savings; enabling growth through Māori-Crown partnerships; natural resource development conversations; and economic growth propelled by Māori Inc (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012). It is clear that the agenda, although developed by Māori with some relevant Māori actions, also addresses Crown priorities and imperatives. Since its establishment, priorities have been set, with a focus on education, and expertise in this sector is now represented on the Board. Similar strategies have been developed at a regional level (Bay of Connections, 2014), aligning with *He Kai Kei Aku Ringa* and other local government strategies.

3.7.2 **OPPORTUNITIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

From as early as the 1840s, it was observed that Māori economic development was organised and coordinated by and amongst hapū communities (Firth, 1973; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950). Merrill (1954) noted that between 1840 and 1860, economic activity amongst Māori continued to be based on kinship, and that despite colonisation, they were not interested in "individualistically-oriented economic growth" (Merrill, 1954, p. 407), given the obligations and collective worldviews of whānau, hapū and iwi. It was this shared belief system, and natural propensity to adopt and adapt new and novel technologies, which provided the tools and incentives to initiate economic growth and solidarity.

The New Zealand Institute of Economic Research noted that:

> *All innovation starts with grasping an opportunity ... in the short term opportunities are strongly shaped and influenced by history and in the long run, opportunities are both created and destroyed by policies (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003b, p. 23).*

Furthermore, the following framework (Figure 9) for examining innovation was used by the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (2003b) in understanding the interplay between aspirations, factors of influence, strategy and action, and opportunity, and how these contribute to social, cultural, economic and environmental imperatives.

This report has already acknowledged the impact that colonisation and legislation has had on Māori, and, because of historical factors, opportunities for Māori have focused on the primary industries (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2013; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a). Some of those opportunities include vertical integration, diversification and economies of scale (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a). However, other opportunities also exist, such as in the cultural and technological domains (Durie, 2009), as well as investment in infrastructure sectors (such as utilities) and services that are relevant for the elderly (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007). Further opportunities for Māori economic development were identified in five key areas: Cultural resurgence, entrepreneurship, business partnerships, tourism and exporting, and education and mentoring (Federation of Māori Authorities, 2003).

More recently, BERL (2011c) advocated the importance of 'adopting science and innovation' and how development in these areas contributes to Māori economic development by building skilled workers and business capabilities, which has a flow-on effect to Māori communities and households through increased employment, higher wages and further career opportunities. The Māori Economic Development Panel (2012) identified that relationships amongst Māori, as well as collaborations and partnerships with the private sector and government, can lead to mutual benefits and opportunities for those involved. Furthermore, it was recognised that government can support "Māori socio-economic achievements by providing equity of opportunity" and continued, relevant service provision across sectors (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012, p. 11).

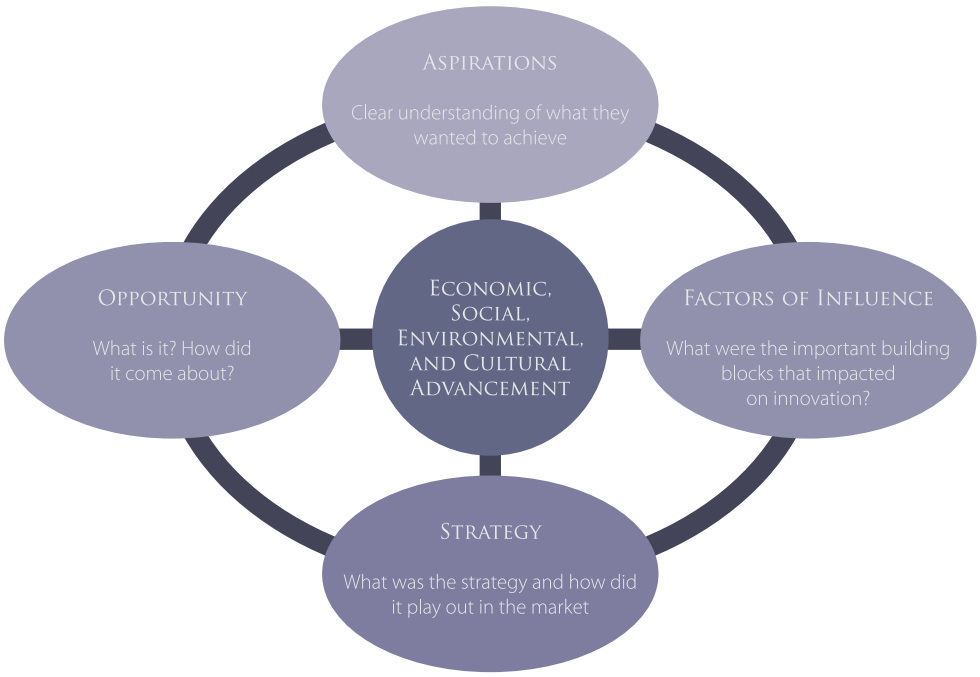


Figure 9: Framework for examining innovation (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003b, p. 23).

3.8 THE INTERFACE OF TIKANGA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Tikanga Māori is defined by many distinguished authors (for example, Durie, E., 1996; Mead, 2000; 2003; Williams, 2013) as a set of practices based on beliefs, values and precedence, which are expressed in daily life as the correct way of thinking, behaving and living. Tikanga are frameworks that help us to differentiate between right and wrong, and can evolve and vary across time, place, and kin. Tikanga exists, to varying degrees, throughout our social structures of whānau, hapū and iwi, and although there may be differences in the way tikanga is expressed, the fundamental cultural tenets remain the same.

Thus, tikanga has been described as being

> *… formulated by generations of the past, is practised by the present, and transmitted to future generations; thus providing intergenerational continuity of tikanga within the circle of knowledge (Tinirau, R.S. & Tinirau, R., 2009, p. 4).*

The importance of tikanga Māori in Māori business, and thus the Māori economy, is well documented (French, 1998; Hall, 1998; Henry, 1997; Knox, 1992, 2005; Love and Waa, 1997; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010), and key concepts that have been identified include whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, kaitiakitanga and mana whenua.

3.8.1 MĀORI VALUES & PRINCIPLES

Harmsworth, Barclay Kerr & Reedy (2002), in their research on Māori sustainable development, developed an aspirational framework that incorporated Māori values and tikanga in relation to the spiritual, cultural and physical environments. Common values emphasised by iwi and hapū in their study included: iwitanga (based on whakapapa, history and identity); whakapapa (genealogy); tino rangatiratanga, rangatiratanga, mana motuhake (authority and power); mana whenua, mana moana (control and management of resources); manaakitanga (reciprocal acts of giving and hospitality); arohatanga (care, love and respect); awhinatanga (assisting and caring for others); whanaungatanga (bonds of kinship); whakakotahitanga, kotahitanga (togetherness and solidarity); koha, whakakoha (gifts and giving); tau utuutu (reciprocity); whakapono (faith and trust in others); wehi (reverence); tūrangawaewae (place of standing); kaitiakitanga (guardianship); kōkiri (competitive-

ness); te ao tūroa (interdependence); taonga tuku iho (treasures and knowledge passed down from tūpuna); wairuatanga (spiritual aspects) (Harmsworth, Barclay & Reedy, 2002, p. 46).

Durie (2003b) highlighted six guiding principles for Māori-centred businesses: tūhono (agreement); pūrotu (transparency); whakaritenga (balanced motives); paiheretia (integrated goals); puāwaitanga (outcomes); and kotahitanga (alliance). These principles formed the basis of a framework for Māori organisations or businesses to gauge how they stand in terms of Māori development. Te Puni Kōkiri (2006) identified the following Māori values as being relevant in Māori economic activities, and as determinants of well-being: whanaungatanga (relationships); rangatiratanga (leadership); mana (respect); kaitiakitanga (stewardship); manaakitanga (hospitality, care); utu (reciprocity, honour); and wairua (spirituality). The report also supports the notion that tikanga is vibrant and evolving, and is a guiding factor behind decision-making. Furthermore, common themes expressed by Māori organisations included: the enhancement of mana through maintaining Kaupapa Māori; safeguarding land and other assets for future generations; retaining ownership and kaitiaki roles over resources; enabling employment opportunities and supporting education; upholding whānau, hapū and iwi development; preserving te reo and tikanga; and accumulating profits to support various kaupapa. It is expected that these themes would resonate with whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations in Māori economic development settings.

There are pieces of legislation that refer to Māori values, practices and well-being, such as the Resource Management Act 1991 and the Local Government Act 2002. The issues that continually arise for Māori relate to the appropriate enactment and consideration of Māori values, principles and concepts that are contained within legislation.

3.8.2 **TIKANGA AS AN IMPEDIMENT**

To some, cultural values and tikanga are necessary, but others assert that tradition and culture have had too strong an influence in Māori economic development. This influence, they maintain, may constrain innovation, which is considered essential for success (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003a). Sautet (2008) examined whether traditional cultural values are relevant in contemporary Māori institutions and New Zealand society generally. Prevalent within Ngāi Tahu's corporate structure are the following values: whanaukataka (family); manaakitaka (looking after the iwi); tohukataka (expertise); kaitiakitaka (stewardship); and manutioriori, kaikōkiri (warriorship) (Sautet, 2008, p. 23). Sautet (2008) also argued that tikanga and mātauranga Māori were impediments in economic, social and cultural development. Examples highlighted included: opposition to genetic engineering (based on issues concerning whakapapa); resource management issues (based on the notions of tapu); and iwi leadership factors (based on women's roles in terms of whaikōrero). Sautet (2008) concludes that there are potential risks for iwi if they prescribe to traditional expressions of tikanga and mātauranga Māori; however, whether the examples critiqued were done so utilising a Kaupapa Māori or Ngāi Tahu frame is questionable, given the seemingly opposing ideology to those expressed throughout this review.

It is clear, therefore, that tikanga Māori is certainly relevant, respected and practised today, as it was in traditional times. The values of Māori individuals, collectives and organisations in the Māori economy reflect customary notions and understandings, but are applied in contemporary times. Tikanga appears to be present and valued in Māori economic development strategies, but there are gaps in the literature on the extent to which tikanga is practised, who is practising it, and how tikanga is manifest and operationalised throughout the Māori economy. Tikanga is specific to particular contexts, but is underpinned by a number of common values and themes that extend across whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.

3.9 **COLLABORATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

From its Latin beginnings, the word collaboration was first used in 1860 conveying simple views of labouring and cooperation ("Collaboration," 2014). From there, use of the word was sporadic, not gaining popularity until the mid-20th century. A perspective of collaboration emerged from the end of World War II ("Collaboration," 2014), where people, groups and organisations were exposed for their collaboration, fraternisation, collusion, consorting, conspiring or sympathising with the enemy. Accordingly, an undesirable inference to the word collaboration endures in various circumstances, settings and cultures, despite there being more progressive and positive descriptors utilised. Contemporary notions of collaboration take on more affirmative perspectives, applying such descriptors as teamwork, partnerships, associations, alliances, group effort, and relationships. Thus, it is proposed that collaboration is where people or organisations work together to produce something that adds value to them and their organisations, building capacity and bringing about mutual benefits for sustainable communities.

3.9.1 **MISCONCEPTIONS IN COLLABORATION**

For Māori, exposure to collaborative arrangements, partnerships, alliances and so forth, existed through kinship relationships, whānau and hapū, prior to the arrival of European voyagers and later settlers. The Treaty of Waitangi is the first formal collaborative relationship and intended partnership between the British Crown and Māori. However, the ideal of 'working together' as one people to add value to the two groups equally has long since been dispelled, given the numerous Treaty of Waitangi claims that have been settled and still require settlement. This suggests that basic components were indeed missing from the agreement.

Tiakiwai & Teddy (2003) put forward four essential components that are, or should be, considered in the range of contemporary collaborations and partnerships in the tertiary education sector. These components are: "power-sharing, acknowledging cultural and philosophical differences, mutual benefits, and reciprocity" (2003, p. 8). While they focus on the tertiary education sector specifically, the components they have identified can be applied across sectors and in a myriad of circumstances. Looking back at the Treaty, had these components been considered and clearly understood by both parties, and, more importantly, adhered to by the Crown, the ambiguities, misunderstandings, inequities, inequalities and tensions that have arisen since might not have occurred.

Māori experiences of the Treaty of Waitangi, the learnings from other indigenous people with regard to the colonising experience, and the deleterious impact on indigenous populations (Durie, 1998) does provide a strong argument for the basic tenets of partnerships and other like arrangements to be embedded in collaborative agreements (Tiakiwai & Teddy, 2003). Such experiences have also made Māori more suspicious and distrustful of different forms of agreements and especially those with government agencies or institutions (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000).

3.9.2 **RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS**

Māori suspicion and negativity also extends to spheres of research (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003, cited in Edwards, McManus & McCreanor, 2005; Gillies, 2006; Moewaka-Barnes, 2000; Smith, L., 1999) in academia and other agencies, which is where collaboration has grown in its utilisation, and which has in the main been influenced by funders (government) of research, requiring stakeholder consultation and the participation of researched communities. For many sectors, including health, education, social services, iwi, hapū and whānau, collaboration with Māori and indigenous peoples has been influenced by Kaupapa Māori approaches (Ahuriri-Driscoll, Hudson, Foote, Hepi, Rogers-Koroheke, Taimona, Tipa, North, Lea, Tipene-Matua & Symes, 2007). They suggest that collaborative relationships and community participation in research is facilitated when a Kaupapa Māori

ideology underpins research activities. Although Tiakiwai & Teddy (2003) have found that this should also be the case across sectors, not just research, it often falls short in many respects. Even so, collaborative projects with Māori are becoming a mechanism for western institutions to assist in the engagement and participation of communities from inception to conclusion, resulting in Māori communities being involved in the solutions and actions, and ownership of projects (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000).

3.9.3 **POWER AND CONTROL IN COLLABORATION**

The collaborative team or partnership may consist of several organisations, communities, individuals and groups, and building it is time consuming but is also considered to be important in the long-term (Gillies, 1998, cited in Moewaka-Barnes, 2000). While collaborations and other such forms of alliance are becoming commonplace, power and control still remains with the dominant culture because the resources, financial or otherwise, remain with it (Moewaka-Barnes, 2006). Power imbalances and control were issues raised by Tiakiwai & Teddy (2003) as essential to collaborative arrangements with Māori and other indigenous peoples. Specifically, they supported Soliman's (2001) view of advocating for equitable power sharing relationships in collaborative partnerships; that is, to recognise differing cultural perspectives and the differing sets of politics (Soliman, 2001) at the beginning of the relationship, and formalise shared control, communication, ownership, and decision-making between groups (Tiakiwai & Teddy, 2003). Unequal power in collaborations can "railroad the objectives and focus of a project", damaging the potential for the development of any future collaborations (Tiakiwai & Teddy, 2003, p. 9).

3.9.4 **COLLABORATION CONCEPTS**

Similarly, attending to cultural and philosophical differences of groups involved in the collaboration expedites successful collaborations. This is an important aspect for undertaking collaborations with the range of Māori and iwi groups that might be involved. There are not only Māori and iwi cultural differences, but also the diverse realities (Durie, 1995) and dynamics involved in working with whānau, in all their sizes, shapes and forms, and the complexities of hapū. Further, awareness of generational and intergenerational issues and relationships and how these can be reconciled, respected and acknowledged in the planning stages of the collaboration is necessary for successful and enduring collaborations. Cultural and philosophical differences also include organisational, sector, individual and group. Tiakiwai & Teddy (2003, p. 10) suggest that "attitudinal shifts and operational shifts" may be required to ensure that the "layers of cultural differences" and valid input from members of the collaboration are considered.

Collaborative relationships require that all involved adhere to the concepts of reciprocity, equity, responsibility, fairness and democracy. Rather than integrating perspectives of one group into another, the preference in collaboration is to interact at the interface so that each group maintains their integrity, reducing the likelihood that one is assimilated or subsumed by the other (Moewaka-Barnes, 2006). Collaboration, therefore, allows for groups to converge at a number of levels and in different spaces. For example, groups can interact in both a Māori and indigenous context, as well as in non-indigenous and Pākehā contexts, in urban or rural, or national and international levels (Harmsworth, 2001). In all of these divergent contexts, teams are often trans-disciplinary, which is seen as a strength, providing a strong foundation for collaboration especially when basic tenets or tikanga are set in place (Tiakiwai & Teddy, 2003; Lowe, Carr, McCallum, Myers, Gorham, Holmes, Holtham, Matenga, Miller, Ngarimu-Cameron, Raumati & Te Kanawa, 2009).

3.9.5 **TECHNOLOGY AS AN ENABLER OF COLLABORATION**

Schrage (1990) insisted that unlike the phenomenon of 'teamwork', new technologies would bring people together in new and innovative ways. Rather than hinder collaborative activities and engagement, people would connect through both virtual and physical spaces, and across the globe. Collaboration would not be confined by time and place. Technology in collaboration is very much seen as an enabling communication tool and utilised more often now in a wide range of social, business and cultural contexts and across organisations and enterprise. Schrage's (1990) thinking makes sense in terms of Māori perspectives of collaboration. He refers to collaboration as a key enabler, not only bringing together the collective intelligence of the wider group, but facilitating the diversity inherent in the range of potential relationships that could occur.

4. **NGĀ HUA I PUTA MAI**
INSIGHTS FROM IWI SETTINGS

In this chapter, the responses that emerged from key questions asked by the iwi researchers to their respective iwi participants are presented and analysed. The discussion, therefore, reflects each of the iwi contexts, and findings are organised under each of the following sub-headings:

- Definitions of Māori economic development – iwi perspectives;
- Characteristics of Māori economic development;
- Strategies and opportunities for Māori economic development;
- The interface of tikanga and economic development; and
- Collaboration in economic development.

4.1 DEFINITIONS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – IWI PERSPECTIVES

The initial literature review (Carter et al., 2011) pertaining to Māori economic development revealed that major discrepancies exist between anecdotal information and that which might be contained in formal literature sources. The debate, in a non-Māori context, continues as to whether the Māori economy and Māori economic development are worthy of separate, concentrated research and consideration. Non-Māori academics struggle to acknowledge emerging disciplines in Māori and indigenous business, management, entrepreneurship, economic development and governance (Devlin, 2007). However, there are now individuals, agencies and organisations who have taken on board a responsibility to investigate, measure, support, acknowledge and nurture the emerging interest in a range of disciplines that link to the Māori economy and Māori economic development (O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003, 2005, 2007; BERL, 2011a, 2011b; Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012).

Notably, while interest in the Māori economy and Māori economic development has grown rapidly, the lack of formal literature and a reliance on anecdotal and less formal information means that defining the Māori economy, Māori economic development, and other subject areas in the field is problematic. No clear-cut definitions can be applied methodically to these new and emerging disciplines with confidence. A significant opportunity of this research programme was to fill this silence and contribute to the discussions around what constitutes Māori economic development from a distinctly Māori and iwi viewpoint. Therefore, the definitions of Māori economic development presented in this section are provided by the iwi participant groups and reflect Māori community input and aspirations. Through this research, a Ngāti Awa, a Ngāti Kahungunu, a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and a Ngāpuhi definition of Māori economic development or iwi economic development have emerged.

Immediately, differences were noted in the way iwi began to think about definitions for Māori economic development. Iwi described the term Māori economic development with regard to outcomes (the 'end'), rather than process (the 'means'). However, changes in processes were suggested as necessary, because Māori economic development is seen as a vehicle for achieving socio-cultural outcomes and aspirations for whānau, hapū, and iwi:

> *New thinking and debates have set foundations to ensure that those focused only on the 'means' (i.e. the money) are kept honest about the importance of 'people' and specifically, their development as a key outcome of economic growth (Carter et al., 2011, p. 32).*

Concepts such as enabling, empowering, belonging, well-being, whakapapa, pathways, benefits, cohesion, integration, tradition, technology, sustainability and tribal citizenship were commonly used by informants to express enduring intergenerational aspirations. Accordingly, definitions also emphasised ideologies of past, present and future, accentuating strong connections with the natural environment, lands, rivers, lakes, mountains, coastal areas, and forests. While these latter concepts and connections are commonly referred to and often classified as identity markers, in this research programme they linked individual members to whānau, various hapū and often, to several iwi. Whakapapa to the natural environment or to an ancestor provided the nexus, and therefore the impetus came from the iwi participants for each of the definitions. Each of the iwi groups were inclusive of iwi, hapū and whānau considerations, whether members were resident within or away from the tribal region. Given the outcomes and aspirational focus in the definitions provided, it is not surprising that the definitions were not focused purely on money or financial gain, nor were they concerned with business, management or governance. The involvement of the people, wherever they may reside, was evident in this exercise.

4.1.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

Defining Ngāti Awa economic development was a preliminary requirement before an aspirational framework could be considered and developed. Furthermore, in defining Ngāti Awa economic development, key informants accepted that any definition had to be founded on and guided by an 'authentic' Ngāti Awa approach, and recognise pathways that would lead to the attainment of collective aspirations. Therefore, Ngāti Awa economic development is defined as:

> *The energising and enabling process by which we develop resources sustainably, foster innovation and enhance access to opportunities, empowering our people to travel pathways of success as Ngāti Awa citizens of the world (Fenton, 2012a, p. 36).*

Here Ngāti Awa brings into focus a change process where a sense of revitalisation and restabilising of culture, language and tikanga Māori takes precedence. Such a focus enables and galvanises the collective objectives of sustainable resource development, growth and innovation. Most notably there is an emphasis on investing in Ngāti Awa people, inspiring confidence and success as global citizens.

4.1.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

During 2001, a series of hui-ā-iwi were held throughout the Ngāti Kahungunu rohe where iwi members shared views and aspirations on a way forward for the tribe. The Ngāti Kahungunu 25-Year Vision emerged from those hui, and within this document the vision is outlined, a mission statement is articulated, and strategic objectives formulated (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2001). All priorities, activities and outcomes are aligned directly with the strategic objectives and therefore the vision.

Within a Ngāti Kahungunu context, a definition of economic development was described in terms of the economic vision "to be economically strong" (Hamilton, 2012, p. 1), which aligns to Kahungunu 2026. In this way progress towards the economic vision can be measured. Therefore, Ngāti Kahungunu economic development is focused on strengthening the businesses and economic activities associated with ancestral lands and fisheries and searching for opportunities to increase these activities with hapū and whānau:

> *Ngāti Kahungunu will remain involved in the traditional areas of economic activity of fisheries and farming while embracing technology and business opportunities to have a presence across all areas of economic activity within our rohe (Hamilton, 2012, p. 1).*

While the traditional areas of economic activity are particularly highlighted for focus, Ngāti Kahungunu whānau and hapū have also participated in and across other sectors including the information, technology, private and primary sectors. Ngāti Kahungunu aims to support iwi members living in the region to participate in economic development activities at the different levels across a wide range of industries.

4.1.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

Iwi leaders of Te Whānau-a-Apanui were asked to share their views on Māori economic development. The following is a description and definition captured during one of the wānanga:

> *… [tribal] economic development is a component of a broader, integrated system of strategic thought, activity and kaupapa, undertaken by the tribe in order for it to enhance and distribute mana and mātauranga. It provides for social meaning and cohesion, identity, understanding of relationships … amongst ourselves, but also between all people and the web of life (as supported by te ao tūroa). It provides for an understanding of benefits and burdens as part of a collective way of life … it builds sustainable hapū communities and addresses the gaps and underlying opportunity structures, so that present and future generations enjoy oranga whānui, access to power influence and choice of their way of life (R. Gage, personal communication, August 3, 2011).*

From Te Whānau-a-Apanui, a distinct iwi definition was articulated, although a number of the aspirational elements reflected those mentioned in other iwi definitions. It did become apparent to the research team that all conversations on almost all topics reflected tribal thoughts and views, rather than generalised Māori thoughts or views. The tribal economy and tribal economic development is much broader than imagined, and encompasses perspectives that enhance individual and collective mana and mātauranga; show responsibilities and obligations; and share the benefits of changing structures and opportunities to build sustainable hapū communities. Where one shares in the benefits of the collective, then one must also share in the burdens of the collective, and also contribute to the collective intelligence for future generations.

The iwi economy itself was viewed by the iwi researcher as comprising four interdependent layers: te taiao (terrestrial and marine environment); te iwi (human community); te mahinga (diverse economic practices); and te aru moni (commercial activity). Furthermore, it was found that iwi members did not accept the relevance of mainstream definitions and understandings of economic development, and offered insight into how core iwi values could be recognised and observed across economic modes.

4.1.4 **NGĀPUHI**

Wānanga were held with Ngāpuhi leaders and stakeholders to deliberate on a definition for economic development from a Ngāpuhi perspective. These discussions highlighted the importance of Ngāpuhi development generally, and that economic development is only one part of this equation. Social, cultural and environmental factors are equally if not more important than economic imperatives, and a united approach is required to achieve collective aspirations:

> *Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi is charged with improving social outcomes for its whānau using collective assets (G. Riley, personal communication, Decembwer 14, 2011).*

While Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi is responsible for advocating politically and making progress towards restoring socio-cultural and economic outcomes for present and future uri of Ngāpuhi, individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi groups within the collective have that responsibility as well. Given that collective assets are kin based in the main, administration of such assets can be both expensive and cumbersome without the support of rūnanga and other organisations. Ngāpuhi maintain the stance that they as a tribe, and as a confederation of tribes in Northland, have never ceded sovereignty (Te Kawariki & Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2012), but are clear that they have also not shared in the wealth or management of Ngāpuhi resources for over a century, and this needs to change through sustainable economic development initiatives:

> *… wealth and self-determination, for Ngāpuhi is realised through sustainable economic growth and development (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 13).*

In contrast to the previous definitions posed by Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, the iwi researcher indicates a different perspective of economic development, signalling instead the huge potential that exists in the Ngāpuhi economy:

> *The definition for Ngāpuhi economic development is 'untapped'. There are so many opportunities for the economic landscape for Ngāpuhi (K. Everitt, personal communication, May 22, 2014).*

For example, the range of opportunities that exist in primary sector industries such as forestry, the potential of and increased need for support services (marketing, financial, information technology), plus the potential growth in Māori small to medium enterprises to stimulate a range of economic development activities and employment for whānau, hapū, and iwi members, has not been fully explored and are therefore 'untapped' (Everitt, 2013; K. Everitt, personal communication, May 22, 2014).

4.2 **CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Characteristics of Māori economic development were found to exist within each of the four participating iwi, and stem from their own definitions of Māori economic development. These characteristics incited other social, cultural and environmental imperatives, and were often determined by underlying values, principles and tikanga of the respective iwi. In most instances, collaboration with entities within the iwi context was apparent, with connection between strategies of asset-holding companies and iwi governing bodies. An observation is that further analysis could be conducted on the impact of those strategies on whānau and hapū, and whether economic development strategies are congruent with whānau aspirations.

The vision for economic development among the participating iwi directly aligned and contributed to the overall vision of the iwi. Generally iwi visions were people focused, with socio-cultural achievements and aspirations at the core. Tribal assets were seen as an enabler or vehicle to achieve those aspirations. This approach to development has been coined by Champagne (2004) as 'tribal capitalism', which Cornell & Jorgensen (2007) suggest:

> *… seeks a balance between "community and cultural protection and the enhancement of tribal sovereignty" on one hand and material gains on the other hand (Cornell & Jorgensen, 2007, p. 3).*

Achieving such balances were identified as a challenge that each iwi continues to grapple with: that is, finding an appropriate equilibrium between socio-cultural and economic development.

4.2.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

The definition of Ngāti Awa economic development indicates that a change process is required that considers the following aspirational outcomes:

- Sustainable development of resources and the environment;
- Increased innovation;
- Improved access to opportunities; and
- Encouraging Ngāti Awa to succeed as Ngāti Awa (Fenton, 2012a).

For Ngāti Awa informants, sustainability as a characteristic of economic development implied a "continued emphasis on taking a long-term, intergenerational approach" (Fenton, 2012a, p. 23). This includes the development of models that are suited to Ngāti Awa, and incorporate traditional learning in a modern context. One of the strategic priorities for Ngāti Awa is marae sustainability, with the outcome being "dynamic, fully functioning, inclusive sustainable marae" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 14). Although considered important cultural sites where traditions are maintained, marae can also be viewed as sites where cultural and educational initiatives and economic development can occur, given their proximity to local townships, coastal areas and forests. Currently some marae communities and specific whānau engage in their own micro-economic activities. These include community gardens and market days, where an intergenerational and educational focus is present. Mokopuna, mātua, kuia and koroua work side-by-side, are creative, and socialise with other whānau.
Another strategic outcome at the iwi level involves intergenerational sustainability of Treaty of Waitangi settlement assets, with a focus on achieving long-term, continued growth (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010). This

focus requires the development of iwi-centric and culturally appropriate models that inform economic development, and can be implemented throughout the iwi context.

Encouraging Ngāti Awa to succeed as Ngāti Awa infers that iwi members will be competent to achieve their aspirations, but will also be confident in knowing who they are, and where they are from. This characteristic echoes the four key collective aspirations of Ngāti Awa: tūrangawaewae (cultural identity and connectivity), mauri ora (independence, resources and sustainability), toi ora (optimal well-being) and tū pakari (leadership and hapū unity) (Development Ngāti Awa & Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010).

A further strategic outcome for Ngāti Awa regarding commercial resources involves:

> *Connection between Ngāti Awa investments and assets, to Ngāti Awa wellbeing (social, cultural, environmental etc), future development and skills (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 23).*

Thus, a framework is in place for Ngāti Awa iwi members to become both competent and confident, and further analysis is required to confirm the extent of the connection between economic and well-being imperatives.

Two other critical characteristics of Ngāti Awa economic development included stimulating innovation and improving access to opportunities, both of which will be discussed in section 4.3.1.

4.2.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Within Ngāti Kahungunu, a definition for economic development was underpinned by the economic vision of being 'economically strong', and consisted of these characteristics:

- Continued participation in primary-based activities;
- Identification and involvement in other economic endeavours; and
- Ngāti Kahungunu rohe focus.

Ngāti Kahungunu have a long association with land and sea-based activities, and this first characteristic acknowledges that continued participation in primary-based activities is a cornerstone for Ngāti Kahungunu economic development. The recent purchase of Tautāne Station was cited as an example of investment collaboration between the Ngāti Kahungunu Asset Holdings Company and the iwi governance entity, Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated. This purchase was significant for hapū within the Tamatea taiwhenua, as the property had cultural significance, and allowed local hapū to access coastal areas where kaimoana could be harvested. Economic benefits included the adoption of a financial model that allowed for quick debt repayment, and a lease agreement that guaranteed a secure tenant. The tenant, Taratahi Agricultural Training Centre, has reserved places for Ngāti Kahungunu students. Thus, primary-based activities in Ngāti Kahungunu will also have social, cultural, environmental and economic impacts at iwi, hapū and whānau levels. There are other development opportunities on the property, including coastal and marine activities and education, eco-tourism, freshwater fisheries, native bush planting, market gardening, hydroponics, other horticultural activities, and leadership initiatives to build confidence amongst youth and young adults. All of these will not only help build employment initiatives in the rohe, but are likely to encourage Ngāti Kahungunu people to remain in the region, and/or entice families to return home from overseas.

Other economic activities are being realised at hapū and whānau levels, and in a plethora of industries. Waimārama Māori Tourism was cited as a whānau and community-based venture, established to advance several local aspirations. These included: reinstating relationships between whānau and their whenua; providing work opportunities for local whānau; involving the wider Waimārama community; preserving native forests and fresh-water fisheries; protecting wāhi tapu (sites of cultural and spiritual significance); and being economically independent. Waimārama Māori Tourism operates cultural tours on whānau lands that are also being farmed, with tours focused on international tourists (passengers on cruise ships). There is provision for customised pack-

ages for local individuals and groups, and environmental riparian and native bush planting collaborations have been undertaken with the regional council. Again, the focus for this whānau and venture is economic development in its wider sense, incorporating a range of development imperatives for the community.

Both Tautāne Station and Waimārama Māori Tourism exemplify key characteristics outlined earlier, and are based within the Ngāti Kahungunu rohe; therefore they are congruent with a definition for Ngāti Kahungunu economic development.

4.2.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

A Te Whānau-a-Apanui view of economic development, as part of an integrated system of kaupapa (strategic thought and activity), encompasses the following characteristics:

- Enhancement and distribution of mana and mātauranga;
- Provision for social meaning, identity, relationships and collectivity;
- Sustainable hapū communities; and
- Infrastructure that facilitates intergenerational well-being and self-determination.

Mana and mātauranga were both core values and economic themes for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Mana referred to agency and efficacy, occurring within the social context of whānau, hapū and iwi, and in interaction with outsiders (Whitbourne, 2013). At an individual level, wage earning might involve flexible work patterns. At an organisational level, there was a general aspiration to take control of management and operations of Māori land-based initiatives, and become more active in land development (Whitbourne, 2013). Mātauranga involved the continuity and integration of local and other knowledge bases, and engagement with appropriate technologies. Advancement in mātauranga could also lead to opportunities to develop commercial capabilities and creative responses (Whitbourne, 2013), some of which will be discussed in section 4.3.3.

As with other iwi involved in this research, the importance of identity and relationships was highlighted as a characteristic of Te Whānau-a-Apanui economic development. Relationships in this sense were not only amongst Te Whānau-a-Apanui, or between iwi members and others, but also with the environment and wider world. Belonging to Te Whānau-a-Apanui also necessitates an appreciation of collectivity, and the ability to share both the benefits and burdens that arise in tribal society (R. Gage, personal communication, August 3, 2011). This links to the next characteristic, of sustainable hapū communities, which recognises that in order for hapū to survive, connections amongst (often dispersed) hapū members must be maintained, and enduring approaches that sustain the hapū community are developed and implemented.

An overarching characteristic of Te Whānau-a-Apanui economic development is an infrastructure that supports present and future generations to enjoy life, and allows them to make informed decisions (R. Gage, personal communication, August 3, 2011). In effect, this characteristic provides for both well-being and self-determination, but recognises that structures must support and facilitate opportunities for iwi members, and address deficiencies where appropriate.

4.2.4 **NGĀPUHI**

In considering the definitions provided for Ngāpuhi economic development, two characteristics were determined:

- Improved social outcomes for Ngāpuhi whānau; and
- Utility and enhanced returns from collectively-owned assets.

Improving social outcomes for Ngāpuhi whānau is underpinned by the vision of Ngāpuhi:

> *Kia tū tika ai te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi: That the sacred house of Ngāpuhi stands firm (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 2).*

This vision implies that in order for the sacred house of Ngāpuhi to stand tall, the people of Ngāpuhi must dwell within it. The structure only stands as strong as its people, and therefore improved social outcomes for Ngāpuhi whānau are critical to the mana of the hapū and iwi. Social outcomes for Ngāpuhi whānau, no matter where they reside, might include: increased fluency in te reo Māori and te mita o Ngāpuhi; improved living conditions and housing; increased employment opportunities; increased involvement in voluntary work; higher levels of income, savings and spending within the Ngāpuhi economy; increased access to technology; and increased participation in meaningful and relevant educational pathways.

The second characteristic of Ngāpuhi economic development is the utilisation of collectively-owned assets, and the potential to enhance returns emanating from those assets. At an iwi level, the Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company is charged with broadening the asset base of the iwi "while at the same time ensuring its existing revenue streams are protected" (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 11). Beyond the iwi context, economic development of whānau, hapū and marae is a critical element of the Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company strategic framework (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009). Whānau and hapū, as well as those who hold interests in whenua, are linked through common descent from tūpuna. However, the organisational structures that govern collectively-owned assets are generally prescribed by legislation, rules and regulations, and as such may constrain and inhibit possible development.

4.3 **STRATEGIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Strategies and opportunities to grow, empower and develop the wealth and assets of marae, hapū and iwi, and to nurture well-being, identity and knowledge, were considered priorities by iwi (Carter et al., 2011). Moreover, these strategies were firmly centred on tribal values and tikanga processes. Key factors, such as creativity and innovation, fostered and encouraged Māori willingness to adapt and adopt new opportunities (Merrill, 1954; Firth, 1972; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a; Warriner, 2010). More importantly, opportunities for Māori were not always sought for reasons of self-interest, but were based more on the needs of the wider whānau, hapū and iwi, and those traditional values belonging to the whānau (Fox, 1998). In this programme, strategies or drivers for iwi economic development strongly emphasised tikanga, local knowledge, and the impetus for growth. Equally significant were the potential opportunities for this to happen through creative and innovative solutions.

4.3.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

The economic development plan for Ngāti Awa is founded on its vision and aspirations of tūrangawaewae, mauri ora, toi ora and tū pakari (Fenton, 2012a). Arising from these are long-term strategies based on guiding principles of Ngāti Awatanga (language and culture), kaitiakitanga (guardianship for future generations) and manaakitanga (caring for each other). Key findings from the research programme identified how best they could achieve successful economic goals through enabling financial literacy, increasing incomes and savings, to wealth creation and prosperity. This process could be further strengthened by developing resources sustainably, fostering innovation and enhancing access to opportunities.

Ngāti Awa's asset base currently focuses on developing traditional primary industries and investing in emerging key sectors, such as aquaculture, tourism and geothermal energy. A commissioned report (BERL, 2011b) supports the significant opportunities and potential for industry growth in farming, fishing, forestry and renewable energy. In addition, Statistics New Zealand (2008a), identified 15,258 people as descendants of Ngāti Awa (in 2006), and of those, 45% live in the Bay of Plenty, and 50% are 22 years of age or younger (Patrick, von Randow & Cotterell, 2013a). This is a feature that Ngāti Awa could build on through educating and training this youthful sector into areas that will contribute to economic growth. Furthermore, strategies for economic development should be focused on local opportunities within the iwi rohe, given these figures.

This research also found that innovation was a critical component of successful Ngāti Awa economic development. However, as stated by one iwi informant: "Our current structures don't allow us to capture innovation" (Fenton, 2012a, p. 24). Pathways need to be found to facilitate and encourage innovation and creativity. Traditional leadership was, on one hand, thought to inhibit creativity and limit potential; however, the scenario and modelling exercises conducted with iwi members provided insight and fresh thinking to deal with long-standing, complex socio-economic issues.

4.3.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Three areas that were identified as opportunities for Ngāti Kahungunu within the rohe include: job creation, so as to provide greater financial security and independence for iwi members; business development to create opportunities for self-employment, wealth and new businesses; and asset development that will enable wealth and financial security. Furthermore, the economic development strategy for Ngāti Kahungunu aligns with the definition and characteristics of Ngāti Kahungunu economic development: remaining involved in the traditional areas of fisheries and farming; and adopting technology and business opportunities across the iwi rohe. Ngāti Kahungunu has the third largest iwi population and as identified by Statistics New Zealand (2013), there are 61,626 people who belong to this iwi. However, approximately 35% live in the tribal rohe (Patrick, von Randow & Cotterell, 2013b). Despite the fact that most of the iwi live outside of the Ngāti Kahungunu region, iwi-level strategies are focused on opportunities within the iwi rohe.

4.3.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

Te Whānau-a-Apanui strategic goals are founded on values of whanaungatanga, mātauranga, mana and kaitiakitanga. Linked to these are four objectives to build a more diverse, tighter, connected, and locally-owned economy. Statistics New Zealand (2008b) identified 11,808 people who affiliated to Te Whānau-a-Apanui in 2006, and of those, 44% reside within the boundaries of the Bay of Plenty and Gisborne regions (Patrick, von Randow & Cotterell, 2013c). The majority of economic activity in Te Whānau-a-Apanui is in primary industries, and rests with a small number of hau kāinga (Te Whānau-a-Apanui members resident in the iwi rohe). It includes fisheries, forestry and agriculture, with increasing opportunities in the honey, nutraceutical and creative industries (Whitbourne, 2013). Notably, a high number of iwi live in Australia, which offers the potential for international business opportunities with expatriates. Thus, iwi-level discussions regarding economic development for Te Whānau-a-Apanui have focused on internal and external iwi-rohe opportunities.

4.3.4 **NGĀPUHI**

The economic base for Ngāpuhi is founded on three specific platforms: the Ngāpuhi iwi economy (as managed by Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi); collective authorities (comprising of incorporations and trusts, mainly land-based); and private business operators (Everitt, 2014). According to Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, seven strategic goals underpin development: hapū development; communications and identity; mātauranga; natural resource management; social development; Ngāpuhi policy development; and economic development (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009). Mana motuhake is the overall guiding tikanga for Ngāpuhi; that is, the ability to have control over their own destiny (Everitt, 2014).

Primary industries are currently the key drivers to economic growth for Ngāpuhi and the overall strategy is to collaborate with farmers, as well as local, regional and national agencies to overcome any challenges that they face. Opportunities are to: build stronger business units through partnerships and collective groupings (such as a new fin fish industry, being proposed with government); invest and develop past-the-farm-gate activities; increase the usage of already developed lands; develop under-utilised farmland (again being supported by government); build governance capability and capacity of Māori farmers; and to take advantage of post-Treaty settlement assets. From the 2006 Census, Statistics New Zealand (2008c) identified a high proportion of younger people under the age of 24 (over 50%, approximately 60,000) who whakapapa to Ngāpuhi. This sector group provides an opportunity for the future in generating new ideas and building entrepreneurial businesses for Ngāpuhi iwi, hapū and whānau.

4.4 **THE INTERFACE OF TIKANGA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

While tikanga or tikanga Māori has common use in Māori and non-Māori vocabulary today, for 100 years or more Māori cultural terms, concepts, values, protocols, and practices were suppressed (Mead, 2003). It was assumed that:

> *… progress and development meant turning away from Māori culture and accepting only 'proper knowledge' from the western world (Mead, 2003, p. 3).*

More recently, however, aspects of Māori culture and tikanga have become more acceptable in mainstream New Zealand, and there has been a genuine desire to incorporate tikanga into daily life amongst Māori, even in instances where, from a western perspective, it has no place. A Māori view of economic development is holistic and all-encompassing, and based on tikanga and mātauranga-ā-iwi. The challenge is enacting Māori economic development that reflects aspirations of iwi.

Iwi involved in this research programme indicated that economic development should or could occur simultaneously with social and cultural development, and that tikanga had a place in iwi economic development. The challenge for iwi, though, was not in the visioning of tikanga being included in economic development, but in the application of it. This section describes the four iwi experiences, their notions of the relevance of tikanga in economic development, and their attempts, successful or not, to implement tikanga into their economic development strategies, plans and goals.

4.4.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

The aspirations framework for Ngāti Awa was developed by the iwi researcher, utilising a Kaupapa Ngāti Awa research approach, incorporating the guiding principles of manaakitanga, whakapapa, whanaungatanga and whānuitanga (Simpson, 2010). Therefore, if these are the guiding values for Ngāti Awa research, it can be assumed that they have implications for Ngāti Awa economic development. Furthermore, as per *Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa: Strategic Pathways to the Future 2010-2015:*

> *Ngāti Awa values are considered a key enabler because they provide a cultural and spiritual foundation and help to define our parameters. They are also a key reference point for determining protocols and behaviours that are consistent with Ngāti Awa tikanga and kawa. As identified in research, Ngāti Awa tikanga and kawa are considered fundamental to our wellbeing (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 9).*

The first component of Ngāti Awa economic development was described as the Ngāti Awa approach. This approach was defined by two distinct, yet interrelated concepts: Ngāti Awatanga, and Towards a Ngāti Awa Model (Fenton, 2012a). The diagram below (Figure 10) shows the relationship between the categories and concepts identified by Ngāti Awa.

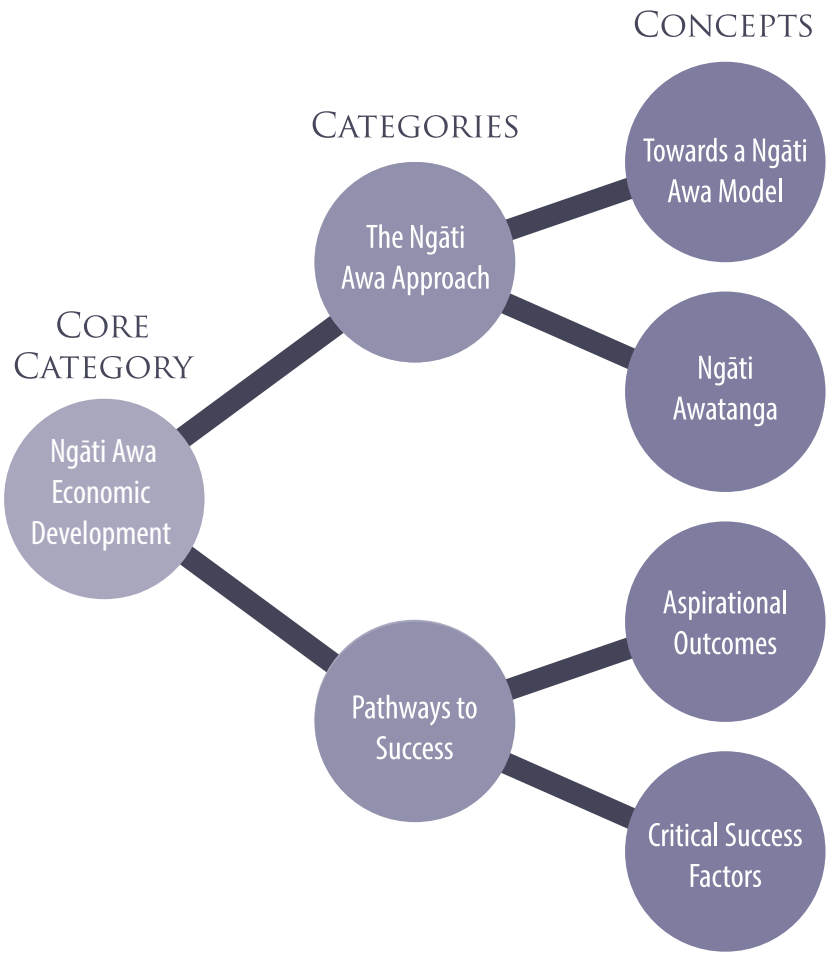


Figure 10: Categories and concepts arising from grounded theory analysis (adapted from Fenton, 2012a, p. 33)

Ngāti Awatanga relates to the unique features associated with being Ngāti Awa, including connections through language, whakapapa, spirituality and land. Research participants discussed the importance of tikanga to economic development, defined as:

> *… the customs, practices or rules that are underpinned by beliefs, values and attitudes (Fenton, 2012a, p. 20).*

It was identified that there is a need for tikanga Māori to infiltrate an economic development strategy for Ngāti Awa. Tikanga Māori should not stand alone or become an additional economic activity, which was a view shared by some iwi informants regarding Te Mānuka Tūtahi Marae[4]. There was some debate around te reo Māori, an iwi priority, and ways in which it could be included into an economic development strategy for the iwi. One suggestion of incorporating tikanga into an economic development strategy included the way in which tikanga can be practised, for example, through the ethical and responsible investment decisions made by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Awa Group Holdings Ltd. Thus, tikanga can also be viewed as the ethics of the people, both personal and professional, and forms the basis of ethical behaviours and practices.

One of the barriers highlighted in the research was around the 'misuse' of tikanga, or perhaps more appropriately, actions that claim to be tikanga, which inhibit growth and development of younger members of the iwi. The example given was an instance where young talent was blocked in favour of protecting people "who should not be protected" (Fenton, 2012a, p. 21). Such comments in relation to tikanga Māori may seem harsh in some instances and immature in others; however, following a customary approach to tikanga Māori in a situation similar to that above should not be used to demean one's mana and that of the whānau (Mead, 2003).

It is well acknowledged by Ngāti Awa informants that there are a number of younger people with skills and knowledge, who are ready to take up leadership roles within the iwi. However, for some older leaders, it is difficult to let go of what they have literally had to fight for over many generations. The need for Ngāti Awa people who are strong in both professional and cultural fields was called for. The call comes with some caution, as exemplified in the following whakataukī (proverb):

> *Ko Te Amorangi ki mua; ko Te Hāpai Ō ki muri: The emblem of leadership is to the fore; the carrier of provisions and resources follow.*

It implies obligations for both younger and older generations, leaders and followers, to support one another, stand tall and focus to achieve iwi aspirations.

There was wide agreement, however, that tikanga Māori is a source of competitive advantage, and that it has a place on an international stage to build and maintain relationships with other cultures around the world. Māori interactions with China and Chinese people over the years bare testament to successful relationship building, based on similar and shared values, protocols and practices (Fenton, 2012a).

The research highlighted the importance of rangatiratanga (self-determination and self-management), of sustainable development of people and resources over time. Such values and collective goals were considered worthy of strong support and encouragement. Ngāti Awa people are also highly politicised and aware of the major issues affecting Māori development, and in particular Māori economic development. It comes as no surprise that Ngāti Awa would prefer for Māori to have absolute control over this country and its resources, and to be engaged with non-Māori in commercial and other activities. These sentiments are what many iwi strive for – that is, their own autonomy, and to lead in two worlds. However, it was also made clear that in taking a Ngāti Awatanga approach, one should also be conservative, given kaitiakitanga obligations over Ngāti Awa resources. Such thinking suggests that maintaining Ngāti Awatanga is "critical to our development approach" (Fenton, 2012a, p. 21).

The second concept, Towards a Ngāti Awa Model, included the view that economic development is a process, and that economic growth is only one aspect of that process (Fenton, 2012a). Thus it is considered a change process, and a means of achieving aspirational goals. The importance of developing a business culture within whānau was a common observation. This includes growing entrepreneurial skills amongst children

4 Te Mānuka Tūtahi Marae includes the ancestral wharenui (meeting-house) 'Mataatua', which was returned to Ngāti Awa as part of their Treaty of Waitangi settlement.

and teaching whānau about economic and financial literacy. Utilising such an approach with young people and whānau was considered one way in which sustainability could be ensured, and an intergenerational approach to economic development realised.

In many respects Ngāti Awa people are risk averse and this was an issue raised in discussions and interviews, with conversations around this issue concluding that the raupatu (confiscation) still influences a guarded approach to economic development decisions. As a result, there is a huge responsibility on iwi leadership to not only maintain and grow the asset base for future generations, but to maintain its integrity. In te ao Māori (the Māori world), Ngāti Awa people are known for their humility, but in some conversations around economic development in Ngāti Awa, humility was seen as a barrier or an excuse for not exploring new opportunities.

A further barrier was the perceived constraint on commercialising cultural and endowment assets. Again, Te Mānuka Tūtahi Marae was raised as an example of the difficulties prevalent in commercialising a cultural asset, and that a compromise was required. Discussions around such issues are likely to be ongoing for some time. In Ngāti Awa, many of the assets that have both cultural and commercial value are also kin based, deriving from tīpuna. As a result, heightened awareness and eagerness among younger generations to participate in decision making around these assets, and to become involved in economic initiatives, is apparent. Clearly there is an intergenerational view to economic development: one that is cautious, conservative and possibly reactive; the other bold, speculative, and unpredictable.

The second component of Ngāti Awa economic development was Pathways to Success. A specific requirement for creating pathways for success, through strong leadership, was considered critical to economic development. The work of pre-eminent, respected and wise leaders of the past was remembered and acknowledged. Young leaders are starting to emerge, and while there is still a place for older leaders, there is a belief that there is an inability of older leaders to 'let go'. However, when applying a philosophical perspective, the following whakataukī suggests that through unity, there is strength:

> *Te kākaho tū kotahi ka whati i te hau, te kākaho tū mātotoru ka tū tōkeke: The toetoe stalk that stands alone will snap in the wind, the toetoe stalk that stands in a clump will not succumb to the wind (Fenton, 2012a, p. 29).*

The emphasis for Ngāti Awa, then, should be unity, and for cultural goals, principles and values to underlie growth and economic development. Future aspirations for Ngāti Awa, therefore, need to include elements of tikanga, including their connections to marae, and confidence in te reo Māori and tikanga.

It was suggested that an "authentic Ngāti Awa approach must be the basis for any definition of economic development" (Fenton, 2012a, p. 36), where such an approach takes on board notions of collaboration and collectivism, developing a business culture, tikanga, and rangatiratanga. Furthermore, the role of Ngāti Awatanga, unity and taking a long-term approach were considered critical to economic development:

> *We need to view economic development through a Ngāti Awa lens and demonstrate that value right through all policy streams going forward. Ngāti Awatanga – in the language we use, the way we behave and decision making forums would have Ngāti Awa characteristics in terms of our tikanga (Fenton, 2012a, p. 46).*

The decline in those that speak te reo Māori is indicative of the general decline of Ngāti Awa culture, and therefore Ngāti Awa identity and strength. As a people, Ngāti Awa commonly view economic development as the vehicle which could strengthen Ngāti Awatanga.

A review of publicly available iwi documents has revealed that outcomes for tikanga and kawa focus on marae, homes and community, and although 'intrinsic' to Ngāti Awa's unique identity (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010), little reference is made to Ngāti Awa economic development. Furthermore, no mention of economic development is made in reference to Mātaatua wharenui, although the need to be financially sustainable is understood, given Te Mānuka Tūtahi Marae is utilised to host conferences and cultural performances.

Within the resource strategy of Ngāti Awa, specific reference to tikanga and cultural practices is made with regard to natural and customary resources, but not commercial resources. Developing models, protocols and strategic relationships based on Ngāti Awa values and practices is referred to for natural and customary resources, specifically around training and development concerning fisheries. Thus, there is a disjuncture be-

tween the need to acknowledge and utilise Ngāti Awa values and practices in natural and customary resources, without the same condition for commercial resources (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010).

Through the scenario development process, Fenton (2012b) discusses two critical uncertainties, leadership and impact investing, from which 'four plausible worlds' are described in relation to Ngāti Awa economic development. The four plausible worlds are based on Māori concepts and whakataukī that are pertinent to Ngāti Awa, and include: mahi rangatira (next generation leadership; high-impact investing); ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi (next generation leadership, low-impact investing); e kore te kūmara i whakapahu i tōna reka (traditional leadership, low-impact investing); and te toki (traditional leadership, high-impact investing). Across all four plausible worlds is the notion that whānau will benefit from and attend to economic development, and that leadership is both respected and transparent. Furthermore, a 'culture' of continuous improvement within economic entities is present.

4.4.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Although not expressed or referred to directly in relation to economic development, elements of tikanga are evident throughout Ngāti Kahungunu 25-Year Vision (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2001). The mission is "to enhance the mana and well-being of Ngāti Kahungunu" (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2001, p. 1), with the guiding principles being: te tūhonohono o Kahungunu (whakapapa that informs Ngāti Kahungunu identity); te hononga māreikura o Tākitimu (relationships between Ngāti Kahungunu and other iwi and waka); te kotahitanga (unity amongst all people); Te Whakaputanga o te Ao (The Declaration of Independence); Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi as a joint-venture with the Crown); and Kanohi ki kanohi, pokohiwi ki pokohiwi (face-to-face, shoulder-to-shoulder – advancing together). These guiding principles:

> *… set the boundaries within which we will work and are not to be compromised for financial gain or short-term expediency (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2001, p. 1).*

The settlement of Ngāti Kahungunu Treaty of Waitangi claims and the return or reclamation of Ngāti Kahungunu whenua and taonga (prized possessions, both tangible and intangible) will provide one platform for economic revival. Ngāti Kahungunu aims to be economically strong, firstly, by remaining involved in those traditional areas of economic activity, such as fisheries, farming and horticulture, tourism and hospitality, marae, and research and development. Marae within Ngāti Kahungunu are recognised as having their own economic base and ability to provide services (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2001).

Thus, within each of these traditional areas are inferences of tikanga, as follows:

- Kaitiakitanga: Caring for the environment and ensuring that sustainable, organic and culturally appropriate practices are employed and maintained;
- Tikanga ā-iwi, ā-hapū, marae: Recognising that marae within Ngāti Kahungunu, as both an economic base and provider of services, are the bastions of tikanga for the iwi, hapū and whānau; and
- Tikanga rangahau: Ngāti Kahungunu researchers who are contributing to economic development will need to be well versed in research methodologies and methods peculiar to Ngāti Kahungunu contexts, as well as their particular area of expertise.

Second, and at the same time, Ngāti Kahungunu will embrace technology and business opportunities so as to have a presence across all areas of economic activity within the Ngāti Kahungunu purview. This includes having an interest and input at national and international levels.

4.4.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

The method employed through this research programme was to identify core Māori values that are pertinent to an economic aspirations framework, with the view of ascertaining economic practices that could be developed around those values, but are dependent on context (Whitbourne, 2013). Te Whānau-a-Apanui refer to the word 'tikanga' rather than the term 'tikanga Māori', indicating that in all things, there is specific and localised tikanga, for example, practices associated with fishing for moki and kahawai that are particular to Te Whānau-a-Apanui. These practices are attributed to Pou, commander of the waka Tauira-mai-tawhiti, who conveyed the moki to Aotearoa. For some hapū of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, agricultural tikanga is attributed to the tipuna Kaiaio. In referring to the value of possessing gardening skills, the following whakatauākī was uttered by Kaiaio in response to a taunt by his warrior brother, Tamahae:

> *Kotahi taku huata i Hauruia, te mano, te mano, te mano: With this one kūmara shoot I will grow thousands of kūmara at Hauruia, the people will be fed.*

This proverb highlights the significance of being able to provide for and feed people, and to express manaakitanga.

Elements of tikanga exist around alternate and unpaid labour, where transactions are based on barter or exchange, sharing, gifting and koha. Tikanga associated with hosting manuhiri and gathering kai abound, but what is not clear is whether any tikanga is prevalent in labour where wages are earned, or where alternative goods and services are exchanged. However, within Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Whitbourne (2013) notes that contemporary non-capitalist economic practices continue to involve relationships between iwi communities and natural resources available to iwi members as common-pool resources. Overall, four Māori values were identified, and expressed within the broader economic contexts: whanaungatanga, mātauranga, mana and kaitiakitanga.

In developing models and scenarios, whanaungatanga was discussed by participants as a way of: connecting people with hapū and iwi activities; connecting people to their homelands; finding absentee landowners; timing major tribal events to coincide with summer (whilst Te Whānau-a-Apanui people are in the iwi rohe); and connecting with commercially experienced people. Mātauranga and mana were discussed in relation to improved governance and managerial capacity, and supply chain integration and participation. The growth of kaitiakitanga consciousness was discussed, and how this has developed within the iwi, driven by a small, dedicated group of iwi members, protesting against oil exploration within Te Whānau-a-Apanui rohe.

A small number of hapū have developed strategic plans, and an iwi-wide 'Rūnanga Intergenerational Strategy' is near completion. The plans have common core principles, and are all encompassing, integrating cultural, social, environmental and economic dimensions.

4.4.4 **NGĀPUHI**

> *The common tikanga running through all our seven strategies is mana motuhake: control of our own destiny (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 5).*

The Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company is responsible for broadening the asset base and ensuring its existing assets and revenue streams are protected. Its strategic framework is driven by Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi economic development and investment goals, and includes the management of fisheries and related assets, investments, and economic development of whānau, hapū and marae. In 2009, it was expected that the Ngāpuhi Asset Holding Company would implement aspects of the economic development strategy, aligning with the vision, mission and values of Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi.

Those values are captured in the following:

- E kore tōu maunga, tōu awa, tōu whenua e tika, me pēhea koe e tika ai (accountability);
- Kaua tātou e tuku hei a tātou te raru, e kore e puāwai a tātou moemoea (vision);
- Titiro ki te taumata o te moana (ownership);
- Me aroha ki te Tangata atia ko wai (respect);

- Kia tika te parepare o te waka (direction);
- Tuhia ki te ngākau e kore e kitea, tuhia ki te rangi ka kitea (communication);
- Ko hau taku kupu, ko taku kupu ko hau (integrity);
- Te tūwhera te pono me te tika (honesty); and
- Kia mau tae noa ki te mutunga (commitment) (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 6).
-

Strategic goals for Ngāpuhi economic development have been developed by Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, and include: a comprehensive five-year socio-economic development plan established and implemented; Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi asset base developed and grown with values, protected and enhanced; facilitated development and growth of the hapū asset base; and an effective five-year shared services plan established and implemented (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 27).

The iwi researcher for Ngāpuhi commented that there is a strong sense of tikanga evident throughout the Ngāpuhi economy, and that Ngāpuhi mita (dialect) and reo is being used in various businesses in the rohe (K. Everitt, personal communication, May 22, 2014), even in a small number of non-Māori businesses.

4.5 **COLLABORATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The word 'collaboration' and its various meanings, in a similar vein to the word 'leadership', has become one of the buzz words used in various disciplines and across a broad spectrum of contexts. In the academic arena, where it has abounded for some time, collaboration involves individuals working together, usually in an intellectual way such as research projects (multi-disciplinary collaborations) of mutually agreed end goals and negotiated means to reach those goals. In academia it is common for people to come together and collaborate in terms of publishing work. Working together or working as partners, or jointly on projects, seems to be the common thread that brings collaboration into a sphere of its own, and both widens and differentiates between the 'working in teams' adage, utilised in many businesses and organisations (Schrage, 1990; 1995).

Iwi saw or described collaboration as a process, the aim of which is to create value and enhance economic development and relationships within their own iwi, with other iwi groups, with the environment and with non-Māori. Further, iwi participants agreed that new technologies brought people together, connecting virtual and physical spaces, rather than hindering collaborative activities and engagement. Technology is seen as an enabling communication tool and utilised more often now in a wide range of social, business and cultural contexts and across organisations, enterprise and iwi. Iwi referred to collaboration as a key unifying enabler for Māori communities, as it not only brings together the collective intelligence of the wider group, but facilitates and embraces the diversity inherent in whānau, hapū, and iwi.

An interesting feature of this research programme were the multiple collaborations that emerged both within the iwi groups involved and those that grew out of the research programme between the four participating iwi, the research team, the iwi researchers and with various community groups and individuals. Challenges to collaborations occurred at various points in the programme and at different levels, including governance and management levels in the iwi organisations as well as the research institution.

4.5.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

For Ngāti Awa, collaboration was identified as a key element in a process that enables or empowers successful economic development. Clear links were made between collaborative activities and collectivism. An extended notion of collectivism applied to not only bring together the collective iwi intelligence, but the collective iwi knowledge. In this sense collaboration was fused with Māori collective cultural values in the research approach (Somerville & Perkins, 2003).

4.5.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Ngāti Kahungunu iwi foster a range of joint ventures, partnerships, strategic alliances, and collaborations of varying degree and timeframes. Collaborations in the most part are time bound, have points of reference, a memorandum of understanding, contract, or charter to guide behaviours, as opposed to relationships which are long-term, usually based on whakapapa, and often span generations. Sometimes, these too are based on written record or legislation and stem from whenua ownership, interests or shareholdings. While other arrangements such as collaborations are regarded important, they are not at the expense of internal or external tribal, hapū and whānau relationships.

4.5.3 **TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI**

An expression of collaboration within Te Whānau-a-Apanui was manifest in understanding and valuing the integral elements of relationships: establishing relationships; fostering or building relationships; maintaining relationships; and strengthening relationships both within the tribe, externally, and with the various physical and spiritual environments. The enduring nature of relationships, such as those with people, the land and sea, is influenced and guided by tikanga. A range of collaborations exist, some formal and some informal, but usually these derive from a relationship, and tikanga provides the protocol for the establishment of the relationship. Relationships are enduring, generational and intergenerational and are not considered to be easily ended. On the other hand, collaborations can change as needs and expectations change. Collaborations rather than relationships can be better maintained through the various technologies, audio and visual aids, whereas relationships need more individual, whānau, hapū or iwi attention. A kanohi kitea ('a face seen') approach is more relevant to relationships, and in maintaining those relationships.

4.5.4 **NGĀPUHI**

Collaboration occurs at several levels within the Ngāpuhi economy, though the focus tends to be at an iwi level. Iwi organisations have facilitated joint ventures and collaborations in the dairy industry, where support has been provided to collective entities within the Ngāpuhi rohe to form partnerships with others, such as local and national Māori organisations. Opportunities to engage in additional collaborations with Māori and non-Māori were acknowledged, given that Ngāpuhi economic development occurs simultaneously with other modes of development within the iwi, transpiring at several levels (whānau, hapū, rohe), as well as nationally and internationally.

5. **CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTORS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

'Critical success factors' as a term comes about through a concept where focusing efforts on 'critical' tasks brings success. The concept emerges from various studies that have primarily focused on management theory, though its foundations originate from early Greek philosophy (Forster & Rockart, 1989). As a process, it is most often used in organisations to aid in the planning process, and denotes those few things that must go well to ensure success for a manager or an organisation. Therefore, critical success factors represent those managerial or enterprise areas that must be given special and continual attention to bring about high performance (Boynlon & Zmud, 1984).

Determining critical success factors is also a process that links business activities to management information requirements. They help realign or focus an organisation's information and communications system with its strategy (business or economic, cultural, educational, or environmental, etc.). Critical success factors are identified often by people in the organisation (staff and management) who determine what is essential for them to do their job. Often a long list is provided to management who will decide on the most critical factors for business/organisational success. Critical success factors can assist in any part of the business or organisation – that is, assist units to reach their performance goals and thereby help the organisation to achieve its strategic goals. The process is a simple yet inclusive approach that allows an organisation to involve people in decision making and supporting the strategic direction of the organisation.

For the iwi groups involved in this research, identifying and articulating factors that would be critical to successful economic development for each iwi was enlightening. While high-quality productivity is always the ultimate goal, it should not be at the expense of the people and their overall well-being. The iwi suggest that financial gains and individual benefits should not outweigh those of the collective. Factors for success need to be inclusive of the social, cultural, environmental, and political aspirations of the collective, and tensions between them should be mitigated.

5.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

Five critical success factors for Ngāti Awa economic development emerged from this research. These are: the central role of leadership; collaboration and collectivism; maintaining relationships; an integrated policy approach; and recruiting talent. Each success factor is decribed further in the following sections.

5.1.1 **CENTRAL ROLE OF LEADERSHIP**

In Ngāti Awa, leadership is considered a critical component for economic development. There is acknowledgement that leadership must be connected to the community, and be able to facilitate the capability and capacity of the people. Leadership occurs at various levels, and everyone has their place and their own talents; kaumātua provide wisdom, experience and guidance, and younger members of Ngāti Awa have specific skills and abilities that can drive economic development. Succession planning was an issue that was discussed at some length during data collection and was considered to be important and timely. There are some issues relating to leadership that are perceived to stifle Ngāti Awa economic development success and require reconciling. For example, constantly referred to were tribal politics, greed, lack of cultural knowledge, and excessive attention on tribal Treaty of Waitangi settlement assets. An inclusive leadership model should be developed which draws on the strength of all iwi members and identifies, trains and mentors future leaders of Ngāti Awa for their respective positions of responsibility.

5.1.2 **COLLABORATION AND COLLECTIVISM**

Increasing collaboration and fostering a collective approach amongst Ngāti Awa economic entities was ascertained as a critical success factor, indicating that Ngāti Awa should take advantage of opportunities to collaborate with others who hold similar values or interests, whether they be Māori or non-Māori. As such, an essential role for Ngāti Awa Group Holdings Ltd is as a conduit for smaller Māori trusts requiring assistance or collaborative opportunities. Collaborations in many instances can be risky and examples of other iwi experiences were noted by participants, especially those with non-Māori and some overseas investments. Collaborations or short-term ventures and investments with others may generate reputational risk. Ngāti Awa advocates a cautious approach to investment through the development of appropriate policies, procedures, planning and frameworks, to ensure that relationships with others are mutually beneficial, even if they are short-term.

5.1.3 **MAINTAINING RELATIONSHIPS**

Stemming from collaboration, there is merit in maintaining relationships with local organisations and authorities. Those organisations and authorities include Te Tohu o Te Ora o Ngāti Awa (Ngāti Awa Social & Health Service), Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, Whakatāne District Council and Bay of Plenty Regional Council. The opportunity identified internally for Ngāti Awa lies in connecting and maintaining relationships with Ngāti Awa uri (whether resident locally or further afield) and hapū. There is opportunity for Ngāti Awa to involve those uri who have recently graduated, and have the skills to assist with fostering economic development.

5.1.4 **AN INTEGRATED POLICY APPROACH**

An integrated economic development strategy for Ngāti Awa is required. Such a strategy would build on existing policies such as Ko Ngāti Awa Te Toki (Ngāti Awa Aspirations for 2050) and Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa (Strategic Pathways to the Future). The strategy would include all levels of economic development, including small business, and wealth creation initiatives for communities. The key to success in reaching such aspirations is to ensure that appropriate outputs can be measured and evaluated against expected outcomes, as illustrated in the following figure (Figure 11).

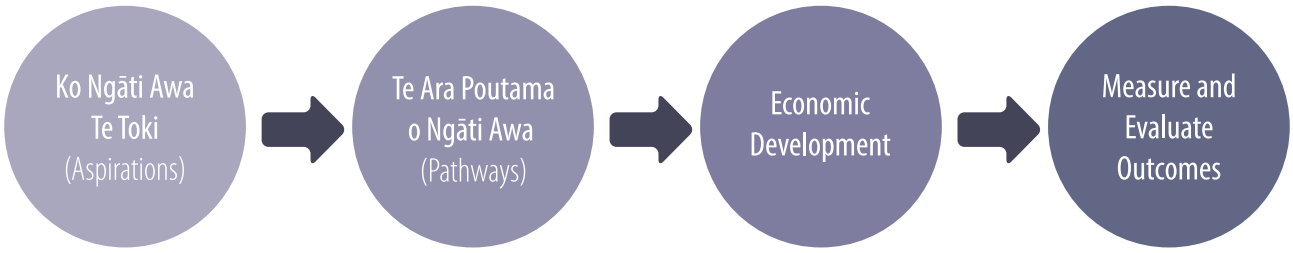


Figure 11: Building an integrated development strategy for Ngāti Awa

5.1.5 **RECRUITING TALENT**

Growing talent within Ngāti Awa, and sourcing external people with particular skill sets, are both considered vital and aligned to the critical success factor of leadership. There are a number of Ngāti Awa people who have the appropriate skills and knowledge but live away from the iwi rohe. Finding ways for Ngāti Awa uri to contribute from wherever they live in the world may not be as problematic as it sounds. Investment in high-quality communication technologies, both audio and visual, would allow uri to participate in decision making from around the globe. Increasing job opportunities in the rohe is likely to bring families home from, for example, Australia, where the economy is going into recession. There needs also to be a push for young people in the region to take up the range of education and training opportunities offered in the Ngāti Awa rohe and in the Bay of Plenty region.

5.2 NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU

Critical success factors for Ngāti Kahungunu economic development stem from three priorities (jobs, business development and asset development) that will ensure that uri of Ngāti Kahungunu are economically strong by 2026. Those critical success factors are: successful transition from school to work; creating jobs in priority sectors; supporting existing businesses; growing new businesses; maximising returns from assets; increasing savings and financial management; and building international relationships for economic return.

5.2.1 SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

To ensure that there is successful transition from school to work and increased employment outcomes for Ngāti Kahungunu rangatahi, there is a need to link job strategies with education and youth transition services. The introduction of industry sector-specific 'job coaches' would support rangatahi to transition from education into training, and then into employment. Suggestions were mooted to develop and implement a training academy to meet labour demand and provide employment opportunities across the globe. Given rapid advances in technology, uri may not need to leave the rohe for employment, and financial returns to Ngāti Kahungunu whānau would be realised. For some uri such lifestyles have already become a reality.

5.2.2 CREATING SUSTAINABLE JOBS IN PRIORITY SECTORS

Creating jobs in priority sectors for Ngāti Kahungunu uri will require the development of a comprehensive plan of action. Those priority sectors have been identified as: fisheries; farming and horticulture; natural resources; tourism and hospitality; trades; aviation; and technology. As the Ngāti Kahungunu rohe includes a vast coastline, maximising job and training opportunities (for example, Ngāti Kahungunu quota and related operators) and identifying aquaculture opportunities are essential elements for future employment opportunities. Ngāti Kahungunu is also looking at partnering with Te Tumu Paeroa (Māori Trustee) to maximise farming and horticulture opportunities. Most importantly and in relation to natural resources, collaborations with local authorities (on water projects) and private sector (on oil and gas projects) may result in sustainable job and business projects for iwi members. A growth area in employment for whānau is the tourism sector where whānau participation is occurring at various levels. Recruiting into trade training at an early age is seen as one way of planning to ensure iwi members could succeed to the ageing trade workforce. At the same time, a bold initiative for Ngāti Kahungunu is exploring the feasibility of developing a pilot training facility in order to meet the growing global demand for pilots. This will mean partnering, joint ventures and collaborations with a range of institutions, upgrading the site, and facilitating access to training and education. The difference to earlier trade training schemes will be locating them within the iwi rohe in an effort to maintain uri engagement. Finally, fostering engagement for rangatahi within the electricity and telecommunications industries could further lead to the creation of sustainable jobs for Ngāti Kahungunu.

5.2.3 SUPPORTING EXISTING BUSINESSES

Existing businesses owned and managed by Ngāti Kahungunu uri require assistance and coaching in specific business skills. As such the creation of business support hubs and networking opportunities in key locations are likely to strengthen links with Business Hawke's Bay and other organisations, and other regional businesses within the rohe could help to grow existing Ngāti Kahungunu businesses.

5.2.4 **GROWING NEW BUSINESSES**

The emergence of new businesses owned and managed by Ngāti Kahungunu uri require a different level and type of support. New businesses may require start-up capital or links to possible investors, and therefore comprehensive investment guidelines are required to inform business development. Support to assist entrepreneurs and agencies with business development is also critical. There is room to examine the possibility of establishing a satellite campus of an international business school to provide opportunities for training and revenue generation for Ngāti Kahungunu. Further, the development of a hotel, innovation centre, arts and business hub are being considered, as well as an exploration of other cultural tourism opportunities that promote the creative arts and the significance of waka within Ngāti Kahungunu.

5.2.5 **MAXIMISING RETURNS FROM ASSETS**

Given the current focus within Ngāti Kahungunu on Treaty of Waitangi settlements, the strengthening of leadership has been evident to support claimant groups in settlement negotiation to maximise employment and business opportunities for whānau. The Ngāti Kahungunu Innovation Centre will have a strong commercial focus, and the development of an iwi research institute to explore opportunities in the areas of farming and horticulture would heighten progress in these priority areas.

5.2.6 **INCREASING SAVINGS AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT**

The importance of encouraging a culture of saving and increasing financial literacy amongst Ngāti Kahungunu whānau has been identified as crucial for fostering a raised awareness of money management. Efforts have also been made to increase superannuation investment amongst whānau, ensuring that wealth strategies are in place, and that returns are realised and meet whānau financial goals. Plans are in place to begin a training programme in the area of financial literacy for Ngāti Kahungunu whānau and rangatahi.

5.2.7 **BUILDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS FOR ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL RETURN**

There has been strong leadership involvement in developing relationships with Asia and the Pacific. Economic development opportunities and business activities are proposed across the broad spectrum of the sector, especially in priority areas which include the arts, training and education, and food.

5.3 TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI

Critical success factors for Te Whānau-a-Apanui are based on identified scenarios for supporting economic aspirations. They include: increasing opportunities for general interaction amongst iwi members; increasing land owner participation; increasing supply chain integration and participation; increasing generated wealth flows into local economies; improving knowledge systems; supporting hapū-based kaitiakitanga practices; increasing knowledge around alternative food and energy security systems; and maintaining and developing partnerships with outside organisations.

5.3.1 INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES FOR GENERAL INTERACTION AMONGST IWI MEMBERS

Strengthening relationships between iwi members has economic consequences, and Te Whānau-a-Apanui view this as a relational foundation for all economic modes, including commercial imperatives. There is a strong focus on increasing connections at whānau, hapū and iwi levels, as well as between ahi kā and whānau living outside of the rohe of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Ideally Te Whānau-a-Apanui will look to provide opportunities for whānau to either move home or participate in rohe-based activities. Utilising commercial and other skills and experience of whānau living outside of the rohe is particularly desired, given that Te Whānau-a-Apanui is a nationally and internationally dispersed iwi. Communications technology allows for uri to participate in iwi decision making regardless of where they live, and Te Whānau-a-Apanui has also initiated face-to-face hui-ā-iwi outside of its rohe, for example in Brisbane, Australia.

5.3.2 INCREASING LAND OWNER PARTICIPATION

Greater participation in governance, management and production by land owners, and improving governance and managerial capacity, have both been identified as relevant to economic development for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Increased involvement in managing venture operations, and having the ability to influence and exercise mana within commercial ventures, was also seen as important. As land within Te Whānau-a-Apanui is largely owned by whānau, hapū and iwi members (approximately 97%), there is a view that collective ownership of land and other assets should stimulate collective participation and result in collective benefits.

5.3.3 INCREASING SUPPLY CHAIN INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION

Adding value to current or prospective business ventures through increased participation and integration in the supply chain is considered crucial for Te Whānau-a-Apanui economic development. This is not a new phenomenon for Māori generally, as vertical integration played a significant role in the economic activities of the early to mid-1800s of tribes who owned and worked the land, the mills, the ships, and marketed and sold the produce, both in Aotearoa and overseas. Participation in the economy also included leadership in whaling, sealing and fishing.

5.3.4 **INCREASING GENERATED WEALTH FLOWS INTO LOCAL ECONOMIES**

Given the rural spread of the rohe of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, increasing opportunities to generate wealth flows that contribute to the local economy are vital. This can be done in a myriad of ways, including: increased wages and benefits to local employees; increased opportunities for flexible wage earners, such as well-paid seasonal work; increased expenditure on local infrastructure, particularly at hapū and iwi levels (such as roads, electricity, buildings and marae facilities); increased local spending by individuals and commercial enterprises; and increased local investment by larger economic actors.

5.3.5 **IMPROVING KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS**

Maintaining local economic knowledge and practices is important for Te Whānau-a-Apanui, and the development of wānanga for whānau, hapū and iwi to facilitate the intergenerational transfer of knowledge will aid this end. Initiatives that encourage creativity, innovation and experimentation across all facets of Te Whānau-a-Apanui life will enhance traditional knowledge systems respected and practised widely throughout the iwi rohe. In addition, knowledge systems may also benefit through effective engagement with other knowledge, processes and technology developed outside of the iwi rohe.

5.3.6 **SUPPORTING HAPŪ-BASED KAITIAKITANGA PRACTICES**

Another critical success factor is based on the tenet of kaitiakitanga. Improving the ability of whānau and hapū to monitor species and ecosystems, defining and managing access to the natural environment, and resolving conflict over resource access and use are all pertinent to kaitiakitanga. Furthermore, considered critical is reinforcing the importance of the sustainable use of natural resources, participating in land and marine-based industries and protecting the lands, seas and waterways when under threat. Uri of Te Whānau-a-Apanui who are grounded in their Te Whānau-a-Apanui identity and tikanga associated with the natural environment will be testament to the legacy of whānau, hapū and iwi leadership, and the kaitiakitanga practices that are nurtured and transferred to ensuing generations.

5.3.7 **INCREASING KNOWLEDGE AROUND ALTERNATIVE FOOD AND ENERGY SECURITY SYSTEMS**

Opportunities for Te Whānau-a-Apanui have been identified in alternative food and energy security systems. This may require engagement with new knowledge and technologies, when entering or improving established industries, or developing new opportunities. Marae participation in sustainable energy production (solar) is currently being tested and implemented, and uptake by other hapū and iwi is being encouraged. Such initiatives contribute to making communities independent and self-sustaining.

5.3.8 **MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING PARTNERSHIPS WITH OUTSIDE ORGANISATIONS**

Adopting, adapting and integrating additional knowledge, technologies and practices which are in keeping with Te Whānau-a-Apanui values and aspirations must also be considered, in light of any partnerships that may occur with organisations outside of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Engaging outside groups, such as regional, national and international public and/or private organisations, in collaborative projects is a further critical success factor for Te Whānau-a-Apanui economic development. Engaging and learning from the experiences of other iwi is recognised as an advantage in future economic development in the region.

5.4 **NGĀPUHI**

Ngāpuhi tend to be focused on Māori agribusiness, although some of the critical success factors will have relevance for other traditional Ngāpuhi key industries: horticulture, tourism, fisheries and forestry. There have also been contemporary advances in other areas, particularly the tertiary sector, encompassing services such as security, hospitality, consulting, communications technology, education, refuse and recycling. Four critical success factors that have been identified include: building stronger business units; realising the potential of land assets; improving capability and capacity of Māori governance and management; and co-investing and collaborating with others.

5.4.1 **BUILDING STRONGER BUSINESS UNITS**

One of the critical success factors is focused on the development of stronger Ngāpuhi business units, through the creation of partnerships and joint ventures, and also by way of amalgamating or synthesising business functions and working in a more collaborative way. Businesses are encouraged to investigate opportunities that add value, particularly in the agriculture industry, such as past-the-farm-gate and whole-of-supply-chain activities.

5.4.2 **REALISING THE POTENTIAL OF LAND ASSETS**

Whilst also considering other imperatives, such as cultural, social and environmental well-being, making physical assets more productive and revenue generating is considered a critical success factor for Ngāpuhi. In particular, underdeveloped lands are being analysed and assessed for optimal utilisation. For land that has already been developed, other purposes could be considered or sustainable intensification investigated. Finally, land and other assets provided through the anticipated Treaty of Waitangi settlement process will need to be evaluated and the appropriate decisions made.

5.4.3 **IMPROVING CAPABILITY AND CAPACITY OF MĀORI GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT**

New initiatives are being developed to address some governance and management issues evident in Ngāpuhi-based organisations. Most organisations have difficulty building the capability and capacity of governance and staff of Māori authorities, service providers and businesses that balance the divide between socio-cultural and economic imperatives. Mastering the balance is believed to lead to more effective decision making and business implementation. It is also likely that shareholders and other stakeholders may relish the opportunity to be involved in related training initiatives. Although replication of a western system of organisation is not what iwi want, most agree that there are elements of Māori and non-Māori ways of doing things that can be blended successfully.

5.4.4 **CO-INVESTING AND COLLABORATING WITH OTHERS**

Due to the isolation, size and spread of whānau, hapū and iwi located in the Ngāpuhi rohe, the need to collaborate with others and maintain these relationships is critical to Ngāpuhi economic development. These collaborations and relationships may be with others who share similar values or worldviews, or with those that operate within the same industry. Furthermore, given the difficulty of some businesses to secure venture capital, co-investing opportunities are also considered essential for Ngāpuhi.

6. **ASPIRATIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (2003b, p. 24) reported that:

> *Aspirations are important in the sense that they effectively determine the goals of development. Values, sustainability and the role of self-determination are important here . . . It is important to realise that the aspirations will be set along a continuum – not wholly economic or cultural.*

In this research, each of the four participating iwi provided their perspectives in relation to the needs and aspirations of their people. Initially, researchers focused on gaining perspectives that pertained specifically to Māori economic development. However, it became clear to the research team that participating iwi had both similar and different and unique ways of articulating the aspirations of members – in particular, the ways in which these aspirations might be expressed and interpreted by members of the iwi. The development of aspirational frameworks for each iwi that took account of their own peculiarities was the first project in the overall research programme. This chapter presents the frameworks, models, examples or templates that the four iwi in this project made reference to, considered, or applied.

6.1 **NGĀTI AWA**

Ngāti Awa describes the development of the aspirational framework section of the research programme as the 'visioning' aspect of the research. It is driven by the overarching tribal aspiration, derived from the whakataukī:

> *Ko Ngāti Awa te toki, tē tangatanga i te ra, tē ngohengohe i te wai; Ngāti Awa the adze, whose bindings cannot be loosened by the sun, or softened by the rain (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 5).*

The whakataukī implies strength (of the people and of purpose), resilience and endurance, and bonds with each other which have withstood the tests of time and remain intact today. The whakataukī urges Ngāti Awa to be strong like the adze, and to brave hardships and adversities when they occur.

A Ngāti Awa aspirational framework is influenced by a foundation (see Figure 12 below) comprising whānau, assets, and contributing entities (Ngāti Awa asset base). From this foundation, a distinct Ngāti Awa approach of 'travelling pathways to success' is advocated. An energising and enabling process of economic development to achieve overall economic goals is guided and informed by critical success factors. Finally, the realisation of economic goals contributes to the portrayal of Ngāti Awa collective aspirations.

First, the overarching aspirational outcomes outlined in the diagram are expressed in four Māori values and concepts. Tūrangawaewae – provides the foundational principle of a secure Ngāti Awa identity, where uri know who they are and where they are from, regardless of wherever they choose to live. The achievement of Mauri Ora is when resources and people are nurtured, supported, and sustained by the environment. Furthermore, culture and identity are embraced and celebrated by Ngāti Awa members. Whānau ora and whānau wellbeing for individuals and collectives are manifested in Toi Ora. Finally, Tū Pakari maintains that Ngāti Awa people take their place in the world. The goals are to have strong and vibrant individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi, choosing pathways that result in achieving "self-determined quality of life" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010, p. 2).

Second, economic goals emphasised the elements that are perceived to create wealth and prosperity. The focus on increasing iwi member knowledge of financial literacy, and pathways to increasing incomes and savings is evident.

Third, as a consequence, 'energising' and 'enabling' are key words used to stress the importance of Ngāti Awa intent in the sustainable development of resources. This is augmented by the promotion of economic opportunities, and the cultivation of innovative and creative ways of introducing new initiatives related to economic development.

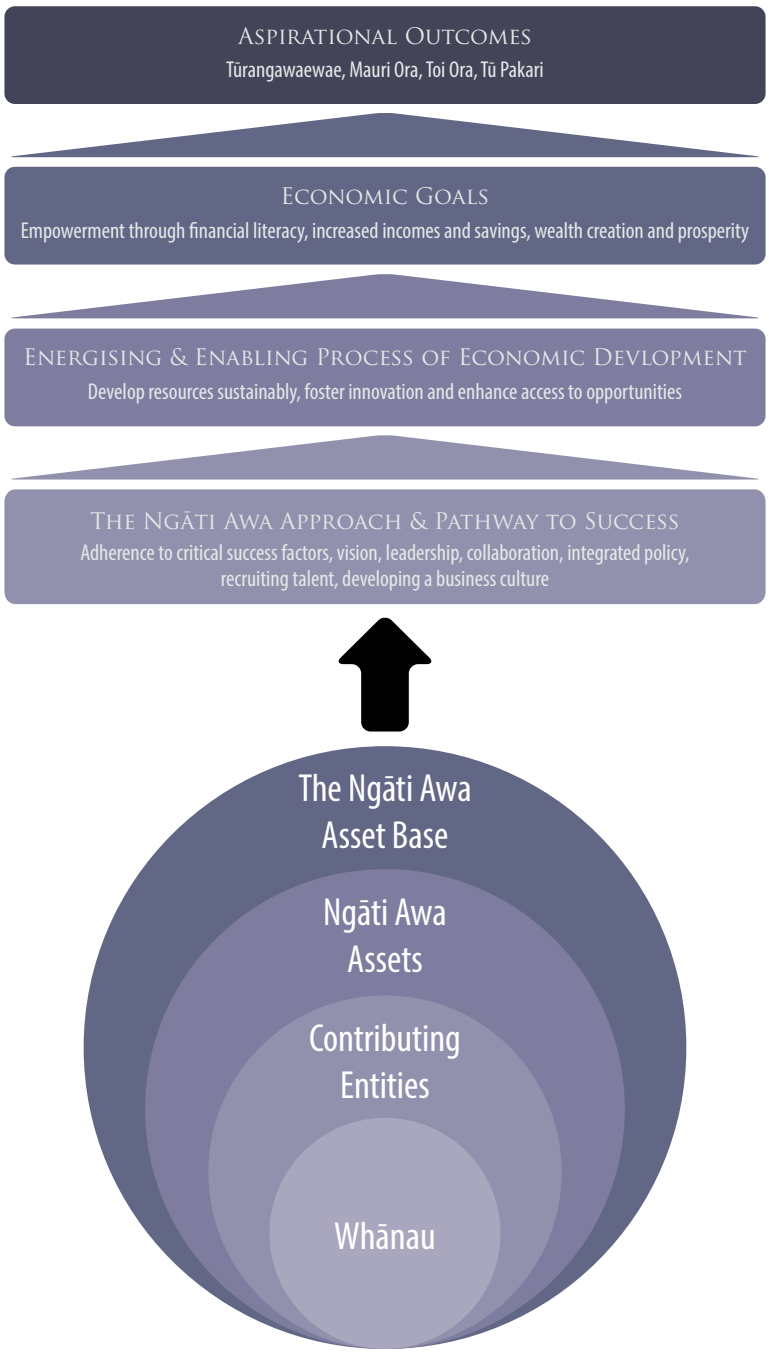


Figure 12: Ngāti Awa economic development – Aspirational framework (adapted from Fenton, 2012b, p. 5).

The fourth component of the aspirational framework contains two distinctive elements – utilising a Ngati Awa approach and pathways to success. Combined, these include holding to the overall Ngāti Awa vision and staying aligned with the identified critical success factors. Therefore, in policy and planning processes of the iwi, an integrated approach is considered, and a deliberate methodology is required to grow and advance young talent that supports the iwi in nurturing and growing a business culture.

6.2 **NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU**

Over time, organisations within Ngāti Kahungunu have focused on different areas (iwi, hapū, and whānau), and this has been sporadic. The fisheries settlement has mainly focused on, and allows for, iwi development. The six taiwhenua in Ngāti Kahungunu have operated in the main as non-Government organisations. Most have been reliant on providing health and social services, while at the same time developing infrastructure for hapū. The current Treaty of Waitangi settlements will enable increased activity and participation of and by marae, and therefore additional resources to facilitate greater hapū development. Ngāti Kahungunu has a view that the next phase of development will be focused on whānau development through a strong economic development strategy (see Figure 13 below).

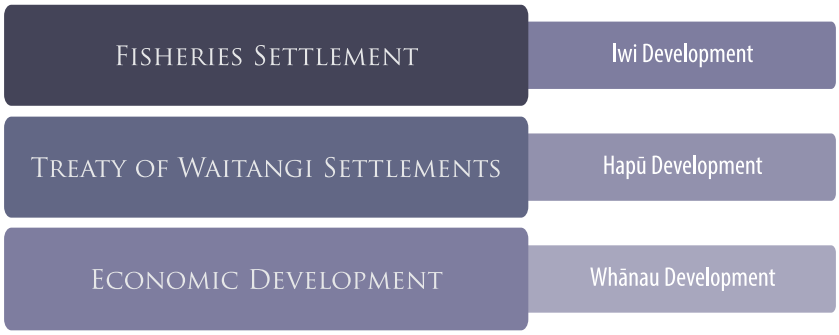


Figure 13: Ngāti Kahungunu development foci

A Ngāti Kahungunu iwi economic development strategy, which had been initiated in early 2011, was finalised during the research programme, and endorsed by the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated Board in 2012. The process followed was a linear approach involving Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated and Ngāti Kahungunu Asset Holding Company. During the research, the two boards established the Ngāti Kahungunu Economic Development Board, tasked to follow through on research findings, develop an economic development vision, and a strategy (see Figure 14).

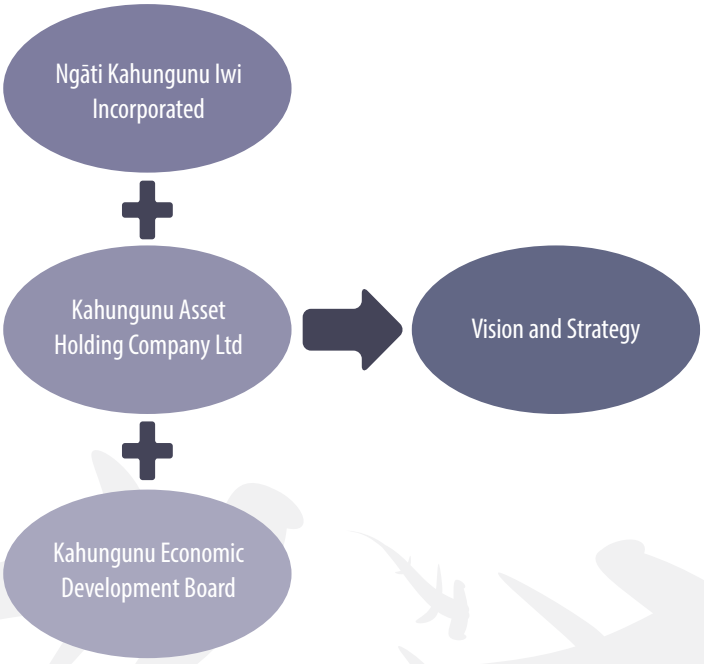


Figure 14: Ngāti Kahungunu approach to the economic development strategy

The economic development aspiration – "to be economically strong" – fits into the overall vision for the iwi. The full economic development vision statement is as follows:

> *Ngāti Kahungunu will remain involved in the traditional areas of economic activity of fisheries and farming while embracing technology and business opportunities to have a presence across all areas of economic activity within our rohe (Hamilton, 2012, p. 1).*

The Ngāti Kahungunu economic development strategy has three focus areas – jobs, business development, and asset development and wealth creation – following a distinctly whānau development approach. To ensure each strategic focus is achieved, a maximum of three key objectives are articulated, followed by key performance indicators.

There are four simple indicators from which Ngāti Kahungunu have identified measures or strategies to ensure these can be complied with. For example, to monitor the first indicator – that Ngāti Kahungunu are educated and informed – an education strategy has been implemented that measures educational achievements, attendance, etc. of all Māori children living in the region, and also cultural standards. Schools in the region are required to implement and report on their application of the Ngāti Kahungunu cultural standards.

The table below (Table 19) is adapted from the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Economic Development Strategy 2012.

Jobs	Business Development	Asset Development and Wealth Creation
Jobs are the pathway to greater financial security and independence	Self-employment can offer opportunities for wealth creation and employment	Financial security from assets and wealth gives people choices and provides the stability whānau need to plan for the future
Objectives		
1. Successful transition from school to work	1. Support existing businesses	1. Maximise returns from assets
Link job strategies with education and youth services, introduce 'job coaches', develop and implement a training academy.	Business hubs, links with Business Hawke's Bay	Support settlements, innovation centre, iwi research entity
2. Create jobs in priority sectors	2. Grow new businesses	2. Increase savings and financial management
Fisheries, farming and horticulture, water, oil and gas, tourism and hospitality, trade, aviation and technology	Investment guidelines, business support, education and training institution, tourism and hospitality, joint ventures in priority locations	Financial literacy, iwi superannuation Build international relationships for economic return Asia and Pacific, arts training and education, food

Key Indicators: Educated and informed, 100% financially independent, controlling our own resources, full employment for whānau

Table 19: Adapted from Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Economic Development Strategy 2012

6.3 TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI

A Te Whānau-a-Apanui aspirational framework is built around elements that are values laden. Whanaungatanga emphasises commercial relationships and connections with uri who live both within and external to the iwi rohe. There is a focus in this context to utilise the threads of whanaungatanga to strengthen infrastructure and facilitate a stewardship approach to economic development. Te Whānau-a-Apanui aims to stimulate learning; a mātauranga environment integrating local knowledge, practices and technology, to facilitate meaningful engagement with other knowledge sources. According to Te Whānau-a-Apanui, putting to practice such ideologies (see Figure 15 below) will ultimately assist in building commercial expertise and capabilities, and creating novel forms of economic industry.

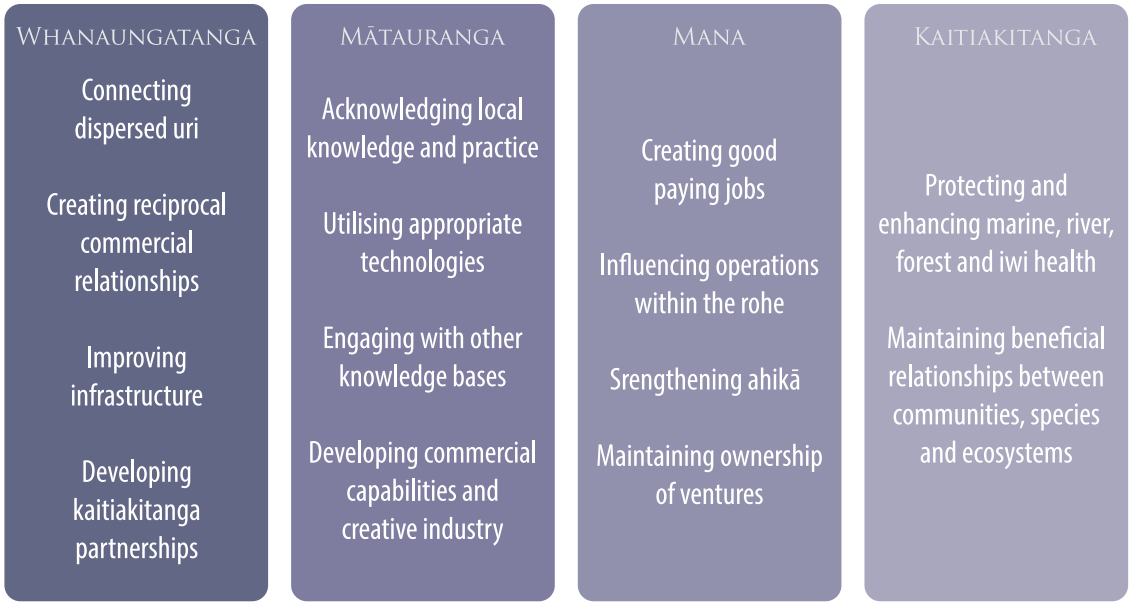


Figure 15: Analysis of Te Whānau-a-Apanui aspirations

Te Whānau-a-Apanui maintains that the core value, mana, is about ensuring that iwi members are informed and educated, and can freely exercise their influence in all iwi operations, commercial or otherwise. Given the high Māori land ownership in the iwi rohe, the goal for Te Whānau-a-Apanui is to be involved in, take leadership and maintain ownership of the range of agribusiness initiatives and potential ventures planned for the region. Good incomes and job security within the iwi rohe for whānau, hapū and iwi members will aid in bringing whānau back home. Alternatively, they may wish to be involved from where ever they live in the world and help strengthen the ahi kā, thereby sharing in both the obligations and benefits of belonging to Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

The value of kaitiakitanga takes into consideration the broader aspects of relationship building, stewardship, protection and nurturing of the environment. Thus, maintaining mutually beneficial relationships between people, their communities, species and ecosystems is paramount. Specific traditional and customary knowledge relating to kaitiakitanga relationships have been handed down to current generations by tipuna to protect and enhance marine, river, and forest health. When all of these elements are understood, practised and in harmony, it is more likely that the overall health, wealth and well-being of the people will follow.

6.4 **NGĀPUHI**

A history (Te Kawariki & Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2013) of Ngāpuhi iwi commissioned by kuia and kaumātua reveals that the aspirations and vision for Ngāpuhi in 1835 remain in the hearts and minds of iwi members today. Social, political, and economic relationships were and remain paramount, especially the continued relationships with the land and each other through whakapapa, including relationships with others. The strength of social and political relationships and interactions demonstrated healthy, wealthy and prosperous hapū economies in 1840, and the Ngāpuhi vision aspires to reinstate those conditions for iwi in a contemporary context that will carry forward into the future. The current vision and mission statements for Ngāpuhi (as per Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi) certainly reflect the longstanding aspirations of the iwi and its members, as well as the role of Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, who have assumed responsibility for achieving the vision:

> *Vision: Kia tū tika ai te whare tapu o Ngāpuhi: That the sacred house of Ngāpuhi stands firm.*
>
> *Mission statement: To lead the spiritual, social, cultural, environmental and economic growth of Ngāpuhi, by ensuring the self determination and on-going sustainability of our people (Te Rūnanga-ā-iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2009, p. 2).*

Ngāpuhi economic development is one of seven strategic goals identified to assist in achieving the overall aspirations of the iwi. The economic development strategy encapsulates socio-economic and cultural aspects in decision making, growing and protecting the asset base for iwi, hapū, and whānau, and in the development of a shared services plan.

7. **MODELS AND SCENARIOS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The second project of the research programme involved exploring scenarios, developing models, frameworks or templates that would best support economic development options for each of the four iwi groups. These are presented in the following order:

- Ngāti Awa – Being creative: Imagining plausible futures;
- Ngāti Kahungunu – Employment and productivity models;
- Te Whānau-a-Apanui – Building scenarios around core values; and
- Ngāpuhi – Employment and productivity models.

7.1 NGĀTI AWA – BEING CREATIVE: IMAGINING PLAUSIBLE FUTURES

Ngāti Awa chose to undertake scenario planning, a tool that helps in forming a collective view of options for the future. The objective of scenario planning is to navigate perceived obstacles with a long-term view in mind. Obstacles include:

- Uncertain futures: Issues such as climate change or environmental or political instability have significant risks, but can also provide opportunities for growth and competitive advantage (Turner, 2008).
- Fresh thinking: Scenario planning has the effect of encouraging creative and fresh thinking by decision makers. It diminishes usual limitations of bias, false assumptions, and wishful thinking (Fenton, 2012b; Dilworth, 1998, cited in Murthy 2012).
- Revealing key driving forces: Key driving forces play out in the plausible futures and include changes in demographics (Fenton, 2012b).
- Challenging the norm: This obstacle facilitates sensitivity analysis and thinking, and enables multiple viewpoints and open-mindedness. It protects against 'group think' usually inherent in many organisations (Fenton, 2012b).

As with any type of modelling, imperfections exist, but this framework provides for diverse views to be taken into account. Furthermore, it allows for the generation of appropriate questions to better prepare for the future, especially in relation to economic decision making. Scenario modelling and planning provide a start-point rather than an end-point, facilitating insightful options and different ways of thinking about those options, and some of the complex issues that surround Māori/iwi ways of doing things (Fenton, 2012b).

Focus groups with iwi members, land trusts, marae representatives, rūnanga, incorporations, and asset holding company members were undertaken. To this end the research built on the work carried out in the first research project, where the aspirational framework was developed.

A political, economic, social, technological, legal and environmental (PESTLE) framework was used to determine the 'driving forces' relevant to the overall research question, and these were then categorised as having either low or high impact and either predictable or uncertain. They were then grouped again as being highly predictable and high impact, or high impact and highly uncertain – the idea being to create a range of extremes around the critical uncertainties.

From there, two critical uncertainties were chosen to form the basis of the 'axes of uncertainty' within the scenario. In each of the four quadrants, scenarios were generated using deductive analysis followed by a 'walk through' of the focus question in each of the plausible worlds, recording the findings during the process in order to generate implications. While all uncertainties were put through the same process, the example here is leadership and where to invest resources that would provide the best possible impact. Therefore, impact investing was identified as a vital uncertainty and represents the vertical axis in the diagram (Figure 16) below. Ngāti Awa economic entities governance and management (leadership) were selected as an example and therefore sits along the horizontal axis.

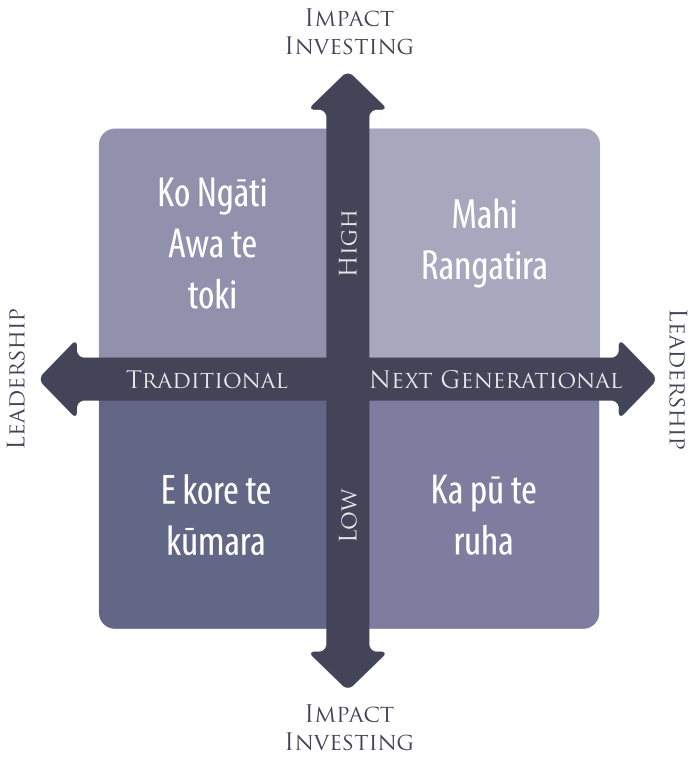


Figure 16: Ngāti Awa 'Four Plausible Worlds' (adapted from Fenton, 2012b, p. 12).

The two 'driving forces' selected for this example were the political and economic, given Ngāti Awa economic entities were the case study for this specific exercise.

Traditional	Next generation
Passive	Pro-active
Conservative	Inspirational
Closed networks	Open networks
Follow same approach	Creative
Keeping order	Keeping relevant
Closed system	Open system
Win the battle approach (short-term)	Win the war approach (long-term)

Table 20: The role of leadership within Ngāti Awa economic entities (Fenton, 2012b, p. 10).

In the table above (Table 20), the two extremes on the horizontal axis (traditional and next-generation leadership) were defined in terms of the analysis of interview data and focus group participation. The same was modelled for impact investing, as presented in the table below (Table 21).

Low	High
Dividends focus (slow sustainable growth)	Invisible dividends (new approaches/new sectors, diversification), culture and environment
Profit maximising	Maximise social return
Individual responsibility	Collective responsibility
Philanthropic	Targeted investment
Divulge responsibility to shareholders or other entities	Take responsibility for shareholder well-being beyond the balance sheet
Low risk	Medium to high risk

Table 21: Impact investing by Ngāti Awa economic entities (Fenton, 2012b, p. 11).

The four quadrants represent the 'four plausible worlds' based on the extremes of the axes (high- or low-impact investing and traditional or next-generation leadership) and incorporate *mahi rangatira*, where the work of the rangatira (leader) is to weave the people together. In this world Ngāti Awa whānau are strong and vibrant, with high levels of investment in the economy, and a relatively wide spread of 'next-generation' leadership. A strong level of participation by whānau in the economy and community exists. Whānau are fully employed, income is regular, and general well-being and esteem is high.

Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi (let the old net remain while the young go fishing): Using the same analysis as above, this world proposes low-level investment in the economy and a mid-range spread of 'next-generation' leadership where Ngāti Awa whānau take responsibility for their own economic development. A medium level of participation by whānau in the economy and community exists. Most whānau are employed, income is fair, and general well-being and esteem waivers between medium and high.

E kore te kūmara, i whakapahu i tona reka (the kūmara never talks of its own sweetness): This proverb suggests the importance of maintaining a humble and modest stance in the midst of success and accomplishment. In this example, a plausible world suggests a 'business as usual' scenario exists, such that there are low levels of investment taking place in the economy and a strong lean towards maintaining a 'traditional' leadership extreme. Ngāti Awa whānau participation in the economy and community is low, there is high unemployment, low incomes and general well-being and esteem is low.

Ko Ngāti Awa te toki tē tangatanga i te rā, tē ngohengohe i te wai (Ngāti Awa the adze, whose bindings cannot be loosened by the sun or softened by the rain): This proverb suggests resilience and endurance, strength of purpose and people. When all of these exist the plausible world is one in which Ngāti Awa whānau are prosperous and opportunities are numerous. Levels of investment in the economy and community are high and a mid-range spread of 'traditional' leadership exists. Whānau participation in the economy and community is high, employment is high, incomes are high and general well-being and esteem is high.

7.2 NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU – EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY MODELS

In 2012, BERL was engaged through this project to undertake scenario modelling for Ngāti Kahungunu. The scenarios aimed to project prospective employment opportunities towards 2031. Thus the potential benefits or opportunity costs under each scenario are demonstrated through gains in employment. Cultural imperatives have, therefore, not been considered in the scenario analysis but these are likely to be present in, for example, education (te reo Māori movement), health (Māori perspectives of health), and social (families and extended families).

To begin with, a 'business as usual' benchmark was established suggesting that if Ngāti Kahungunu continues to do what it currently does, an additional 5,320 Ngāti Kahungunu iwi members will be in employment in 2031 (BERL, 2012). In order to develop the scenarios, consideration was given to current Ngāti Kahungunu population demographics, age, gender, and labour force statistics. Such information is necessary to provide a snapshot of the iwi, which allows economic modelling that focuses on industry growth and labour demand, and identifies future supplies of labour towards 2031 (BERL, 2012). Scenario analysis was focused on Auckland, Hawke's Bay, Manawatū-Whanganui and Wellington, because these regions are where the majority of Ngāti Kahungunu members live.

The table below (Table 22) summarises each of the three scenarios compared with a baseline benchmark set at 2010.

	Numbers employed	Growth areas
Benchmark Business as usual, based on iwi members employed in 2010 of 23,710	In 2031, number of iwi members employed is 29,030, an additional 5,320	Health care and administration, education, manufacturing and retail trade
Scenario One Increase productivity in forestry and investment in additional wood processing, carbon farming and bioenergy	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 29,260, an additional 5,550	Agriculture, forestry, fisheries and manufacturing
Scenario Two Increase in productivity across all industries to the same as the national average in 2031	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 29,695, an additional 5,985	Services, professionals, trades technicians and labourers
Scenario Three Increase in the number of small to medium enterprises that iwi members own and operate towards 2031	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 29,840, an additional 6,140	Primary sectors, manufacturing, retail trade, accommodation, food services and education

Table 22: Summary of Ngāti Kahungunu scenarios (adapted from BERL, 2012, pp. 20-30).

While there is evidence of growth and increased numbers of members employed in each of the scenarios, the higher gains can be seen in the SME sector. Critical to the gains achieved in each scenario is the concentrated investment in skill and capacity development of the labour force, from foundation skills development to specialist skills.

The scenario modelling exercise for Ngāti Kahungunu is reflected in the economic development strategy discussed in the previous section. There is a focus on staying involved in the primary sectors, job creation through upskilling and capacity building, and transitioning from school to employment. Plus there are aspects of investment, encouragement and enhancement of iwi member participation across all sectors and in business enterprise development. Under a scenario of small to medium enterprise growth, there is a focus on 'jobs follow people', suggesting that people choose to stay or relocate to a region and create jobs themselves to support their decision to live where they choose.

7.3 TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI – BUILDING SCENARIOS AROUND CORE VALUES

Te Whānau-a-Apanui already has a high level of resident population and land ownership, and therefore a higher than normal level of iwi member participation in a diverse range of economic, social, political and environmental activities. For some, participation is more passive as lessors rather than active collective owner-operator and/or managers. The latter is becoming the more preferred, as a 'consciousness of kaitiakitanga' is beginning to dominate discussions at individual, whānau, hapū and iwi level. The 2010 oil exploration granted by the government brought many Te Whānau-a-Apanui iwi members to a similar level of 'consciousness' and care on a range of issues. The diagram (Figure 17) below shows the range and types of economic activities in which whānau are involved at different levels. This provides the baseline 'business as usual' scenario for Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

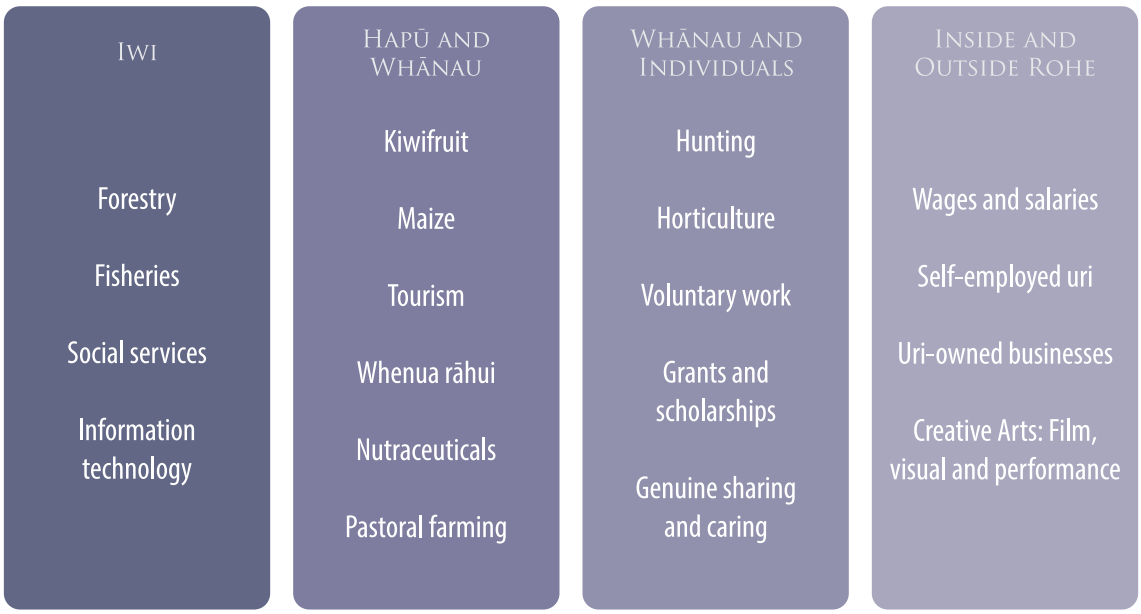


Figure 17: Current Te Whānau-a-Apanui economy

The core values identified and discussed in the aspirational framework for Te Whānau-a-Apanui have also been utilised here in scenario development. This was deemed appropriate, given the unique position of the iwi in terms of the longevity of their involvement in economic activities in the region prior to and after colonisation. It also reflects the unscathed land situation of the iwi compared with others, where approximately 97% of land ownership remains in Māori/iwi ownership. Also noticeable in this region is the way in which Te Whānau-a-Apanui have held onto a distinctly Māori or iwi-centric view of the world. Therefore, the iwi believes that economic activities should reflect the core values, and that iwi members must lead potential future development. A key component to scenario modelling for Te Whānau-a-Apanui is to embed, increase and advance the core values into the economic landscape of the region through the people.

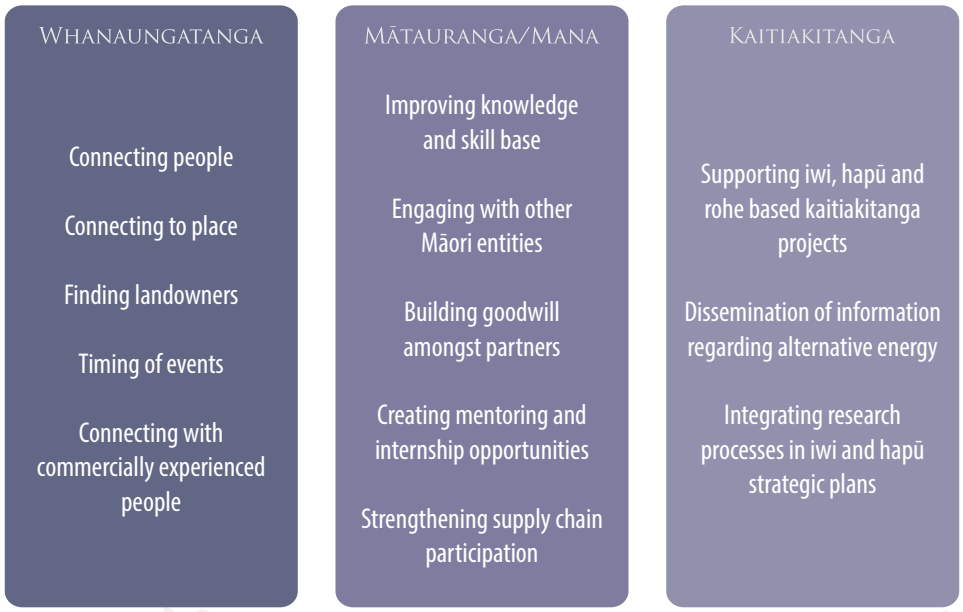


Figure 18: Summary of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scenarios

Strengthening whanaungatanga, mātauranga, mana and kaitiakitanga are integral to the scenario modelling examples, as outlined in the table (Figure 18) above. These include utilising digital communication technologies to facilitate the face-to-face component of nurturing and maintaining relationships of iwi members to the rohe. Therefore, connecting people to economic development initiatives enhances and improves iwi member abilities and notions of whanaungatanga (Whitbourne, 2013).

The second scenario highlights improved governance and managerial capacity, and implicitly shows the interdependence of knowledge, agency, and efficacy in intended iwi economic development. The intention here is to increase iwi member participation at governance decision-making and management levels within commercial joint ventures, partnerships, and collaborations in the rohe. As such, activities that build iwi member mana and standing in commercial operations through diverse multi-level training, education and skills development, are essential in order to have influence over ventures across the spectrum of development. This includes cultural, social, environmental and political spheres (Whitbourne, 2013).

The third scenario suggests both vertical and horizontal integration with the aim of bringing whānau into the decision-making mix, into the range of operations and taking a view of leadership that flows from top to bottom and vice versa, in all parts of the various operations. An important consideration discussed was also the importance of a 'learning' ethic, for example, learning from the experiences of other iwi groups and non-iwi groups. This allows for members to gain broader perspectives and expertise, and apply these learnings and the relationships that result in developing horizontal and vertical integration systems (Whitbourne, 2013). For example, the ideal for Te Whānau-a-Apanui is for iwi to own the land where kiwifruit or grapes or forestry are produced, for iwi to supply the workers, for iwi to be the preferred providers of ancillary services and products, and for iwi to own and manage the distribution channels in and out of the rohe.

The 'knowledge representation scenario' reflects participatory geographic information systems (GIS). This allows the visual representation (mapping) of geographic, ecological, cultural, and economic information gathered from the community and iwi. These are then compiled into a three-dimensional model, giving a physical and visual representation of the possible options, and to aid decision making around land utilisation, housing, and the environment (Whitbourne, 2013).

7.4 **NGĀPUHI – EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY MODELS**

The approach to a Ngāpuhi scenarios modelling exercise was the same as that for Ngāti Kahungunu. In 2012, BERL was engaged to perform scenarios modelling for Ngāpuhi. Scenarios aimed to project prospective employment opportunities towards 2031. The potential benefits or opportunity costs under each scenario are demonstrated through gains in employment. Cultural imperatives have not been considered in the scenario analysis, but in order to realise the potential gains suggested by the scenarios some indices such as demographics, education or other may have cultural influence. For example, Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have a strong cultural influence in education. The scenarios for Ngāpuhi focused on iwi members living in the Northland and Auckland areas, because this is where the largest proportion of Ngāpuhi members live and work.

To begin with, a 'business as usual' benchmark was established suggesting that if Ngāpuhi continues to do what it currently does, an additional 10,250 Ngāpuhi iwi members will be in employment in 2031 (BERL, 2012). In order to develop the scenarios, consideration was given to current Ngāpuhi population demographics, age, gender, and labour force statistics. Such information is necessary to provide a snapshot of the iwi, which allows economic modelling that focuses on industry growth and labour demand, and identifying future supplies of labour towards 2031 (BERL, 2012).

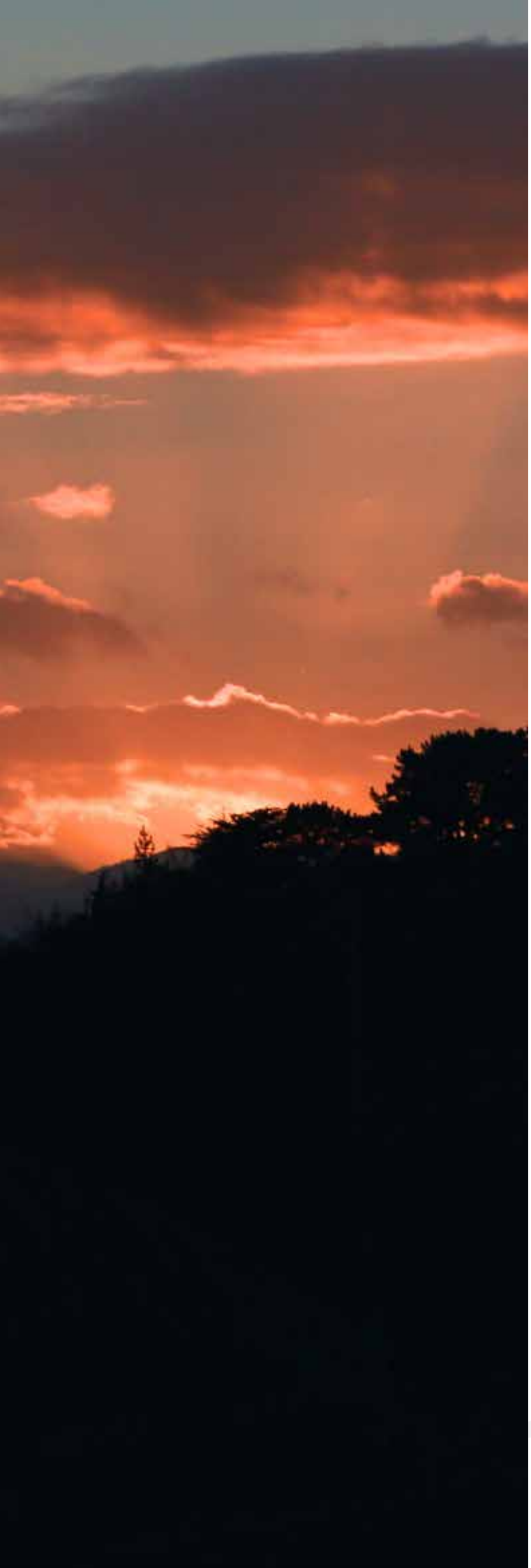
The table below (Table 23) summarises each of the three scenarios compared with a baseline benchmark.

	Numbers employed	Growth areas
Benchmark Business as usual, based on iwi members employed in 2010 of 47,100	In 2031 number of iwi members employed is 57,350, an additional 10,250	Most industry but strong growth in the service sector
Scenario One Increase productivity in forestry and investment in additional wood processing, carbon farming and bio-energy	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 57,660, an additional 10,560	Services, manufacturing, forestry and trade with investment in forestry
Scenario Two Increase in productivity across all industries to the same as the national average in 2031	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 58,660, an additional 11,560	Health care and social assistance, education and training, retail trade, manufacturing, labourers
Scenario Three Increase in the number of small to medium enterprises that iwi members own and operate towards 2031	Number of iwi members employed in 2031 is 59,100, an additional 12,000	Primary sectors, manufacturing, retail trade, accommodation, food services and education

Table 23: Summary of Ngāpuhi scenarios (adapted from BERL, 2012, pp. 20-30).

While there is evidence of growth and increased numbers of people employed in each of the scenarios, the higher gains for Ngāpuhi can be seen in the small to medium enterprise sector. Critical to the gains achieved in each scenario is the level and concentrated investment in skill and capacity development of the labour force from foundation skills development to specialist skills.

The scenario modelling exercise for Ngāpuhi is similar to that of Ngāti Kahungunu; the numbers are larger, though, given the overall size of the population of Ngāpuhi of 125,601 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). While there are large numbers of Ngāpuhi in the Northland and Auckland areas, there are still large numbers of the iwi living in other parts of New Zealand. It is interesting that the scenarios, in the main, were confined to the northern region. Land-based economic development, farming, fishing, forestry, horticulture, and tourism are likely to be the focus of a long-term strategy for economic development for Ngāpuhi. This fits with the long-standing aspirations of Ngāpuhi to reinstate prosperous hapū and iwi economies, and maintain, enhance and nurture whakapapa connections and relationships that act out in social, political and economic spheres. There is a focus on staying involved in the primary sectors, and creating jobs through upskilling and capacity building. Furthermore, developing mutually agreeable commercial collaborations with non-Māori and re-establishing and maintaining relationships with other hapū and iwi groups into the future are essential. There are aspects of investment, encouragement and enhancement of iwi member participation across all sectors and in business enterprise development in particular. Under a scenario of small to medium enterprise growth, there is a focus on 'jobs follow people', suggesting that people choose to stay or relocate to a region and create jobs themselves to support their decision to live where they choose. In this instance, more Ngāpuhi people are choosing to live within the Ngāpuhi rohe.



8. **FUTURES FRAMEWORK**

Dominant western frameworks, models, and practices are limited in sufficiently transforming communities, allowing the achievement of Māori social, cultural and/or economic aspirations to be fully realised. A Māori futures framework for Māori economic development needs to have a 360-degree transforming intervention focus. It is argued that a move beyond single-project interventions is essential, and that Māori and iwi social, cultural and economic development must be engaged with, in multiple sites utilising multiple strategies. Furthermore, Graham Smith (personal communication, July 1, 2014) notes that:

> *. . . colonisation has not gone away; it has simply changed shape and is coming at us in different and multiple formations.*

Current frameworks of Māori economic development are void of elements that are determined through a Māori cultural lens. Durie (2006, p. 14) states that the:

> *. . . sole use of narrow single-dimension measures ignores the several dimensions of Māori wellbeing. For individuals those dimensions reflect spiritual, physical, mental and social parameters; while for whānau they include the capacity for caring, planning, guardianship, empowerment, cultural endorsement, and consensus.*

If the dominant cultural lens continues to be relied on there is a greater likelihood that existing disparities between Māori economic performance and growth, and Māori well-being, will not only remain but increase, as reflected in the figure (Figure 19) on the following page.

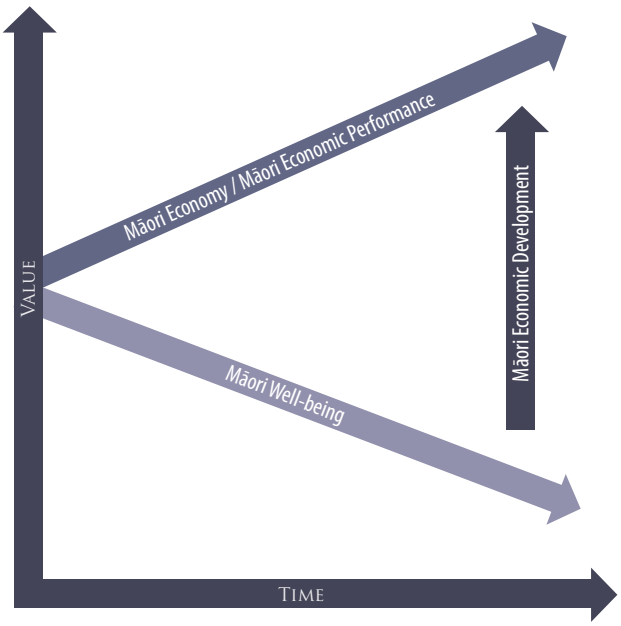


Figure 19: Visual representation of Māori economic development, portraying the perceived differentials between the Māori economy and Māori well-being (adapted from Smith, Kamau, Warriner & Tinirau, 2012, p. 17).

A Māori economic development framework that takes account of Māori social and cultural perspectives will be one where Māori well-being increases at the same rate as the Māori economy over time (Figure 20).

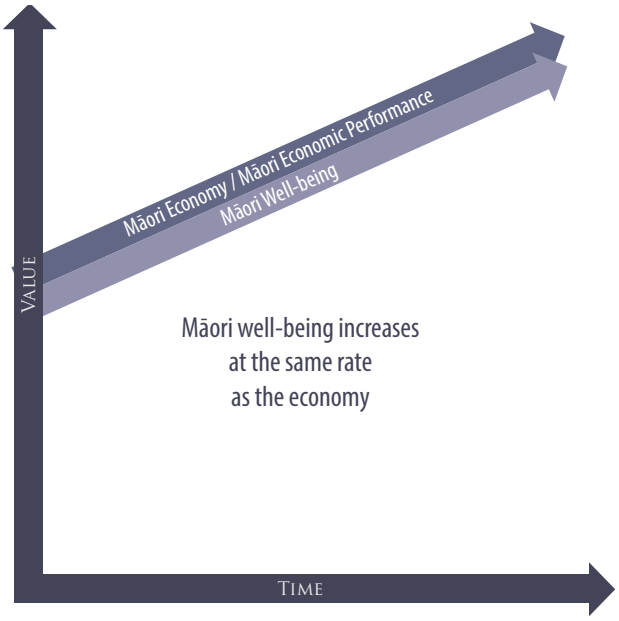


Figure 20: Visual representation of Māori economic development, reconciling Māori economy and Māori well-being (adapted from Smith, Kamau, Warriner & Tinirau, 2012, p. 19).

A Māori economic development futures framework is proposed that successfully captures and blends Māori social and cultural aspirations and economic development and lends itself to appropriate measurement. A futures framework must be cognisant of the need to work across all iwi (horizontal development) and respond simultaneously to individual iwi (vertical devel`opment).

8.1 **WHARENUI AS A FRAMEWORK**

The concept of the wharenui embraces a number of symbolic meanings that correlate with our proposed idea of a futures framework: the wharenui as a shelter and protector of the people; the wharenui as a repository of ancestral knowledge, whakapapa, customs and beliefs; the wharenui as a place where kōrero (discussions), wānanga (teaching and learning) and ideas are able to be exchanged and debated; and the wharenui as an enabler for communities to reciprocate and fulfil their customary obligations. A flourishing, functional wharenui often indicates the well-being of the people, and wharenui are an integral part of a wider social, cultural and economic infrastructure called marae. There is a dialectical relationship between wharenui and marae, given that the revitalisation and functioning of marae is regarded as being pivotal to Māori economic development. Walker (1990) describes the marae as the 'cultural bastion', the centre of whānau, hapū and iwi affairs, where tikanga and te reo Māori permeate. Located in urban and rural areas, marae are places where whānau, hapū and iwi celebrate events and milestones, grieve for the dead, and discuss issues of tribal, local or national significance. As such, they are multi-purpose, and serve the needs of their community (Matamua, 2006; Salmond, 1976). Durie (2009) suggests that:

> *Probably the most enduring material cultural asset has been the marae. Despite an extensive urbanisation process that occurred in the latter half of the twentieth century and the prospect that marae would become deserted memorials to a former era, the reverse has occurred. Marae flourish in traditional tribal areas but have also been developed in urban and metropolitan centres associated with school, universities, hospitals, defence bases, and Māori urban communities (Durie, 2009, p. 10).*

Wharenui are known by many names, depending on both their purpose and the tribal context. Such names include: whare tupuna or tipuna (ancestral house); wharepuni (sleeping house); whare rūnanga (council house); and whare whakairo (carved house). They are named after an ancestor, an important event or an aspiration, and typically represent the body of an ancestor: the kōrūrū and/or tekoteko at the point of the gable, represents the head; the maihi or bargeboards signify the arms, with the raparapa being the fingers; the tāhuhu or ridge-beam indicates the backbone; the heke represent the ribs; and the poutokomanawa or central pillar inside is the ancestor's heart (Salmond, 1976). Given the significance of wharenui to whānau, hapū and iwi, they are used to: explain concepts, models (Durie, 1982), and more recently, Treaty settlements (Tūhoe Te Uru Taumatua, 2013); structure orations and scholarly writing (Loader, 2013; Matamua 2006; Smith, T., 2007; Temara, 1991); articulate visions and strategic frameworks (Tūwharetoa Settlement Trust, 2011).

Iwi refer to the importance of a strong and sound whare or structure in their strategic visioning and documents. The strategic framework for the Tūwharetoa Settlement Trust (2011) is modelled upon a whare, Te Whare Tautoko, comprising four elements: Te pou manawa (vision); te tāhuhu (mission); ngā heke (strategic objectives); and ngā poupou. The vision is Tūwharetoa, He Whare Mana, He Whare Toa – Tūwharetoa Proud and Successful, thus reflecting the name of the tribe and the model used (Tūwharetoa Settlement Trust, 2011).

Tāwhiao, the second Māori king, uttered the following statement, which refers to the building of a 'whare'. It serves as the vision for Waikato-Tainui iwi:

> *Maaku anoo e hanga toku nei whare*
> *Ko ngaa pou oo roto, he maahoe, he patatee*
> *Ko te taahuuhuu he hiinau*
> *Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga*
> *Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki*
>
> *I shall build my house from the lesser known trees of the forest*
> *The support posts shall be maahoe and patatee, and the ridgepole of hiinau*
> *My people will be nourished by the rengarenga and strengthened by the kawariki (Waikato-Tainui, 2014, p. 7).*

The people of Waikato experienced massive land confiscation, yet Tāwhiao was visionary in the sense that despite this adversity, he would rebuild a 'house' for his people. In an educational context, the tongi (prophetic expression) has been used "to infer that the rebuilding was to be in the minds of tribal members, who would access education as a means of liberation and transformation" (Jane, 2001, p. 129).

There are, of course, great carved meeting houses, such as Mataatua in Whakatāne, which was built and opened in 1875 (Mead, 2003), a symbol of "pride, resilience and unity" for Ngāti Awa, who were weakened by the im-

pact of colonisation, land confiscation and incarceration (Mead, 2011). The meeting house was taken and displayed away from the Ngāti Awa rohe (including overseas), and it was only after prolonged arguments and petitions that it was eventually returned to Ngāti Awa in 1996. After much restoration work, the wharenui was rebuilt on its original site at Te Mānuka Tūtahi Marae, Whakatāne, and opened in 2011 (Mead, 2011). There are also the more humble ancestral houses of whānau, hapū and iwi, which nonetheless have significance for those that belong to these whare tupuna.

8.2 HE WHARE TUPU TANGATA: FUTURES FRAMEWORK

In view of the preceding discussion, the research team chose the wharenui as the model to metaphorically represent and explain the proposed futures framework. Entitled *He Whare Tupu Tangata,* the framework has been designed to assist iwi, hapū and whānau, to self-determine their own unique aspirations, outcomes, critical success factors, and measures, to enable more successful economic development outcomes (see Figure 21). This report notes the critical element of shifting from external development over the top of iwi, to self-development, controlled by iwi themselves. The emphasis on self-development gives more control by iwi to ensure that the intervention elements reflect the iwi context and therefore more accurately mirror their own values, protocols and practices.

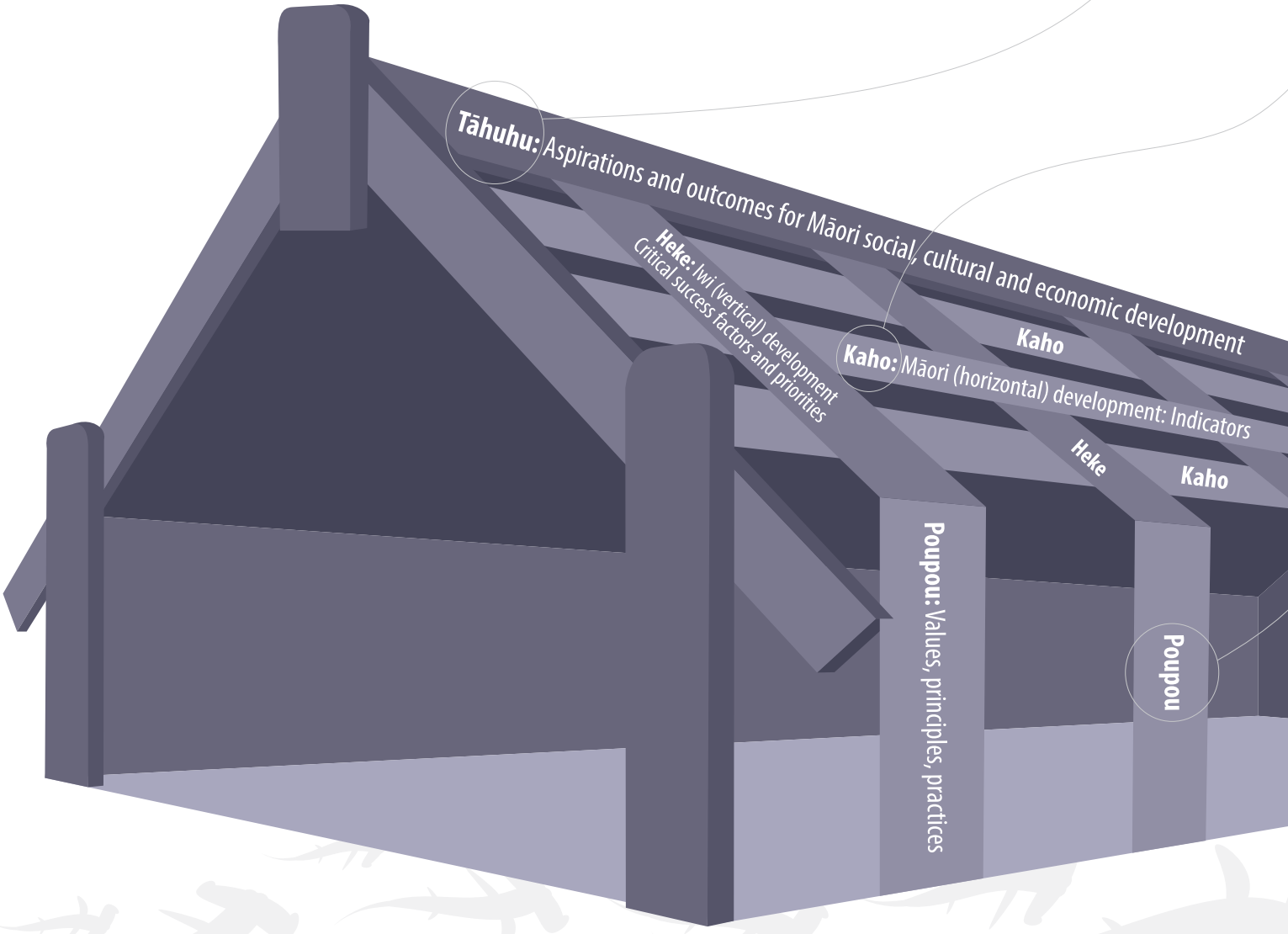


Figure 21: Conceptual design for He Whare Tupu Tangata futures framework

8.2.1 **TE TĀHUHU: ASPIRATIONAL OUTCOMES**

The tāhuhu is the main ridgepole running down the centre of a wharenui. As a house often represents an ancestor figure, the ridgepole is sometimes referred to as the 'backbone'. In some iwi the tāhuhu is considered to be the place where tribal knowledge is amassed. Often, the koru pattern is used on motifs adorning the tāhuhu, which reflects growth and development, or Te Tupunga. In the case of the futures framework, the tāhuhu symbolises iwi core aspirations with respect to social, cultural and economic well-being. In this sense, they might also be regarded as Te Pae Tawhiti – the long-term, inter-generational aspirations and visions that whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori are seeking.

8.2.2 **NGĀ HEKE: IWI (VERTICAL) DEVELOPMENT**

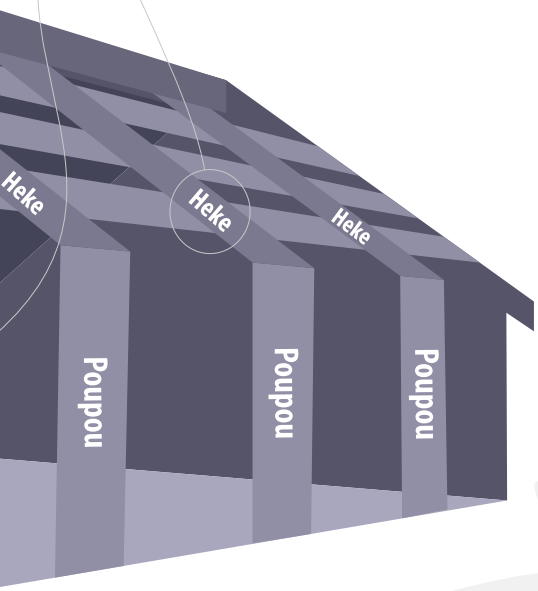
The heke, or rafters of the whare, are critical supports that uphold the tāhuhu. Patterns of tribal significance appear on the heke, such as the Mangōpare, which depicts strength, tenacity and fortitude. The heke symbolise iwi critical success factors and facilitate iwi (vertical) development, which in turn uphold the core aspirations symbolised in the tāhuhu.

8.2.3 **NGĀ KAHO: MĀORI (HORIZONTAL) DEVELOPMENT**

The kaho, or cross beams in the whare, hold the heke in place, and are therefore important structurally to the standing of the house. Sometimes the kaho contain the takirua or takitoru design, representative of communication and the importance of relationships and collaboration. Kaho symbolise indicators that are common across whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori generally, and as such imply the importance of Māori (horizontal) development.

8.2.4 **NGĀ POUPOU: VALUES, PRINCIPLES & PRACTICES**

Finally, the poupou often represent ancestors, who embody values, attributes and tikanga that are vital to whānau, hapū and iwi well-being. These fundamental cultural tenets and understandings underpin life, and are critical if the whare is to stand strong.



8.3 KO NGĀTI AWA TE TOKI: VISUALISING NGĀTI AWA WITHIN HE WHARE TUPU TANGATA

Based on the data gathered within the Ngāti Awa context, and drawing from the responses of iwi participants, the following example is presented to show how He Whare Tupu Tangata might be applied (see Figure 22 below).

Tāhuhu: Aspirations Tūrangawaewae (Cultural identity and connectivity) Mauri Ora (Independence, resources and sustainability) Toi Ora (Optimal well-being) Tū Pakari (Leadership and hapū unity)					
Heke (Vertical) and Kaho (Horizontal) development	The central role of leadership	Collaboration and collectivism	Maintaining relationships	An integrated policy approach	Recruiting talent
Social	Connected to communities (e.g. hapū participation)	Networked to wider Māori and non-Māori communities (e.g. educational opportunities)	Opportunities for iwi expatriates to participate (e.g. Ko Ngāti Awa Te Toki Festival)	Building financial literacy amongst tamariki (e.g. programme development)	Inter-generational transfer of knowledge (e.g. growing whānau economies)
Cultural	Recognition of kaumātua experience and knowledge (e.g. mārama-tanga)	Collaborations based on shared values (e.g. food security)	Whakapapa and relationships nurtured (e.g. whanaunga-tanga)	Integrated iwi aspirations (e.g. Ngāti Awatanga)	Locus of control remains with Ngāti Awa (e.g. Rūnanga structure)
Economic	Capacity and capability building (e.g. mōhiotanga)	Existing entities used as leverage (e.g. primary industry focus)	Increased communication (e.g. investment in technology)	Increased wealth at community level (e.g. understanding Māori economy)	Capitalising on young talent (e.g. fostering entrepreneurial skills)
Poupou: Guiding values and principles **Ngāti Awatanga** (Language and culture) **Kaitiakitanga** (Guardianship for future generations) **Manaakitanga** (Caring for each other)					

Figure 22: Visual representation of Ngāti Awa aspirational outcomes, critical success factors, broader well-being factors and iwi values

In adapting and adopting *He Whare Tupu Tangata*, other horizontal and vertical factors can be added, dependant on the iwi context. For example, broader issues affecting all Māori might include environmental well-being, and critical success factors for iwi might then be considered against this. Furthermore, these broader issues could also be disaggregated, allowing iwi to focus on specific priority areas. For example, social well-being could be broken down into distinct areas such as health, education, justice etc.

Thus, *He Whare Tupu Tangata* can be tailored to the needs of a particular iwi, and can be used to help organise the many and varied priorities that are deemed important to that iwi. Cross-references to iwi plans and policies allow He Whare Tupu Tangata to be all-inclusive, whilst at the same time being straightforward. It attempts to aggregate and align iwi priorities with aspirational outcomes, critical success factors, broader Māori well-being factors, and iwi values and principles.

9. **HE KŌRERO WHAKAKAPI**
CONCLUSIONS

While the intention of this research is to focus on Māori economic development in a broad sense, the research process and outcomes reflect, in the main, iwi perspectives albeit from four large iwi groupings with a combined membership reach in excess of 200,000 people. Findings, observations, concerns and reflections derive from these particular iwi perspectives. There are points to be emphasised here. First, we should be careful not to over-generalise these insights to all iwi. Second, there are some common elements across all iwi. Third, there are a number of learning points that are relevant across different iwi and Māori sites, which will have relevance for Māori economic development and the evolving Māori economy[5].

These conclusions are derived from an aggregation of insights from the three research projects: the aspirational framework, scenario modelling and the futures framework. The intention has been to identify elements that might underpin a more effective approach to enabling Māori and iwi economic development. The futures framework principles were developed against the backdrop of the four iwi research sites. We also exercised appropriate caution with the limitations and capacities. First, each of the iwi research examples was quite different from one another in respect of context, research approach and initiatives for economic development. Each of the iwi researchers approached their study differently because each iwi was at a different level of development and managing different levels of resource. Some important tensions (or dualities) that the iwi researchers and research team faced were evident across several of the sites, and yet other issues were idiosyncratic to particular iwi contexts. Some of these tensions are represented in the diagrams (Figure 23) below and sections that follow.

5 The Māori economy is referred to as 'evolving' rather than 'emerging', because in 1840 there would not have been any difficulty with the concept of 'the Māori economy'. It was the only economy. Our assertion is that there already is a Māori economy which has existed since before Pākehā arrival (refer to Coleman, Dixon & Mare, 2005).

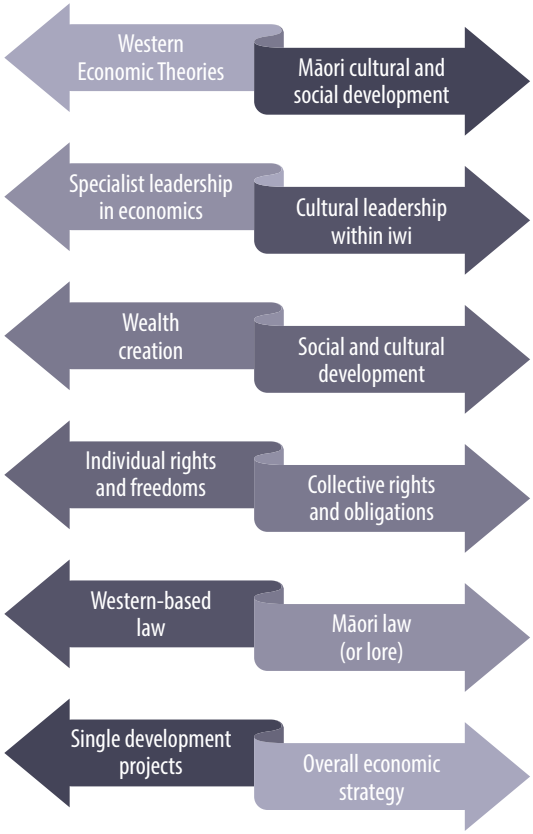


Figure 23: Tensions, competing dynamics or dualities that impact on Māori economic development

9.1 DEFINITIONS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Sources describe Māori economic development in a variety of ways. Some iwi describe Māori economic development with regard to outcomes (the end result), rather than in terms of process (the means by which to get there). There needs to be more clarity with respect to both these elements. We would also observe that many of the definitions of Māori economic development rely on western frameworks of knowledge, and therefore are often perceived as problematic when attempting to capture a notion of 'Māori economic development' that truly embraces Māori aspirations.

Many of the iwi saw the connection between wealth creation on the one hand, and social and cultural development of the people on the other. An important consideration is that the social and cultural development of Māori and iwi was inextricably linked to economic advancement and vice versa. An important issue is that most of the responses articulated economic development as taking precedence, and that social and cultural development will follow. However, an emerging argument is that these domains need to be effected simultaneously, as these cannot be separated. What we are alluding to is the social capital that is an often underdeveloped feature available within our cultural structures; for example, the intersection of our cultural values, such as whanaungatanga (collectivity), manaakitanga (goodwill), etc. As far as definitions of Māori economic development are concerned, the potential is still underrealised and holds great possibility for us. Definitions of Māori economic development need to be reframed to better incorporate Māori aspirations.

9.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The vision for Māori economic development among the participating iwi directly aligned and contributed to the overall vision of the iwi. These iwi visions were focused on people, their collective aspirations, and sociocultural outcomes. Tribal assets were seen as a vehicle to achieve those aspirations and outcomes, and achiev-

ing equilibrium between economic and socio-cultural priorities was a challenge for each iwi. However, a key characteristic for all iwi was the importance of facilitating intergenerational well-being, relationships and self-determination, as well as considering Māori economic development in its wider, integrated sense, given a Māori holistic worldview.

9.3 **STRATEGIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Strategies and opportunities to grow and develop the wealth and assets of whānau, hapū and iwi, and to nurture well-being, identity and knowledge, were considered priorities by iwi. Strategies or drivers for iwi economic development strongly emphasised tikanga, local and general knowledge, and the impetus for growth, as well as facilitating training, education, and employment or self-employment, particularly for youth. Equally significant were the potential opportunities for this to happen, through creative and innovative solutions. These included strengthening the involvement in primary-based activities; extending participation into secondary and tertiary industries; and adopting or developing new technologies.

9.4 **THE INTERFACE OF TIKANGA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Cultural values, practices and behaviours have a place in iwi economic development, but the challenge for iwi was not in visioning tikanga in economic development, but with identifying or employing it. As such, tikanga was more explicit in some iwi situations than others, and at times, it was applied differently, and even inconsistently; it was considered important in the socio-cultural space within some iwi, though deemed irrelevant in economic affairs. The need for tikanga to infiltrate throughout economic development strategies and activities was discussed, given that it provides for cultural and ethical conduct, is considered a source of competitive advantage in an economic sense, and is both specific and localised in nature. The reason for underpinning iwi economic development with cultural tenets, such as tikanga, was to acknowledge a Māori worldview; to recognise that assets returned to whānau, hapū and iwi through the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process were reparation for historical, social and cultural injustices; and to understand that the bastion of tikanga Māori and identity is the marae – a traditional and contemporary economic base for whānau, hapū and iwi. For some iwi, economic practices were developed around core values, such as whanaungatanga, mātauranga, mana and kaitiakitanga. For other iwi, there were perceived constraints with incorporating tikanga into their economic frameworks and vice versa, such as commercialising cultural assets or integrating tikanga fully and genuinely.

9.5 **COLLABORATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Collaboration is viewed by iwi as a process that creates value and enhances economic development and relationships within their own iwi, with other iwi, with the environment, and with non-Māori. New technologies enable collaboration and engagement, connect virtual and physical spaces, and are utilised in a range of social, business and cultural contexts, across a number of domains. As such, collaboration not only brings together the collective intelligence of the wider group, but embraces the diversity inherent in whānau, hapū, and iwi, and the knowledge they possess. There is a clear difference between collaborations and relationships. On one hand, collaborations can be formal or informal, can evolve as the need or expectation changes, and tend to be project-specific, time-bound, and guided by points of reference. Relationships, on the other hand, are often intergenerational, based on whakapapa connections, difficult to end, and best maintained through customary approaches. Accordingly, collaborations should not be considered if they place strain on an existing, enduring relationship.

9.6 CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTORS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Factors that are critical to successful economic development for each iwi have been identified, and are inclusive of social, cultural, environmental and political aspirations of the collective. Tensions need to be mitigated through responsible decision-making, ensuring that the well-being of the people, and those factors that are critical to their well-being (such as customary values) are always at the core. Critical success factors for Māori economic development have been identified and categorised under six key themes. Although not an exhaustive list, these critical success factors influence and enable the strategic goals and objectives of iwi, and are vital to the success of their economic development strategies. The following diagram (Figure 24) provides an overview of the six key themes that were categorised from participating iwi responses. While not specifically stated, an analysis of iwi documents revealed that these critical success factors contribute to Māori/iwi well-being.

Figure 24: Overview of critical success factors for Māori economic development, as informed by participating iwi

9.6.1 **CAPABILITY AND CAPACITY BUILDING**

Some iwi tended to prefer members from within their tribal ranks to fill governance and committee roles within the economic development portfolios, yet other iwi quite deliberately went outside of the tribe for expertise. Ironically, both strategies have limitations. In respect of the first strategy many of the internal iwi economic 'experts' have been trained in the conservative, neo-classic economic traditions and are therefore potentially 'colonisers' of their own people. It might be argued that this strategy is no more liberating than bringing in non-Māori expertise. Therefore the key issue is for Māori and iwi to determine who it is that ultimately controls the economic development agenda. If iwi have overall control, then it may not matter who is brought in to do the work.

For some iwi an emphasis on building the people potential of the iwi base is seen as paramount, while for other iwi, the need to build strategies for communication and iwi connectivity are given high priority. It was evident in this research programme that there has been an emergence of whole-of-iwi activities and events, and this trend is important as it provides a means for iwi members at large to participate in the development of the tribe. Ultimately, successful economic development that takes account of the social and cultural imperatives of the tribe is more likely to have the 'buy-in' of the iwi membership more generally. The 'buy-in' process for iwi members will involve seeing and feeling the relevance of the various strategies, and this can be enhanced with the range and quality of current and future communication systems and technologies.

The whole argument of self-development hinges on the ability of iwi members to exercise greater levels of tino rangatiratanga in economic, social, cultural, political and environmental development, which results in increased overall well-being. Furthermore, a key component underpinning Māori and iwi economic development is galvanising participation, motivation, and success in transformative engagement of iwi members. This argument is not a total move away from western frameworks; it is, however, an argument for more successful outcomes than has materialised to date. Rather than rejecting the information and the well-intended work that has contributed to the development of this field, there is a case for re-shaping current thinking to reflect more profoundly stronger Māori and iwi realities, and therefore influence the shaping of a Māori economy, and subsequently, Māori economic development (well-being).

An issue that continues to hamper iwi is that of leadership and or governance capacity and capability. In some cases it is the changes in leadership or governance that provide the biggest challenge because continuity of the agreed strategic framework is put at risk. Therefore, a strategic framework that can accommodate change, can be adjusted, and then can facilitate the implementation or re-implementation and monitoring of strategies, will be extremely beneficial. Capacity and capability building can occur as an ongoing process through the development of cultural or iwi skills and competencies on the one hand, and also economic literacy on the other. Iwi management, therefore, has a responsibility to take on board and execute strategic plans at the people level, taking a more diverse approach to include Māori on the ground: those in the social and cultural domains already participating in the economy and already experienced in leadership roles.

9.6.2 **RELATIONSHIPS AND COLLABORATION**

It is essential to problematise the capitalist notions of the 'possessive individual' and 'competitive individualism'. These capitalist notions are antithetical to Māori cultural notions which emphasise collective responsibility and collaboration. The Māori propensity for collaboration and collective endeavour is embedded in the cultural and social notions of whānau, hapū and iwi responsibility. Relationships between people, and also with the environment, are an important cultural value. Iwi development strategies must prioritise the social, cultural and economic development of the people. In this sense, the notion of 'profit' is not just in the bottom line; it is also in the development of the potential of the people. International engagement is a growing phenomenon amongst iwi. Two particular forms include the seeking of offshore investment in commercial activity, and second, the development of outreach to other indigenous and minority cultural groups to seek and share ideas for economic development.

9.6.3 **DECISION MAKING AND KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS**

There is evidence of high-level iwi planning, often completed by external consultants with a focus on wealth creation strategies. As a result the social and cultural elements of development are often not included in economic development. Consequently, externally derived plans are often only tentatively implemented, and not wholly supported by the people, because iwi aspirations are not clearly apparent, represented or obvious, suggesting that they are not always captured by plan developers. The need for iwi membership involvement in iwi planning is essential, to provide a guide for the integration of economic development with the social and cultural goals for iwi development.

Much of the literature promotes Māori and/or iwi self-development, but given that the bulk of the literature draws from a western frame and thinking, there are doubts as to whether it really can be considered self-development. The challenge for iwi is to think about the issue of connecting their own cultural values and strategies to the interventions, and to be confident in applying these interventions and their own frameworks. There are lessons to be learnt from the educational revolution of 1981, and the widespread support for the development of Te Kōhanga Reo. The point emphasised is that economic development strategies, innovations or opportunities, need to take the iwi members on the journey as more involved participants. This is a significant intervention element that is missing from top-down approaches, and is also a critique of the development models used in the Pacific Islands.

Conventional western models focus on quantitative measures, and the techno-rational reductionism that is prevalent in the literature has resulted in an over-emphasis on key performance indicators, before any sufficient consideration of social or cultural factors. Māori and indigenous models and frameworks like *He Oranga Hapori* or the *Iwi Vitality Outcomes Framework* can be read and measured, and given credence alongside others. This illustrates a global trend towards more sustainable economic development practices and infrastructure that incorporates social and cultural elements.

Operating an economic plan based on neo-classical economic frameworks may well emphasise aspects such as wealth creation, which in turn is potentially colonising of iwi interests. Initiatives that encourage creativity, innovation and experimentation across all facets of iwi life and existence will enhance traditional knowledge systems. In addition, knowledge systems may also benefit through effective engagement with other knowledge, processes and technologies.

9.6.4 **BUSINESS AND ASSET DEVELOPMENT**

The capacity of iwi economic development planning to re-examine the potential for expansion of existing successful projects, and aim to add even more value through multipliers of success, is a rational move. It also makes sense to learn from others and adapt models to suit, rather than 'reinvent the wheel' just to be different. Iwi economic development seeks to grow new opportunities that respond to a range of iwi-centric variables, including iwi employment, wealth creation, social improvement, and cultural enhancement.

The mantra of 'land was taken, land should be returned' is still overtly stated as a key driver for iwi claims. This is because land is considered to not only have economic value, but is also a political, social and cultural asset. Therefore what counts as wealth in respect of land goes far beyond its economic worth. For some iwi, though, the problem of being "asset rich and cash poor" is a reality, and this has impacted on the way in which economic development was and is undertaken. However, the potential for iwi to be involved and in control of a diverse range of economic development initiatives is relatively high.

9.6.5 **EMPLOYMENT**

Iwi purposefully identified assisting school leavers into employment, and job creation, but they should also be wary of the false promise of credentials: Good credentials simply make students more employable and not necessarily employed. Job creation and employment must be understood as two distinctive variables – often these two elements are confused as being the same thing. The argument for iwi economic strategies that consider the potential for the creation of new and sustainable work opportunities, as well as the potential for iwi employment opportunities, is more relevant

9.6.6 **WEALTH CREATION**

Iwi seek to get more from their existing asset base, with appropriate reflection of broader iwi cultural expectations to protect and sustain the common asset base. There is also an emerging trend of iwi seeking to calculate individual member's wealth as part of the overall iwi asset consideration. This is a common call across most iwi economic strategies, aimed both at individual iwi members and at tribal governance and management levels. At the same time, an emerging phenomenon is causing concern, specifically, that of iwi commercially exploiting other iwi. Again, informed decision-making that goes beyond financial considerations and includes other socio-cultural elements is required.

9.7 **ASPIRATIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The development of aspirational frameworks for each of the four iwi took account of their own peculiarities, and was the first project in the research programme. Initially, the iwi researchers focused on gaining information pertaining to Māori economic development specifically. However, the research team realised that iwi had similar yet different ways of articulating the aspirations of iwi members. Aspirational frameworks included underlying values and principles, strategies, goals and outcomes, and processes that align with iwi imperatives across social, cultural, economic, environmental and political spheres.

9.8 MODELS AND SCENARIOS FOR MĀORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The second project of the research programme involved exploring scenarios, developing models, frameworks or templates that support economic development options for each of the four iwi. Iwi had quite different approaches to model development and scenario analysis. Incorporating tribal values, critical uncertainties were chosen to ascertain particular scenarios in the case of one iwi, which were termed 'plausible worlds'. For each plausible world, tensions (or extremes) were identified and the implications deliberated. Scenario analysis reflected the core values of another iwi, where improved governance and managerial capacity, and vertical and horizontal integration, were explored. A model that physically and visually represents possible options for development was applied. Finally, two iwi considered the perceived benefits and opportunity costs of potential gains in employment, given certain demographic conditions. Cultural imperatives were not overtly considered, but are present in education, health and other industries. Thus, a purely economic tool was used to project scenarios for these two iwi.

9.9 HE WHARE TUPU TANGATA: FUTURES FRAMEWORK

In seeking commonalities across the four iwi sites, it was agreed that a horizontal analysis would more appropriately occur at the level of values, philosophy and policy intention. For example, all iwi were interested in building their cultural capital, all were interested in building their economic capacity, and all were interested in enhancing work opportunities. However, as a general statement, all four iwi were quite different in the practical implementation of their approaches. Thus, the iwi case studies have been considered more as independent, context-specific responses. These two approaches to our analysis are termed 'horizontal' (commonalities) and 'vertical' (idiosyncratic) development.

He Whare Tupu Tangata, as a framework, has been developed to assist iwi in the implementation and monitoring of progress of economic development strategies and vision. The evaluation component of performance to the specific iwi context is separate given that iwi themselves need to have autonomy over that aspect. As such, iwi will not be forced to engage in a methodology that in the end may well produce or highlight the tension between generic Māori and specific iwi aspirations.

10. **HE ARO WHAKAMUA**
FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It is clear that iwi view the emerging Māori economy and economic self-development strategies as a means to transform the current condition of high and disproportionate levels of social and cultural underdevelopment. A second imperative lies in the perceived potential of the Māori economy to galvanise the development initiatives of Māori and iwi across traditional divides, blending environmental, socio-cultural, and political aspirations with economic imperatives. In this chapter, and in keeping with the above priorities and other research findings, considerations and directions for future work and research on Māori economic development are presented.

10.1 **EXTENDING CURRENT UNDERSTANDINGS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Iwi and Māori development that points to future opportunities, prospects, and directions should not be viewed as a movement away from the traditional western economic view. The issue here is for western-centric notions to be more connected to Māori aspirations and to take account of the current proportions of Māori social, economic and cultural marginalisation. Māori economic development requires more flexibility in its conception and framing, beyond the traditional view that Māori are either rural or urban dwellers. Māori live and work in all parts of the world, so economic strategies need to respond to iwi and Māori being located in a variety of sites. In defining Māori economic development, iwi and government agencies involved in Māori economic development need to continue taking on board a broader development focus in policy and planning. An observation is that further analysis could be conducted on the impact of those strategies on whānau and hapū, and whether economic development strategies are congruent with whānau and hapū aspirations. Further analysis is required to confirm the extent of the connection between economic and other well-being imperatives.

10.2 **FORMATION OF AN IWI-FOCUSED NATIONAL FORUM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Given the diversity and complexities of iwi responsibilities and obligations in relation to iwi, hapū, and whānau development, and the foci of current Māori economic development fora[6], there is compelling evidence to suggest that an iwi-focused national forum be established on Māori economic development. Perhaps then, Māori and iwi will avoid the pitfalls of promoting Māori economic development strategies that are aligned to and within a western frame. Iwi and Māori must challenge these and the ability of current structures to adequately respond to the economic development needs and aspirations of iwi and Māori. For Māori economic development to have a transforming effect, iwi and Māori cannot remain outside-looking-in, but must be more proactive in meeting the challenges ahead.

6 Current mechanisms, for example, the Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA), the Māori Economic Development Taskforce, and the Iwi Leaders Forum do not adequately meet that need. The current Māori Economic Development Panel (MEDP) represents the Crown partnership which proposes Māori economic development strategies that align to government priorities (a western frame) rather than iwi or Māori aspirations, goals and objectives.

10.3 GROWING IWI LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AND CAPABILITY

Not surprisingly, iwi governance structures, management practices and accountability processes were criticised by iwi members within the research examples. This suggests that elements of iwi governance ought to be exponentially improved, have more control of development intentions and outcomes, be more confident about implementing strategies, and be more transparent in their management practices. Iwi governance and leadership responsibilities and obligations are to set the strategy to achieve agreed iwi aspirations. As a consequence, it is important to assure the required capacity and capabilities are present for iwi to undertake their own projects, rather than overly depend on external expertise. In this respect, iwi should ensure that governance members have adequate training and support not only in their areas of 'expertise', but also in the Māori and iwi domains. They must understand western thinking and be able to monitor external input and engagement, but not reproduce it internally. This is important because it will work to lessen the currency of contradictory strategies. More diverse notions of leadership are therefore required. They might involve exploring wider sections and levels of Māori and iwi societies to reinstate both traditional and customary leadership from within whānau, hapū and iwi on one hand; on the other hand, leadership that is already present in socio-cultural contexts might also be considered.

10.4 DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURALLY AND CONTEXTUALLY-APPROPRIATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MODELS AND STRATEGIES

Over-claiming the success of the models and structures currently utilised by iwi is cautioned. Indeed, a critically reflective approach to a transforming purpose is encouraged. It is sensed that there is vulnerability for iwi who uncritically adopt Pākehā models. Iwi governance is encouraged to be more confident in developing, utilising or adapting culturally and/or contextually-relevant models and structures, thus changing from a shareholder to a stakeholder focus. This would likely prevent disconnection from the overall strategies to achieve iwi social, cultural and economic aspirations. A concentrated effort is required to train more Māori economists who have a consciousness about iwi positioning and who have the confidence and competence in two worlds to work with iwi to develop appropriate economic outcomes that are aligned with iwi aspirations. There is still a mono-cultural read with a western measurement of what the contribution of the Māori economy is to the overall New Zealand economy, rather than simply looking at the contribution of the Māori economy to Māori.

10.5 CONTINUED STATE RESPONSIBILITY

Ongoing colonisation issues resulting from Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes remain contentious. For example, government claims to full and final settlement of historical claims in the main only address property rights guaranteed under articles one and two of the Treaty of Waitangi. There has been very little, if any, discussion on the elements of article three relating to personal rights, such as citizenship and equality. If in fact the Treaty of Waitangi settlements are to be considered as 'full and final', then personal rights have been commodified into property rights. Furthermore, there is a rising expectation that Māori dependency on social redress is no longer the responsibility of the state and that iwi now need to be responsible for this. Somehow the obligation on the state is diminished. The anomaly here is that Māori are also tax payers and might expect to be supported by the state where appropriate. This scenario needs to be read against the formation of the neo-liberal economic context and the movement away from state welfare to the user pays economy. While we acknowledge these conditions, iwi need to move on these issues, invoking self-development models of intervention (360-degree), whilst recognising that the state still has a responsibility to Māori as individual citizens

10.6 **ESTABLISHMENT OF IWI ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE UNITS**

As part of this research, it is proposed that iwi consider the establishment of their own economic intelligence unit. Such entities would be charged with the task of providing up-to-date data of the progress made against the transforming intentions of the iwi. It would provide further demographic mapping of iwi resources and people. Furthermore, such a unit would help to develop more accurate information to enable effective change responsive to the needs of the iwi. Iwi economic intelligence units might:

- Create and define a space for Māori economic research;
- Be independent;
- Be iwi and Māori owned, operated and controlled;
- Produce applied, practical and robust research;
- Build capacity and capability in the field of economic research; and
- Be transforming in its intention.

10.7 **PRACTICAL & MORE IMMEDIATE OUTPUTS & OUTCOMES**

In order to make progress towards achieving the future directions outlined above, some practical and more immediate initiatives are currently being progressed by the research team. These include:

- Marae, hapū, iwi and community presentations, workshops and roadshow;
- Engagement with national and international academics, researchers, local government and community leaders;
- Written publications, in popular and academic forums; and
- Informing iwi and government policy development.

11. **NGĀ PUNA KŌRERO**

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HE WHAKAMĀRAMA MŌ HE MANGŌPARE AMOHIA

AN EXPLANATION OF THE VISUAL CONCEPT AND REPORT TITLE

Te pātere a Te Kaporangi (te whiti tuatahi)

E noho ana anō ahau ki te koko ki Ōhiwa
Whakarongo rua aku taringa ki te tai o tua rā o Kanawa
E aki mai ana ki uta rā ki te whānau a Tairongo
Kei Tauwhare ko te kōpua o te ururoa
Ko te kai rā i rari noa mai te raweketia e te ringaringa

As I reside in the bay of Ōhiwa
I hear the call of the tide at Kanawa
Urging me to join the clan of Tairongo
At Tauwhare is the dwelling place of the shark
The abundant food that has been disturbed by the hand of man (J. Mason, personal communication, 5 May 2015).

Ōhiwa is a harbour recognised for centuries as bountiful with natural resources and life, sustaining food sources for many generations of ancestors. The first generation of inhabitants descended from Makoirangi, followed by a generation of inhabitants descended from Tiwakawaka, Maku and Kupe. Maku first named Ōhiwa, Te Kōpua-o-te-ururoa or Te Kōpu-o-te-ururoa, the place where the different types of sharks, ururoa, were known to come and spawn. The ururoa were considered the guardians of Ōhiwa Harbour. Among these were the mangōpare (hammerhead shark), as well as tohorā (whales), who descend from Ruamano. The ururoa would all come to multiply and thrive at Ōhiwa. Te Tini o Toi were another generation of inhabitants, as well as Te Hapū Oneone, and the Panenehu people. Awanuiārangi I descends from these early inhabitants. Ōhiwa became the tūrangawaewae (standing place) and food basket of Awanuiārangi I. Later the Rangimātoru, Arautauta and Ōtūrereao waka came, bringing the infamous navigator Tairongo from Rapanui, and the mana whenua (customary authority) of Tairongo included Tauwhare Pā, as well as Uretara and Hokianga Islands. Ōhiwa, its harbour and islands, are still referred to as Te Umukai a Tairongo, or the food store and earth oven of Tairongo, and the estuary is also known as Te Moana a Tairongo, or the ocean of Tairongo (Black, 2014). Te Moana a Tairongo was for centuries acknowledged as a place of prosperity, growth and sustainability through careful management of resources. Tikanga were developed and have remained in place to continue the sustainability of resources. Kaitiakitanga practices were developed by successive generations through observation and mutual respect of natural life cycles. The elements, and the traits and characteristics of other life forms that inhabited the Ōhiwa Harbour, also informed these practices. In particular Tauwhare Pā is still acknowledged as te kōpu o te mangōpare, where the natural life cycle of this species of shark is supported.

Mangōpare has been used as a metaphor in the visual design of *He Mangōpare Amohia, Strategies for Māori Economic Development*. The mangōpare represents many instinctive qualities of survival and sustainability. The migratory and grouping habits of the mangōpare, highlight the defining of territorial boundaries, and although they are free to migrate, they return to traditional grounds to spawn. Stealth like, agile creatures, the mangōpare is a formidable hunter, assertive, aggressive and focused. They have the ability to operate alone but they also come together as a collective when the need arises, nurturing their young and protecting their boundaries, behaving in many respects, like whānau, hapū and iwi collectives. The flat face and extending side protrusions of the head, provide the mangōpare with a unique 360 degree purview. Therefore, depending on the clearness of the water, the mangōpare not only sees what is happening in the water, but also what is happening on land. Thus determining appropriate responses to changes in its purview is an embedded trait that aids the survival of the collective and therefore the species. The mangōpare silhouette has been featured throughout this document, symbolic of an all-encompassing perspective. A perspective that resonates with Māori views of the world.

As with Ngāti Awa and other iwi and hapū of the Ōhiwa Harbour, the mangōpare holds significance for other iwi associated with this research report. The title of this

report, *He Mangōpare Amohia*, is an expression that appears in the waiata (song), 'Ko te Amorangi'. This waiata was composed by the late Canon Wi Te Tau Huata of Ngāti Kahungunu, one of the participating iwi within this research programme, and contains a number of whakataukī pertinent to the tribe. The traditions of the Tākitimu canoe, which embraces a number of iwi including Ngāti Kahungunu, speak of the guardian Ruamano. While some narratives suggest that Ruamano was 'unseen', others suggest that he took the form of a whale or a shark, and led Tākitimu from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. For Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the mangōpare is a symbol of strength, power, dedication and perseverance. It is a symbol that embellishes the rafters of whare tīpuna, and often adorns the tāhuhu, and is referred to as Te Mangō-ururoa (The Milky Way), exemplifying celes-

tial knowledge and all that is great and mystical. The mangōpare pattern is also evident in tā moko (tattoo): When the pattern branches off the manawa (the centre line) of facial moko, it announces social status and family rank in order of birth (R. Ruha, personal communication, 22 April 2015). Ngāpuhi traditional narratives recognise that the mangōpare is a kaitiaki for some coastal hapū, and is an example of an enduring connection between people and the sea. Thus, given the historical and contemporary references to mangōpare across all four iwi sites, it was appropriate that mangōpare provide the visual and conceptual link between the four iwi, and feature in the title of this research report, highlighting iwi endeavours towards strong and assertive strategies for future economic development.

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