Whakapümau Te Mauri

Values-based Mäori Organisations

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Colin Knox

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KARAKIA MO TE ATA
Nā Hēmi Te Peeti

Maramarama te ata

Te ata ki uta

Maramarama te ata

Te ata ki tai

Maramarama ā Nuku

Maramarama ā Rangi

Kiā tū te ihiihi

Kiā tū te wanawana

Kiā tū te ohooho

Tenei te tangi ā te manu

Korori, korora

Kia āta tangi mai

Kia āta rongo mai

Kia whakahoro mai

Te arongo o te Hā

Tēnā te Pō

Nau mai te Ao!

Kui! Kui!

Whiti whiti ora!

Abstract

The political and economic history of New Zealand since the turn of the nineteenth century has been characterised by the colonisation of the indigenous Māori people by settlers mainly from Britain. In 1840 the British Crown and representative Māori Rangatira signed the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed to Māori continuing ownership of their land and natural resources, and self determination under the protection of the Crown. What Māori did not know in signing the Treaty was that already thousands of new settlers were being recruited in Britain on the promise of a paradise, where vacant land could be purchased cheaply and every man was the equal of his master.

While the Māori population was in decline following the introduction of disease and the musket, the immigrant European population exploded. It established a Westminster styled Government which in its early years included no Māori, and passed laws which over the next 50 years alienated Māori from 95% of their land, prevented Māori from accumulating capital and participating in the most rewarding industries, and imposed alien social institutions on a previously well organised and successful people.

For many Māori in the twenty-first century, the legacy of colonisation has been either marginalisation in rural communities on land frozen by legal structures which run counter to traditional values and procedures, or migration to towns and cities where employment opportunities are mainly in less skilled work and subject to variation in the economy.

This thesis examines the extent of the displacement of the institutions of Māori society and its impact on the development of Māori land and other assets. It proposes an approach which could assist shareholders in Māori land to reassert traditional values and tikanga and promote collective decision making, while gaining understanding of the concepts and language of business and organisations and a skill base for greater participation in the organisations which own and manage their assets.

The research results are promising, with participants in a research project accepting an approach to governance and organisation which bridges tikanga and modern business structures. There is evidence from an extended case study that the approach engenders a confidence which has positive social and cultural outcomes while encouraging the development of Māori land.

Acknowledgements

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Diagrams

Glossary of Māori Terms

ahu	tend, foster
aroha	love, sympathy
atawhai	show kindness
äwhi	embrace, foster, cherish
äwhina	help, assist
hangaia te kaupapa	building the agenda
harakeke	flax
hohou rongo	making peace
hui	meeting, gathering
hui taumata	meeting of leaders
iwi kainga	local people
kai moana	Seafood
kainga	home
kaitiakitanga	protection, caring
karakia	prayer-chant, service
kaumätua	respected elder
kaumätuatanga	respect for elders
kaupapa	basic idea, topic, plan
kawa	ceremonial
kete matauranga	basket of knowledge
kowhai raparapa	yellow adhesive notes (e.g. 'Post-it' notes)
kura	school
mahi tahi	work together
mahi-a-ngakau reasons	work done for heartfelt
mahinga kai	cultivation
mana	power, influence
manaaki	entertain, befriend
manaaki tëtahi i tëtahi	generosity toward each other
manaakitanga	generosity
manuhiri	guest, visitor
mäoritanga	Mäori culture
marae	meeting ground
mätauranga	knowledge
muru	plunder, rub out, forgive
Ngapuhi nui tonu	the iwi of te tai Tokerau
Päkehä	not Mäori, European
pito	end, navel
pöwhiri	welcome

purutanga	holding
rangatahi	young people
rangatira	chief
rohe	district
röpu tuku iho	traditional group (whänau, hapü, iwi)
runanga	assembly, debate
takawaenga	go-between, mediator
take	cause, subject for discussion
tamariki	children
tamariki and mokopuna	children and grandchildren, not necessarily of direct descent
tangata	people
tangata whenua	local people
tangihanga	burial ceremony
taonga	property, treasure, artefact
tauiwi	foreigner
taumata	high place, speakers' bench
tautoko	support
te ara tika	the right path
te reo Mäori	Mäori language
tiaki	guard, keep
tika me pono	right and proper
tikanga	custom, rule, principle
tiki pounamu	carved greenstone ornament
tuku iho	handed down
tüpuna	grandparents and older generations
ükaipö	mother, place of nourishment
utu	value, price, revenge
waiata	song
wairuatanga	spirituality
whakahuihui	gathered
whakaiti	humble
whakamana	honour
whakamarumaru	shelter
whakangungu	defend, protect
whakapapa	genealogy
whakarite mana	legal contract
whakawhanaungatanga	acknowledging family ties
whänau	family
whänau whänui	extended family
whanaungatanga	family ties
whenua	land

Chapter One – Introduction to the Research Topic

Introduction

Since settlement by European settlers around the beginning of the nineteenth century, Māori have been progressively and purposefully displaced as major land owners of New Zealand. By the beginning of the twenty-first century Māori had retained only a small fraction of the land they once owned, and there were numerous barriers to its economic development. Some of the barriers related to the poor social and economic status of Māori relative to Europeans, which raised issues such as funding development. Additionally, the land left in Māori hands was of poor quality and unsuited for most agriculture. But perhaps the major barrier to land development has been the displacement of Māori customs and culture by European laws and processes which have obliged Māori to adopt a governance and organisation model which is inappropriate and, in many cases, ineffective.

This thesis investigates:

- the traditional ways in which Māori society was organised prior to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, and the values and tikanga which underpinned it;
- the ways in which Māori society was changed by the ingress of Europeans from the early nineteenth century, and the implications for the Māori economy;
- the inadequacy of the Pakeha organisational model under which most Māori activities have been conducted since the mid twentieth century;
- the barriers to the development of much rural Māori land which currently prevent Māori from utilising their assets to best advantage; and
- a new approach to Māori organisations which will result in better outcomes for the owners of Māori land.

Chapter One introduces the investigation, discussing the reason why the study was undertaken, the significance of the subject in terms of Māori development, and setting out the research question, two hypotheses, and the approach to the research.

The initial thinking about this research project began in 1998 during discussions at Te Wananga o Raukawa around a perceived threat to the survival of whanau and hapū, and in particular to the values and customs by which they operated. These important Māori institutions appeared to be under attack from several directions.

1) There was the pervasive encouragement of individualism as opposed to a collective focus, which had been introduced by the new settlers and continued in social policy as well as mass advertising and popular literature which extols the virtues of the rugged individual. The focus on self, rather than family or community, seemed to gain increasing dominance.

2) At a conference held at Massey University in July 1998 (Te Ora Rangahau)[1] many of the papers presented by Māori academics and opinion leaders related to an ongoing erosion of a Māori way of looking at the world, and a continuing trivialisation of Māori spiritual or cultural values through widespread refusal by Government and its agencies to accept their validity. (See Mutu[2], for example.)

3) The constant undermining, devaluing and casual ridiculing of Māori traditions and values has had its impact on tikanga Māori as a daily reality in the conduct of Māori business, education and home life. After decades of Māori ways being unfavourably compared with Pakeha ways (see Hohepa[3]), many if not most whanau and hapu have adopted European procedures for the conduct of business. The situation may have been reached where whanau and hapu were unable to manage their land and other assets in a way which reflected the traditional values and protocols which have survived for centuries.

The situation of Māori land appeared to encapsulate many of the adversities and issues faced by Māori after one hundred and fifty years of colonisation by Europeans. The almost complete alienation of Māori from their most fertile land was completed within fifty years of the introduction of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The Native Land Court began the fragmentation of Māori land in 1865 through processes which overturned user-rights as the basis of inheritance and succession. The introduction of statutory boards and government agencies to manage Māori farms introduced legal structures and meeting procedures which undermined traditional leadership, the tradition of collective decision making, and the values and tikanga on which they were based. Customary governance models were displaced by those introduced by the settlers.

Official reports suggest that most Māori land is under-utilised or under-developed. Te Puni Kokiri reported the following regarding the Māori freehold land base[4]:

- Approximately 1.5 million hectares
- 5.6% of the total New Zealand area
- 95% concentrated in the North Island
- An estimated 600 hectares (40% of total Māori land) are under-developed

- 50% of Māori land (25% of all land blocks) is vested in ahu whenua trusts
- 20% of land (64% of all land blocks) has no formalised administrative structure
- 9% of Māori land (134,000 hectares) is managed by the Māori Trustee office

Only 0.4% of Māori land is classed as prime, having virtually no limitations to arable use. A further 2.7% is good land with slight limitations to arable use and 5.7% has moderate limitations to arable use, restricting the crops that can be grown. The remaining 91.2% of Māori land is severely limited, with 13.3% classed as having severe limitations or hazards for any agricultural use[5]. Many of the land blocks are relatively small, as Table 1.1 shows[6]:

Table 1.1 Average Land Block Area

	Total Māori Land (ha)	No. of Land Blocks	Ave. ha Per Block
Tai Tokerau	139,873	4,889	29
Maniapoto	143,388	3,594	40
Waiariki	4256,595	5,074	84
Tairawhiti	310,631	5,320	48
Takitimu	88,608	1,254	71
Aotea	334,207	3,710	90
Te Wai Pounamu	71,769	1,795	40

Ministry of Agriculture and Forests statistics[7] show that most Māori land is owned by at least twelve owners, creating difficulties for development of the land.

> Maori freehold land comprises about one and a half million hectares — almost 6 percent of NZ's land mass. There are 26,487 blocks of Maori freehold land divided among 2,739,912 ownership interests. Nearly 70 percent of Maori land blocks have less than 50 ownership interests. They have an average of 12 ownership interests each. However, at the other end of the scale, more than 500 Maori land blocks have a thousand or more ownership interests each, with one block having 12,818 ownership interests.

These statistics summarise the consequences of government policies in the nineteenth century to alienate Māori land, followed by government policies to allocate title and settle Māori by the first quarter of the twentieth century on what land was left.

There has been widespread transfer of whanau and hapu owned assets into organisations such as Trusts and Māori Incorporations. The predominance of these legislated governance and management structures was in various ways intended to provide protection for Māori land from neglectful, or sometimes intentional actions of leading shareholders, to the detriment of the majority. However these institutions, albeit well intentioned, conduct their affairs within a

framework which normalises tikanga Pakeha business and decision making models in a manner which is arguably antithetical to tikanga Māori.

While there are many barriers to the development of Māori land there are also many positive motives for undertaking development. Some are suggested by M H Durie[8] and include the following as goals for Māori social progress:

- Positive participation in society as Māori;
- Positive participation in Māori society;
- Vibrant Māori communities;
- Enhanced whanau capacities;
- Māori autonomy (Tino Rangatiratanga);
- Te Reo Māori used in multiple domains;
- Practice of Māori culture, knowledge and values;
- Regenerated Māori land base;
- Guaranteed Māori access to clean and healthy environment;
- Resource sustainability and accessibility.

Many of these goals assume a traditional connection between Māori and the land. They assume a place where a community can gather to declare its identity, carry on its important rituals, tell the stories of its ancestry and history, and teach its culture and values. It is therefore important that social and cultural considerations are satisfied while ensuring that land development is viable.

The history of land use by Māori is by no means negative. It includes a period of highly successful agriculture and horticulture on a significant scale (see Sutch[9].) Firth[10] noted that "Māori tribes [pre 1840] were involved in extensive agriculture, milling, shipping and trade as they readily adopted the new technology while maintaining economic independence." Every village was able to sustain itself through cultivation, hunting and trapping, and gathering natural foods. The impressive history of Māori agriculture, and the relatively inglorious circumstances of today suggest two hypotheses for research.

The first of these arises from the deprecation of tikanga Māori, its values and important protocols, and assumes that there are within tikanga Māori certain elements which have proved to be imperative to the survival and well being of whānau and hapū.

Hypothesis One:

Where Māori organisations fail to observe the important values and protocols of tikanga Māori they become dysfunctional and debilitated in that they fail to meet critical objectives. Where tikanga is restored, then Māori organisations will become functional and robust.

Supporting this hypothesis were several pieces of research and a number of official reports, among them a report by the Māori Health Commission[11] to the Minister of Māori Affairs concerning the delivery of health services to Māori:

> The second point to emerge was values. These are the things that make us unique as Māori, are part of our identity as Māori, and must remain paramount within any contemporary health framework. The values are:

> (a)   **Māori identity** – the recognition of 'Māori as Māori' as a part of New Zealand society. Māori identity is upheld through whanau, hapu and iwi.

> (b)   **Whanaungatanga** – whanaungatanga is a basic construct of Te Ao Māori and provides a sense of belonging, identification and collective strength. Whanaungatanga must always be an integral part of any health service provision for Māori.

> (c)   **Wairuatanga** – wairuatanga is the life force that exists within us that has brought the past into the present for the future."

A 1997 report to Te Puni Kokiri[12] on the success of iwi service providers asked "what are the determinants of Māori provider success across education, health, employment and training?", and found the following factors for successful iwi and Māori organisations:

> The overarching facilitators of success identified by the providers were:

> - Being guided by the vision as handed down by ancestors
> - Being able to determine your own future
> - The operationalism of Māori values and practices
> - Relationships with others are based on mutual respect, equality, clear understandings and clear parameters
> - Collaborative relationships with other organisations and agencies to ensure that providers are not competing with one another within competitive funding and policy regimes
> - Regular self-evaluation using both formal and informal methods
> - Recognition by external evaluators of the providers' kaupapa and values
> - Recognition of providers as credible
> - Policy that provided providers with a stable yet flexible funding environment
> - Policy that included input from providers' whanau, hapu, iwi and Māori communities

Despite the different fields of endeavour, the opinions of Māori providers of social services regarding the factors which drive their success are valuable to a study of organisation development. They underline the importance of researching customary Māori values and tikanga to investigate their relationship to the performance of Māori organisations today. For example, the Māori Multiple Owned Land Development Committee[13] (MMOLDC) of the Māori Economic Development Commission which was established by the Labour Coalition

Government in 1988 reported a philosophy which recognised the intense spiritual significance land holds for Māori and suggested that:

> Māori land development cannot be dissociated from Māori human development in all of its cultural, social, economic or political form.

Te Puni Kokiri also received a report on "factors inhibiting or impeding Māori economic development[14]" which measured post school qualifications, Māori unemployment, self-employment and median Māori income as indicators of economic position. The findings were analysed under the following paragraph headings:

1. Skills/Management
2. Resources (Money, Assets, People, Information)
3. Legislation/Government
4. Organisational Structures/Processes
5. Non-Māori Values
6. Māori Values
-7. Finance
8. Less Important Issues – Socio-economic factors, Politics and History

While accepting the importance of headings 1 – 7, this thesis suggests that socio-economic factors, politics and history have also been critical issues for whanau and hapu attempting developments on Māori land. In particular, the displacement of customary Māori values and tikanga by Pakeha rules and processes has created tension and instability in many Māori organisations, and has led to poor outcomes.

The second hypothesis relates to specific difficulties which have arisen with respect to Māori land.

Hypothesis Two

There are real barriers to the development of rural Maori land:

External barriers	• *Location, size, suitability for agriculture and horticulture* • *Lack of capital, current indebtedness*
Internal barriers	• *Inappropriate governance structure for development activities* • *Lack of skill, knowledge and experience in land use or management* • *Lack of trust and satisfaction of owners with each other*

and there is an approach which will allow Māori land owners to overcome these problems.

This hypothesis suggests that there are two kinds of barriers to the economic development of Māori land; external and internal. External barriers are rarely within the scope of shareholders to adjust. For example, the reluctance of financial institutions to lend money for the development of Māori land, its current indebtedness, the size and suitability of land blocks for

agriculture, the remote location of many land blocks, and the large number of owners of some relatively small land blocks are all matters which cannot be addressed directly by shareholders.

In 1907 Apirana Ngata and Robert Stout were appointed as the Stout-Ngata Commission[15] looking into the state of Māori land, and wrote:

> The spectacle is presented to us of a people starving in the midst of plenty. If it is difficult for the European settler to acquire Māori land owing to complications of title, it is more difficult for the individual Māori owner to acquire his own land, be he ever so ambitious and capable of using it. His energy is dissipated in the Land Courts in a protracted struggle, first, to establish his own right to it, and, secondly, to detach himself from the numerous other owners to whom he is genealogically bound in the title. And when he has succeeded he is handicapped by want of capital, by lack of training ...

In 1998 the MMOLDC[16] identified title fragmentation as a problem:

> Historical factors include the problems flowing from the introduction of individualised title for Māori land last century, and the decisions made by the Māori Land Court implementing successive legislation. Problems of succession and title fragmentation have contributed to land being alienated or abandoned.
>
> ...
>
> Rates arrears have been a major reason for land being alienated. Changes to legislation, and attempts to overcome the worst problems of multiple land ownership, have been only partially successful. The problems involve a large and growing number of people. Nearly two million separate ownership interests are now registered for Māori land.

Where there are many owners of relatively small land blocks owners may be unwilling to assume personal responsibility for debts (such as rates or land taxes) which steadily accrue to the land. Māori land which is encumbered by such debt effectively paralyses owners in their desire to develop the land. Recently, however, there have been moves to remove this barrier. In a bid to encourage owners to take action formerly considered beyond their financial capability some local authorities have resolved to remit arrears in land taxes and waive further taxes until the land is brought into development. For example, the Far North District Council[17] has recognised that the nature of Māori land is different to General Land and has formulated policy to deal with some of the issues. Subject to the land and its ownership meeting certain criteria, owners may be eligible to receive rating relief either in the form of a remission of rates for a maximum of three years, or the postponement of rate arrears.

Internal barriers relate to matters such as the lack of management skill and experience of many resident land owners. This poses a major difficulty for land owners contemplating the development of their assets. For a variety of reasons there will be considerable variation among owners in the level of skill, knowledge and experience they can bring to the governance and management of their assets.

Some of these reasons are associated with the relocation of many Māori of working age to the towns and cities in search of more certain and rewarding employment. Rankin-Kawharu[18] refers to the inadequate income some family obtained for working on the farm:

> The economics of that time made it increasingly difficult to keep up with such things as mortgage payments. Advice from Māori Affairs Department field officers, whilst being pertinent to good farming practice, was not geared to accounting for management of income relative to debt. When better employment opportunities and incomes beckoned, both at the local freezing works and the dairy factory at Moerewa and at Ohaewai, and further afield in Auckland, small holdings were increasingly being left, particularly by the young.

Other reasons involve the complexity of achieving informed decisions from descendants of the original owners, who have inherited their interests and may have little experience or knowledge of commercial matters, or of legal structures and meeting procedures. The MMOLDC[19] observed:

> Current shareholders in multiple-owned land still face the problems of disputes and the need to gain agreement for any development, not only from all shareholders, but also in most cases from the Māori Land Court... Often they lack basic management skills including the awareness of where to go to for help.

> While some Māori multiple owned land has been developed in innovative ways, and some land is under-developed by the deliberate choice of its owners, there is anecdotal evidence that an increasing proportion of the remainder is being abandoned by its owners...

Governance structures and meeting procedures based on the Pakeha model rather than the more familiar hui may appear to be more efficient, but in reality are not inviting to shareholders. Communication with shareholders has become a major problem for some land blocks, causing uncertainty and reluctance to develop on the part of trustees.

Research Question

The exploration of these two hypotheses will provide information to answer the over-arching research question:

Is there a new approach to Māori organisations which will lead to best outcomes for the owners of Māori land?

In addressing this question there are some preliminary issues which need to be explored, namely:

- What is Māori land?

- Who are the owners of Māori land?
- What does "best outcomes" mean?

What is Māori Land?

"Māori land" is a term which has been discussed extensively and variously defined, but for the purposes of this thesis the definition in the 1980 report of the Royal Commission on the Māori Land Court[20] is the most suitable:

> ... that which has never been alienated from Māori ownership and is still multiply-owned, predominantly by Māoris .

The fundamental concept is multiple ownership.

Whose Land?

In accordance with the traditional Pakeha point of view, the owners of an area or block of land which is defined in a legal title are the people whose names appear on the title deed as owners. They may be individuals or registered as members of an organisation which has title to the land, or the owner may be a legal entity such as a limited liability company, incorporated society, Māori incorporation, or Trust. The reality, however, is not so simple.

Māori user-rights were traditionally granted to whānau but reverted to hapū if usage ceased. Since the establishment of the Native Land Court under the Native Lands Act 1865 to impose the English system of individual freehold title, title to Māori land was allocated to a small group among all of the whānau who had traditional user-rights. The court also decided which whānau would succeed to the land and how it would be partitioned among the registered owners. The legislation was changed in 1983 with emphasis on retaining what little land was left in Māori hands, and was subsumed in the Te Ture Whenua Act 1993. The inherent problems of succession by all of the children of both parents are not addressed by the legislation, and fragmentation continues at an increasing rate with each new generation of shareholders.

Furthermore, the records of the Māori Land Court are not always accurate when it comes to identifying the entitlement to succeed to Māori land, and are not always available for inspection. The result is that there is sometimes uncertainty with respect to the accuracy and completeness of records of ownership. For example Rankin-Kawharu[21] cites difficulties in tracing owners in Oromahoe. Other difficulties can arise when members of a hapu or extended family which has been associated with the district in which a particular area or block of land is located may believe that they have a legal claim to share in the block, even though their direct ownership link is unclear. There are numerous small blocks of land which remain vacant because of confusion over the entitlement of possible owners.

The uncertainty over entitlement has two effects which may be negative for land development. First, there is the confusion over ownership which might be the source of later challenge, particularly if the development is successful (there is a saying that "success is relative – the more success, the more relatives"). Second, there may be the assumption that the extended family has the ability to exert influence on an owner with respect to possession, use or disposal of the land. Their influence may be through their right to participate in hui held at their marae, or through their position as respected leaders or contributors to the affairs of the whanau and hapu of the district.

Other factors affect progress in development. For example, a considerable proportion of Māori land has so many owners that it would not be able to return a significant dividend to them as individuals even if it was developed to its greatest commercial potential. This naturally lessens the interest of owners in taking any commercial risk which might be associated with developing their land.

A further factor is that where the agreement of the owners of Māori land is required before any significant modification to possession, use or disposal can be carried out, there may be a number of other interested parties, both Māori and Pakeha, who are stakeholders in the land and whose prior involvement is required. Stakeholders are people or organisations who demonstrate the ability to interfere with an owner's property rights, often because they consider that they (or a community whom they claim to represent) will be adversely affected by some aspect of the (official) owner's current or proposed possession or use or disposal of the land. This interference may be supported by statutes or regulations made by government or other agencies which are legally entitled to interfere with an owner's rights, and there is a host of planning restrictions and by-laws which exist precisely for this purpose. To the extent that stakeholders are able to influence owners in exercising their rights they can be considered to have partial ownership of the land (see Kujala[22]). For Māori land owners dealing with these legal complications can be a daunting prospect and can make procrastination a more attractive option.

Finally, because much Māori land remains undeveloped it is often the last remaining evidence of the natural landscape of New Zealand, and so may be under pressure from public interest groups to remain untouched. For example, the settlement of Ngai Tahu claims through the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal is explained by the Department of Conservation[23] in a news bulletin (undated):

> The Crown's settlement with Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998) recognised the Crown's failure to honour obligations made over the last 150 years. It aimed to restore the mana of Ngāi Tahu and restore the honour of the Crown by settling

historical grievances. To date, Ngāi Tahu is the biggest land based claim the Waitangi Tribunal has considered and required several years of hearings and negotiations. The full and final settlement between the Crown and Ngāi Tahu covers many aspects, including an apology by the Crown for its grave wrong-doings and a redress package of cash, land and new legal provisions. The settlement had considerable implications for the Department of Conservation and the land it manages. The settlement has provided the basis for mutual co-operation and partnerships in conservation between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown.

...

The Minister and the Director-General retain all their current functions and responsibilities under legislation including final decision-making. Ngai Tahu has gained greater input into conservation management through legislation and guaranteed representation on bodies such as species recovery groups, regional Conservation Boards and the New Zealand Conservation Authority. The settlement clearly set out what is expected of the Department with regard to respecting Ngāi Tahu values and consulting with Ngāi Tahu over matters of mutual interest. Ownership of some land administered by the Department has been transferred to Ngāi Tahu. Where appropriate, public access and conservation values have been protected and preserved.

Within the rhetoric lies the official view that Ngai Tahu land now represents such a scarce resource for all New Zealanders that it cannot be given back to its rightful owners. The value of the settlement to Ngai Tahu, although largely symbolic, is immense in terms of mana whenua, but the iwi's ownership of the land is an illusion.

Best Outcomes?

It is not only the Pakeha public which appreciates the natural beauty and significance of some Māori land. A particular area or block of land may have a value to its owners in its undeveloped state at least equivalent to the commercial value of a development. The land may have historical significance to the owners as a place where a pā or wahi tapu was sited in previous times. For example, as a site of past battles where lives have been lost the land may have acquired significance which offsets any benefit which might come from commercial development.

Coastal land may have particular value as a place where members of the owners' whānau can meet occasionally to gather seafood or holiday together in order to maintain their sense of kinship and their sense of belonging to a particular place. Giving up this cherished use in order to develop the land may have little appeal to its owners. If the benefit of developing land cannot be identified by individual owners, or if the apparent benefit is outweighed by apparent disadvantages, then development may not be seen as the most sensible option. The best option for Māori owners may be minimal change, or change which enhances the use of the land for cultural purposes.

Yet despite these generally negative forces of resistance to successful commercial development there is evidence that Māori land owners want to see their land productive, at least to ensure that it will be able to meet the demands of local authorities for property taxes but more positively to contribute to the identity and well being of whanau and hapu. For example, the MMOLDC[24] reports that some Māori land owners are forming collectives to improve the economics of their holdings.

Government agencies such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have responded to growing Māori interest in agriculture by mounting conferences such as a national Māori Organic Hui in February 2001. The invitation to the conference contained the following statements[25]:

> A national Maori Organic Hui - Nga Hua o Rongo-Ma-Tane - is being held at Ratana Pa in the Whanganui region over the weekend 23-25 February. There is no registration fee and all the catering is being provided by organic producers.

> ... the hui is about sharing information about the potential benefits for Maori from organics and discussing whether Maori involved in organics need a distinct identity.

> Central to the hui will be the concept of reviving tikanga Maori. ... reminding participants about the spiritual side to their work will help stop the loss of traditional Maori knowledge.

Other conferences relating to "mainstream" agriculture and forestry have also been held, with good attendances. In 2004 Massey University[26] held a conference "celebrating success in Māori farming and agribusiness" which was attended by 160 participants.

There are a number of possible motivations for developing Māori land so that it produces an income. Whatever the motivation, the requirements of shareholders must be accommodated in the way the ownership organisation functions, and how decisions are made.

Approach To The Research
Investigating what might appear to be significant failure of Māori in utilising land is not a simple matter. It is one thing to ask questions of people about why they think they have succeeded, and quite another to ask people about why they have failed. Investigating the many instances of Māori success may not get to the issues underlying the difficulty in bringing under-utilised land into economic production.

The research task, then, was twofold.

(a) It needed to identify the current expression and form of the cultural and spiritual aspects which are at the heart of Māori world views on ownership, management and sustainability, and their relevance to whanau in modern times; and

(b) It needed to identify and develop methods and skills which would assist owners to set realistic objectives and plan for the sustainable development of their land.

It was important that these tasks were undertaken in ways which would satisfy the owners' needs in a number of ways:

(a) The research must show the owners how it would lead to greater skill, knowledge and control of the identified problem.

(b) The methods must be able to satisfy the owners' sense of tika and pono, or what is 'right and proper'.

(c) The research should be seen to be genuinely for the benefit of the participants.

(d) The research should result in a sensible pathway for the owners to be empowered to undertake any development themselves, rather than creating a dependency on a government agency or a consultancy or any non-owning party where ongoing control by the owners is placed at risk.

(e) The methods needed to be responsive, allowing for questions and explanation of terms and so that discussion might be based on common understandings of the issues.

(f) Identifying and confirming the existence of any barriers to the development of Māori land also suggested a research method which allowed ideas to be discussed and areas of agreement to emerge from examples and explanations.

(g) The research method should lead to short term demonstrable opportunities for agreement and owner acceptance.

The research method selected to meet these requirements is a form of participant research known as action research. It is described in Chapter Four.

Summary Of Chapters

The history of Māori land development is contained within a broader description of Māori society before the ingress of European settlers (Chapter Two). This description is based on a 'corporate' view of Māori society, in that it utilises a framework derived from organisational analysis. This approach reveals Māori values and tikanga relevant to the organisation of Māori society, and allows parallels to be drawn between tikanga Māori and the conduct of current Māori organisations.

The alienation of land to satisfy the desires of the new settlers impoverished many Maori, and the introduction of British law and social institutions largely destroyed the ability of Māori to live according to their customs. These events are described in Chapter Three, which seeks to demonstrate the extent to which the ability of Māori to survive as an indigenous people has been compromised, and to provide a historical context for Māori land development. Chapter Three concludes that Māori have been drawn into forms of organisation which are antithetical to tikanga Māori and which create rather than remove barriers to Māori land development.

Analytical methods which could facilitate hui of shareholders were introduced to a total of 685 participants who took part in 18 research wananga conducted throughout the North Island (Chapter Four). Their use in eliciting information was important to the action research which resulted in the research findings which are reported in Chapter Five. These showed that participants in the research wananga were dissatisfied with the Pākeha organisational model which currently operates in many Māori organisations. The findings converged toward the view that the participants preferred a model which embraced traditional values and tikanga.

The Case Study (Chapter Six) provided the opportunity to test such a model, beginning with an education programme for the shareholders and observing the development of an organisation to manage the ahu whenua trust which held their land. With the assistance of experienced business advisors the trustees planned and began to implement a development plan which included social and cultural as well as economic activities. In achieving this outcome the whanau involved in the case study found that the analytical tools introduced during the education programme helped to facilitate some potentially difficult hui in ways which helped heal old issues and reinforce a sense of belonging which was described as being of immense value.

Chapter Seven brings together the various strands of investigation, interprets the findings, and proposes a new approach to Māori organisations. Acknowledging that there may be further research required to refine and simplify some aspects, the new approach proposes:

- that shareholders in Māori land would benefit from a short education programme wānanga) which increases their familiarity with the terms and concepts of business and organisations, while at the same time introducing them to some non-numeric analytical methods which will assist them in planning;
- that core Māori values and tikanga guide the formation of plans and objectives;
- that the basis of decision making be consensus rather than a majority of votes.

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[19] Māori Multiple Owned Land Development Committee (1998), *op. cit.*, p 3

[20] Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Māori Land Courts, 1980, *Report*, p2, para 8

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Chapter Two – The Dynamics of Māori Society Pre 1800

Introduction

This Chapter explores Māori society in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It considers the structure and activities of whānau and hapū in their corporate role prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and identifies the cultural and spiritual sources of motivation and inspiration of Māori society in the early days of contact between Māori and European.

A review of the literature examining Māori as individuals and as members of groups reveals some characteristics of social organisation which are common to Māori family and extended family groups regardless of their geographic location or their affiliation with a particular iwi or waka. There are also common values which underlie these practices, and which are readily accessible for description and analysis. On this basis, Chief Judge E T Durie[1] felt able to attempt "a national description of Māori social organisation particularly as affecting land tenure, in the context of the work of the Waitangi Tribunal", suggesting that "there was a consistency in the underlying ideology, norms or values".

Prior to contact with Europeans, Māori society was founded on a set of prolonged and sustained relationships that were sufficient for its own requirements. According to both Māori and European writers, society was based on a coherent spiritual belief and well recognised standards of behaviour with sanctions against unacceptable behaviour. Generally the result was a fair degree of satisfaction, harmony and enjoyment.

In order to isolate the origins of this satisfaction and success prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and conversely to discover the root causes of widespread dissatisfaction and lack of success which many writers report today, it will be helpful to examine in some detail the functioning of 'traditional' Māori society. This discussion will focus on what I H Kawharu[2] calls the role of the hapū as a corporation, an organisation in a particular location with an agreed purpose and people to achieve it, and not simply a descent group of people, possibly from different locations, who share common ancestry.

To allow analysis of past and present influences on the dynamics of Māori society it was helpful to use a framework that allowed various corporate functions of hapū to be studied separately, then brought together in an analysis of the hapū as an organisation. The framework was originally proposed by Faust[3] for the analysis of organisational dynamics, and identifies eleven

factors which impact on an organisation. It has demonstrated its versatility in analysing a variety of different types of organisations, and has been used during the research in the analysis of the dynamics of trusts and other Māori organisations. For the purpose of this research the eleven factors can be restated:

Faust Framework

1. *External Factors* over which the hapū has limited control.

2. *Culture* the beliefs and values of the people within the hapū and the way in which they behave toward each other.

3. *Vision and Leadership* what the hapū considers to be desirable outcomes, and how the role and behaviour of leaders contributes to this.

4. *Structure and Delegation* who is senior to whom and who is responsible for what.

5. *Information and Control* the means of relaying and receiving information critical to the organisation and success of the hapū.

6. *Reward and Motivation* preferred behaviours, values and rules, and incentives to achieve behaviour necessary for the success of the hapū.

7. *Strategic Relationships* the ways in which important relationships are developed and maintained internally, and also externally with potential allies and enemies.

8. *Transformation Processes* the organisation of economic activities to produce successful outcomes for the hapū.

9. *Exchange and Trade* the creation of wealth, the distribution of produce, and trade.

10. *Performance Management* how beneficial and harmful performance by individuals and the hapū is encouraged, assessed, and how adjustments are made where harm results.

11. *End Results* the power, prestige and success of the hapū among members and externally.

External Factors
Over which the hapū has limited control.

External factors are those beyond the ability of the hapū to make rapid changes in the short term. They were obviously important, and would have featured in whānau and hapū discussions concerned with protecting or improving the security and well-being of the hapū. External factors which impacted on the activities of whānau and hapū prior to contact with Europeans included:

- Climatic conditions

- Natural fauna and flora for food, implements, weapons, decoration
- Size, location and security of land holdings
- Power and location of allies to protect land holdings and resources
- Power and location of aggressors or competitors for the same resources

The climate of Aotearoa was less hospitable than the islands from which early Māori are presumed to have migrated, but was able to support Māori sufficiently well to enable a life of seasonal activity which included hunting and trapping birds and rodents, fishing, planting and agriculture, and trade. The long historical connection of whānau and hapū with a particular locality did not promote a nomadic existence, except for relatively free access of individuals to forest or water resources within a well defined area. Firth[4] refers to the diversity of occupation which was pursued by Māori and how dependence on the forest, seafood, and cultivation led to a closely determined sequence of operations in accordance with seasonal change and within a defined territory.

Power and prestige was linked with spiritual powers and manifested as the mana of an individual, whānau, hapū or iwi. Mana, the manifestation of divine influence and fortune, was the paramount consideration for all groups, and was earned over years and generations through acts of generosity, bravery, and loyalty based on whakapapa and pledges of allegiance.

The mana of a hapū could change over time as a result of success or failure in battle. War among particular hapū was a seasonal event, which took place after the crops had been planted. Long standing feuds, which often had their origin in attempts to increase hapū controlled resources, between close or distant neighbours gave rise to frequent exchanges or hostilities, with limited victory going one way or the other. Victory reflected the relative power of the atua of the winning hapū, and the skill and cunning of its leaders and warriors.

Culture
The beliefs and values of the people within the hapū and the way in which they behave toward each other.

E T Durie[5] notes that the culture and values of Māori society have been studied and discussed by both Māori and Pākehā writers since 1769. While there are issues of cultural practice on which different views have developed since early times, there is a large measure of agreement on most matters, and the tendency of earlier Pākehā writers to dismiss as 'savage' or 'barbaric' any practice which appeared to be greatly different to comparable European ways has been tempered by more current views. This discussion will limit its scope to those aspects of Māori culture which are relevant to a comparison of Māori beliefs and practices relevant to the

'corporate' activities of hapū and iwi today, particularly in relation to the development of Māori land and related assets.

In a paper titled *The Natural World and Natural Resources*, Maori Marsden[6] writes:
> Culture may be defined simply as the way of life accepted and adopted by a society... In Māori terms, then, culture is that complex whole of beliefs/attitudes/mores/customs/ knowledge acquired, evolved and transmitted by his society as guiding principles by which its members might respond to the needs and demands dictated by life and their environment.

Marsden speaks of a "cultural metaphysics" which gives rise to the symbols, stereotypes and convictions which lead to communal activities, standards of behaviour and social institutions. He is suggesting that Māori, like other indigenous groups, have a particular view of the world based on some fundamental ideas which have been "accepted and adopted".

Geering[7] has suggested that when people talk about 'the world' as a coherent whole they are talking about a mental construction which has been derived both from experience and what has been learned from others. It is something seen only with 'the mind's eye', even though people do not doubt its external existence. People who grow up in different circumstances will have different mental constructs of the world, and will respond to their world according to what they have experienced and what they have been told. Geering suggests that people nurtured in cultures which have many elements in common will construct worlds that have a "shared consciousness" which gives identity to the culture. He suggests that the first stage in developing a shared culture is the naming of tangible objects, and that the ability to name enables people a degree of mastery over external reality.

Geering's second stage in developing a shared view of the world involves the interpretation of the significance of objects to the people, their emotional response to the world they experience, and the attribution of values to things in the world. Geering suggests that these values are expressions of what people consider to be attractive or repugnant, supportive or dangerous to them personally and collectively as a group, and contain both objective and subjective components.

The third stage in the construction of a world view is "the attempt to link up the various parts into a coherent and meaningful whole". He suggests that questions about the origin of things, and whether there are causal connections between various parts of the world, are answered by the telling of stories or myths. The ability to explain natural phenomena and to relate one phenomenon to another is important in extending the mastery of people over the world they

inhabit. In constructing explanations through story and myth people of a common culture make a highly subjective contribution to their shared view of the world.

The values and ideal behaviours of a society are enshrined in stories which are associated with ancestors who exemplified selfless disregard for personal safety, and loyalty to family, creed and country. Attribution to supernatural origins gives the stories power and authenticity. In return for their courage and loyalty the ancestors are forever revered as symbols of the highest ideals of virtue and behaviour and earn a place in the legends of the society almost equal to the society's gods. Whether it is the ingenuity of Maui[i] or the martyrdom of the Christian saints, every society has its examples and stories which inform and encourage the highest ideals of belief and behaviour.

The evidence is that Māori culture 'pre contact' showed deep thought and sophistication. For example, Firth[8] cites the comprehensive and detailed knowledge which Māori had of fauna and flora, and a system of classification which demonstrated understanding of the affinities among a number of plants and animals.

Best[9] concedes that the coherence of Māori ideas regarding the unity of all things and the creation of all things by the "Supreme Being" shows considerable scholarship and introspective thought.

Spiritual beliefs and their relationship to cultural practices have always been vitally important to Māori, and Metge[10] supports the view of Māori society as being "derived from a spiritual conception of the universe", a view which has significant implications for the culture. Te Rangi Hiroa[11] (Sir Peter Buck) refutes the criticism of early European writers who regarded the Māori system of faith and worship as "myth and magic":

> The Māori shared with his Polynesian kinsmen an inherited belief in the existence of spiritual beings, whom he termed *atua* (gods). These atua were credited with supernatural powers which could be exercised in helping or opposing man in the mundane affairs of this life. The inward acceptance of their existence and power constituted faith. In order to gain the assistance of the gods in various human activities, acts of homage, ritual chants, and material offerings were made in an organized service which may be accepted as a form of worship....The fact remains that the Māori had faith in their gods, no matter how created, and the functional relationship between them and their worshippers constituted religion.

These views support the idea that Māori culture was based on the central idea that the ultimate reality is *wairua* or spirit. Spiritual power and authority, which is therefore relevant to every

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[i] Maui, one of the children of Ranginui and Papatuenuku, is renowned for fishing up the North Island using the magic jawbone of his grandmother as a hook.

aspect of the natural order and of human affairs, is known as *mana*. Metge[12] refers to mana as "divine power made manifest in the world of human experience".

Māori philosophy does not separate the spiritual dimension *(taha wairua)* from the practical or physical dimension *(taha tinana)*. Marsden[13] wrote of the "holistic approach" of Māori to life, which did not try to separate "the ubiquitous divinity in all things from their purely material form". The separation of what a person believes (what Argyris[14] would term one's "espoused philosophy") from what a person does (one's "philosophy in action") is therefore incompatible with the Māori world view.

Marsden has explained that the relationship between people and their gods is based on transactions which can be negotiated and which involve ritual and mediation, but not forgiveness. Actions which violated either the restrictions or the sacredness of *tapu*, the spiritual accompaniment of *mana*, would without doubt have a compensatory consequence. Depending on the mana of the transgressor, this consequence may fall on the individual or his/her whānau or hapū, because the mana of the individual is an extension of the mana of the whānau, and vice versa. Nicholson[15] recalls the ultimate caution:

> He tangata tonu te utu.
> Some person will pay, or ultimately, die.

There are several aspects to the spiritual and temporal power and authority of mana. Shirres[16] draws together contributions from a number of writers and Māori informants in an analysis of the wairua of the human person. He suggests that tapu is the potentiality for power, and that mana is the power or influence that a person is able to hold and demonstrate. Shirres identifies three aspects of mana relating to people:

> *Mana atua* – power deriving from the link with spiritual powers. Rituals and karakia are the physical recognition of tapu, which is the mana of the spiritual powers;

> *Mana tangata* – power or prestige arising from association and kinship with each other as whānau, including ancestors. To be one with whānau is to be able to demonstrate dedication and contribution to present and future generations, as well as belonging to particular ancestry and history.

> *Mana whenua* – power or prestige arising from identification with the land of your hapū, with Papatuenuku, the source of nourishment and well-being of the people. This type of mana is often demonstrated through generosity and hospitality toward visitors (manaakitanga), and is often associated with activities on a marae, a place which Shirres describes as "beyond space and time, a place where we reach out to the ancestors and to the family wherever they are".

Shirres sees mana as an encompassing spiritual influence:

> Our mana as human beings is a mana that is linked with the spiritual powers and that combines with the spiritual powers, that has its source in the spiritual powers, in our working to bring order out of chaos, light out of darkness.

Royal[17] also suggests that in the natural order the greatest influence is mana:

> ... in the traditional world view the whole world is conceived as a potential vessel for mana.

> Mana is our term for some kind of energy, consciousness, authority, essence. It comes from a non-ordinary realm and can flow into the world and into the human person given certain conditions and commitments.

> The presence of mana in the person is outwardly expressed through their creativity, their knowledge of certain areas and a sense of authority in a particular endeavour.

It is therefore clear that every aspect of life in the customary Māori world was imbued with spiritual considerations and consequences. Practical and spiritual considerations were not separated because they were understood as part of the same thing. Everything had its original life force or mauri, and the diminution or absence of mauri invited illness and death. The removal of mauri, for example through the eating of food or other rituals prior to a formal meeting, was essential to ensure that a person was not inadvertently harmed by the mana of others, present or recently departed.

It followed that the principal objective of a hapū was to protect and increase its mana, and by so doing, increase its spiritual powers, its security and its ability to prosper in its environment. It also followed that the purpose of individuals within whānau and hapū was to contribute to the mana of the group, even at the risk of personal injury or death. To die in a manner that increased the mana of whānau, hapū or iwi was considered a sure way to be remembered and honoured by succeeding generations.

Whakapapa was a primary indicator of mana. Durie[18] suggests that whakapapa was carefully preserved, regularly recited at gatherings and formally taught to youngsters. Barlow[19] maintains that all the people in a community were expected to know who their immediate ancestors were, and to pass this information on to their children in order to develop pride, a sense of relatedness, and a sense of belonging. Whakapapa enabled whānau members to establish linkages with each other, with their hapū and iwi, and with a wide range of whānaunga. Metge[20] suggests that whakapapa gave whānau members the knowledge needed to manage relations with other groups, especially at hui, and with strangers.

According to Patterson[21], a Māori family included ancestors and future generations, not only the living. Metge[22] explained that:

> Members of the whānau look not only to their parents but beyond them to their ancestors, with respect and gratitude, as the source of their being and most if not all their capabilities. They regard themselves and are regarded by others, not as merely individuals but as living representatives of those who have died.

Salmond[23] reports that a certain mana was inherited at birth, and the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. From then on, despite an unequal start, men were engaged in a contest for mana, and mana increased or decreased according to performances in war, marriage, feasting and on the marae in varies capacities.

Salmond[24] describes three main themes in Māori society: mana (prestige), tapu (sacredness), and utu (the principle of equal return, often expressed in revenge), and so identifies the two spiritual aspects of mana, and its practical consequence - utu.

Pere[25] explains:

> Mana permeates the ethos of Māori life in very subtle ways and is associated with aroha and utu. An individual or group will reciprocate anything they receive, whether it be good or bad, because of the challenge such an act represents to the concept of mana.... Members of a whānau are often prepared to make personal sacrifices to uphold the mana of their group particularly by returning any hospitality and support that they, or one of their members, have received. The same fervour applies if the whānau feels that they have been insulted or attacked by people from outside their kinship group. They will take steps either to confront the offenders and the kinship group or to use other more subtle forms of meting out a just and appropriate settlement. The mantle of mana embraces people, and when worn demands and provides far more than just prestige and status.

Durie[26] suggests that utu was the principle of balance and was fundamental to most Māori tikanga and thinking, governing social relationships, the creation and maintenance of reciprocal obligations, the conceptual avenging of death, the appeasement of killings, the punishment of wrong doing, the maintenance of the cycles of nature, gift exchange, the formation of controls, the maintenance of alliances, the performance of fiduciary obligations and the like. Utu underpinned the essential 'give and take' nature of the Māori social and legal order.

Organisation of kindred groups who lived in the same locality, in villages or kainga, followed a familiar pattern, with individuals belonging to a whānau (family), whānau from the same ancestor belonging to a hapū (clan), and hapū with shared ancestry belonging to an iwi (tribe). Best[27], Te Rangi Hiroa[28], Firth[29], Kawharu[30], Metge[31], and Durie[32] are among those who have described traditional social organisation among Māori and there is general agreement regarding the hierarchy of structures and also of social classes. It is also apparent that there was

considerable mobility among whānau, with groups taking up residence among related whānau in a different hapū, for reasons which might include relationship building, economic opportunity, or safety. Patterson[33] emphasises the vital importance of belonging to a whānau group, explaining that:

> Māori obtain their nature largely from their communal environment, their kin group, and their whakapapa. They are not essentially individual, and without kin — present and past — they are literally nothing.

Best[34] is sometimes dismissive of habits of the Māori which differed from his European experience, and suggests that there was no true family life, but Firth[35] contradicts this opinion, citing evidence of great affection and solidarity among members of whānau and hapū. Affection and solidarity extended beyond the living to the ancestors, still considered part of the whānau and hapū. Metge[36] comments that the value of whanaungatanga reinforced the commitment members of a whānau have to each other and also reminded them of their responsibilities to all their other relatives.

Important among those responsibilities was manaakitanga, or generosity, demonstrated in a number of different ways. For example the way in which visitors to a kainga were fed and entertained, often leaving with gifts of food and other taonga which would remind them of their visit, became a standard by which the manaaki of others might be measured. It also served the purpose of cementing ties and reciprocity.

Patterson[37] relates a proverb which refers to Rehua, the god of kindness:

> Tēna te mana o Rehua' — behold the greatness of Rehua.

He explains that there was great stress placed upon cooperation between members of a family or tribe, requiring a degree of subordination of the individual to the collective, and suggests emphatically that there was no place for greed among Māori values.

Acts of generosity also had their place in war, and a defeated chief might be given land or a noble wife in order to restore some of the mana lost in battle. The presentation of taonga was often part of such actions.

Mead[38] suggests that gift giving was subject to the rules of tikanga, with expectations of utu, or balancing actions on the part of the recipient hapū. Failure to reciprocate was regarded as a breach of tapu and of good faith. Metge[39] proposes that *over*-compensation was often the intention of gift giving in order to create a further obligation on the part of the recipient and so maintain an ongoing relationship or alliance.

Although it was warlike and valued military skill and courage very highly, Māori society was also well organised within tribal groupings. These were orderly, by and large democratic, with well developed sanctions for behaviour which threatened to harm the well being or honour of the group, and were based on long held spiritual beliefs which had their temporal expression in well defined codes of behaviour.

Vision and Leadership
What the hapū considers to be desirable outcomes, and how the role and behaviour of leaders contributes to this.

The primary purpose of Māori society was the enhancement of the mana of whānau and hapū through the contribution of their members as individuals and collectively. Perhaps most important was the mana of ancestors and protection of the integrity and authority of the whakapapa of the group, because this was the primary source of power and prestige.

Even where social or economic pressures had encouraged a large kindred group to migrate and take up residence in a more advantageous locality, hapū and iwi ties remained strong and remembered in songs and sayings which documented the links with references to ancestors and features of the landscape which had been left. According to Royal[40]: "Through waiatia one can sense the way our ancestors saw their world..." and he quotes a waiata composed for Te Rauparaha by his daughter, Hinewhē:

> Kaore! te aroha ngau kino i roto rā
> He maunga tū noa, te tihi ki a Kapiti
> Ka riro rā, e, te kī o the whenua!
> Moe mai, e koro, i runga i te kaipuke;
> Kia whakamau koe te ata o te moana ...
>
> No! love consumes me within
> A mountain standing alone, the peak of Kapiti
> Tis gone, the one who commanded the land!
> Sleep on, sir, aboard the ship;
> Hold onto the shadow of the water ...

Leadership of whānau, hapū and iwi began with the mana bestowed by whakapapa on a superior rangatira, or ariki, whose mana tupuna was great enough to inspire deference and respect, a base from which he could build great influence over related hapū. He had to be able to demonstrate capabilities which would ensure the security and well being of the people under his influence, and the skill, knowledge and personal qualities demanded of rangatira required a consistent demonstration of their capabilities. If this was not the case then the role of the ariki would be limited to the spiritual and ritual duties associated with his mana and tapu status, but another rangatira, usually a younger sibling, would become leader of other social and economic responsibilities.

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M H Durie[41] suggests that rangatira would try to guide decisions along the course of action which a Māori world view would indicate, but which may not be obvious until all of the important and inter-relating elements could be considered.

> A strong element of pragmatism would guide a leader's selection of stories and sayings toward those which supported his view of the best course of action in some particular circumstances, but different circumstances might result in a different selection and a different course of action.

The capabilities which the people sought from their rangatira have been listed by Best[42] and also by Johansen[43], and confirm that while different skills might be required to lead in war, the expectations of the people were high. As well as an authoritative knowledge of whakapapa and hapū land boundaries, the rangatira was expected to demonstrate total commitment and identify with the hapū, and from this position resolve disputes, authorise and encourage adjustments to restore balance and harmony, show a high level of skill in some enterprise important to the hapū, be generous and magnanimous, and above all be a commanding orator.

Another source of influence was the tohunga – skilled and knowledgeable people who were expert in some aspect of spiritual or economic life. Best[44] describes several areas of skill or influence for which different tohunga were trained, and suggests that youths of superior intelligence and memorizing power would be selected for this role. The graduates of the whare wānanga were responsible for the most important rituals associated with economic life including war. They also were experts in tribal history and whakapapa. Their ability to interpret omens and avert or confirm supernatural punishment for wrong doing gave them great power and influence.

E T Durie[45] describes mana rangatira in terms of power, authority and influence, deriving from spiritual inheritance as well as practical and physical prowess. He suggests that the mana of a rangatira was the basis of both political autonomy and the cohesion of a hapū, but that both entitlement by whakapapa and ability seen through achievement was necessary. The mana of an individual, including that of a rangatira, could wax and wane, and it was therefore important to maintain mana through such enhancing traits as bravery, hospitality, eloquence, generosity, honesty, integrity, fearlessness, honourableness and scrupulous adherence to promises. It was through demonstration of these qualities that individuals could enhance their status and that of their family.

Best[46] and Metge[47] observe that while leadership was primarily a male responsibility, in practice women of high birth and particular ability could exert a commanding influence. E T Durie[48] suggests that primogeniture descent was not always the case, and an ariki could be

appointed by consensus of rangatira, particularly if there had been a reconfiguration of a group of hapū, or be recognised as such by the people.

Durie[49] maintains that the cementing of internal hapū unity became focused upon the magnetism and influence of rangatira.

> Rangatira (leaders, or literally, 'those who hold the group together') led and represented the hapū, either regularly or for the purpose of a particular project (a war, migration, etc.). They were the most significant functionaries in community affairs as the community organisers and representatives. They were the cement that bonded the various elements of the hapū. They were not necessarily older persons.

Durie[50] also identifies the personal and political dimensions of mana as the source of Māori authority, and shows:

- the close connection between the people and authority (as compared with institutional authority)
- the association of authority with personal power and influence
- the freedom for class mobility through the demonstration of mana enhancing traits.

Structure and Delegation
Who is senior to whom and who is responsible for what.

According to Metge[51], at the end of the eighteenth century Māori society was divided into a large number of politically autonomous iwi descending from a founding ancestor from one of the canoes which arrived in Aotearoa during the fourteenth century, each of which possessed an extensive territory by right of conquest and continued occupation. However, the important social institution was the hapū, descending from the same founding ancestor. Firth[52] describes hapū as a group of kin characterized by their use of a common name transmitted from one generation to another. The generation depth of a hapū varied according to the level of segmentation, but recognition of eight to ten generations was common. He notes that membership of a hapū was able to be identified through either male or female ancestry, or through both. However, the most important aspect of membership was residence.

The hapū comprised whānau groups, two or three generations of families related through common grandparents of either the male or female parent. Metge[53] notes that the whānau members cooked, ate and slept together, and possessed rights of usufruct[ii] over defined stretches of the *hapū* territory as well as various temporary camps and dwellings located near fishing and hunting grounds.

[ii] The right to use and enjoy the profits and advantages of something belonging to another as long as the property is not damaged or altered in any way.

I H Kawharu[54] describes the whānau in the following terms:

> ...the extended bi-lateral family was everywhere a fundamental social unit. This unit would have been of the order of three or four generations in depth, comprising, for instance, an elder, his wife (wives), children, without spouses, and grandchildren (with possible addition of slaves, i.e. prisoners of war). It was a food-producing, residential, and therefore land-holding unit and was represented by its head in village and sub-tribal debate and in the negotiating of social contracts such as marriage.

For purposes other than warfare the iwi was not the unit of organization most relevant to the daily lives of the people. For example, Kawharu[55] says that Māori "have all along had clear ideas about hapū being local groups that both function as corporations and maintain an ideology of descent." Other writers are largely in agreement that a hapū was a group of whānau who traced their membership of a particular hapū through mainly but not exclusively male descent lines, and shared practical considerations such as land occupancy, use and retention.

The configuration of hapū in a location was not constant, and E T Durie[56] gives the following examples:

- Hapū of equal status sharing the same locality, combining at times but maintaining distinctive identities;

- Hapū sharing the same locality with one subordinate to the other, paying tribute or existing on sufferance and occasionally raided to demonstrate status;

- Clusters of client hapū, autonomous but adhering to a major hapū or rangatira, bound by obligations in exchange for protection, through past services or assistance, or through land gifts and with the provision of a place to stay;

- Hapū in tenuous association comprised of migrant hapū with mana tangata and original occupiers with mana tupuna;

- Hapū with separate identities but so inter-related by marriage that one was not readily distinguishable from the other.

Ballara's[57] analysis of early Māori language accounts suggest that down through the generations groups were constantly splitting.

> Typically quarrels were followed by migration and resettlement of part of the group. As the generations passed and time went on, migrating groups always, rather than sometimes, encountered other groups inhabiting the new territory. Often after a period of initial good will between hosts and guests ... relations became strained as the newcomers increased and claimed more space and resources, and began to neglect their duty to acknowledge the prior rights of their hosts with gifts and services... The most successful migrants combined a measure of conquest with accommodation through intermarriage and gift exchange...

The highest born leaders of iwi were ariki, while the functional leaders were rangatira, whose name reflects their responsibility to 'bind together' the people, and they were the organisers and representatives of hapū.   The inheritance of mana tupuna creates distinctions between co-descendents with the older siblings and their children taking precedence over the younger. Beneath the rangatira class, also derived from mana tupuna, were the ordinary people, of varying rank according to the closeness of their whakapapa connection to the leading ancestor of the hapū. Mobility of social position could occur by marriage to a person of higher or lower social position, or by consistent contribution to the whānau or hapū through acts of bravery, or through skill in providing food or fashioning implements or decorations which reflected well on the hapū.

The lowest rank of free people did not demonstrate obsequious behaviour toward ariki or rangatira, but politeness and etiquette were demonstrated among all people, and particularly during any type of formal occasion. The spiritual aspect of descent from a mythological common ancestry required acknowledgement of this source of mana as well as any other that a person might have acknowledged.

The stability of the institutions of whānau and hapū depended on both a willingness of whānau to accept the leadership implied by mana tupuna, modified to some extent by the relative ability of those qualified by whakapapa to lead, and the effectiveness of sanctions which could apply to dissenters. Land and strategic assets such as fishing nets and canoes were communally owned and it was very difficult for individual whānau to survive outside the hapū structure. The seasonal nature of major economic activities such as planting and fishing emphasised the dependence of whānau on the larger institution of hapū.

Information and Control Systems
The means of relaying and receiving information critical to the organisation and success of the hapū.

Leadership was exercised with the consent of the people, following the discussion of all proposals and activities (see Best[58]). Whānau groups discussed matters relating to their group, and would also attend meetings of the hapū to discuss wider issues. Constituent hapū would meet to discuss iwi matters.

Firth[59] describes the marae as the centre of normal village life where people gathered for games, practice with weapons, the dining place for the village and the place for discussion among old people who would gather to talk and give instruction to youth. It was also the place where religious rituals would occur, and where the distribution of produce which had been harvested

by the village would take place. Expeditions started out from the marae, and were welcomed back there, visitors were received and ceremonies such as tangi all took place on the marae. It was the social and ceremonial core of the village.

The major building associated with a whānau for eating evening meals was also a forum for daily discussion of news and events. Stories and legends would be repeated, whakapapa recited, and preferred behaviours encouraged with stories and examples of what happens when warnings and tapu restrictions were ignored.

Seniority derived from mana tupuna established order and precedence in discussions. Hohepa[60] has described the practice which carried on from former times, where discussion played a large part in any proceedings, but with greater attention paid to the ideas and requests of the most senior sibling present. An elder's opinion had greater weight in the public forums and junior siblings would be expected to remain silent when a senior sibling was present.

Because whānau ate and slept together, discussing and planning their daily activities, these occasions were an important time for communication and debate of whānau and hapū matters.

Reward and Motivation
Preferred behaviours, values and rules, and incentives to achieve behaviour necessary for the success of the hapū.

The concepts of mana and tapu, and the over-riding purpose of whānau and hapū to enhance their mana and that of their ancestors involved the observance of ideal behaviours recognised throughout the Māori world. Recognised ideal behaviours implies the existence of principles or values which were collectively adopted, and these were known as tikanga.

Metge[61] defines tikanga as 'the right way', a rule or custom embodying particular values - accepted understandings of what is tika. Mead[62] takes the position that:

> .... tikanga is the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do.

> .... Tikanga are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out.

> .... They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities that we engage in. There is a right and proper way to conduct one's self.

E T Durie[63] writes that "tikanga described Māori law", but qualifies this with the suggestion that tikanga was flexible and subject to reinterpretation. He goes on to say:

> The question of whether Māori behavioural norms constituted 'law' is an issue of definition. "Were there rules that were viable as governors of conduct?" is usually asked....The question might more aptly be whether there were values to which the community generally subscribed. Whether those values were regularly upheld is not the point but whether they had regular influence. Māori operated not by finite rules alone, or even mainly, but as in christian law, by reference to principles, goals, and values that were not necessarily achievable. They were largely idealised standards attributed to famous ancestors.

There are many different aspects of tikanga which are relevant to the identification of behaviour which would be considered appropriate or ideal in Māori society in the pre-contact period, many of which remain relevant today, and some writers give prominence to particular terms and ideas. For example, Henare's[64] submissions to the Royal Commission on Social Policy include reference to whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, mana Māori (including mana, tapu, noa, tika, utu, rangatiratanga, waiora, mauriora, hauora and kotahitanga). Barlow[65] distinguishes seventy aspects of Māori culture and the concepts or tikanga which apply to them. Metge[66] identifies aroha, whanaungatanga, taha wairua and taha tinana, tapu and noa, ora, tika and pono, mana, mana tupuna, whakapapa, mana taane and mana wahine, and utu in a description of whānau values. Durie[67] describes the following aspects of tikanga as 'conceptual regulators' of behaviour:

whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, mana tupuna, wairua, and utu.

A slightly more limited list, relevant to the administration of Māori land, is provided by Chief Judge J V Williams[68]. Whanaungatanga, mana, utu, kaitiakitanga and tapu – all of which, he suggests, are closely interwoven.

Of most relevance to Māori society were those behaviours which would have been considered significantly supportive of the health and safety, harmony, power and prestige of the hapū. Metge[69] describes several preferred behaviours under the heading 'mahi-a-ngakau', including :

- the duty to support each other in good times and bad (awhina and tautoko) in the form of labour, goods and moral support;

- the duty to care for each other, meeting not only the physical needs of others but also their need to be nurtured mentally and spiritually (ahu, atawhai, awhi, whangai, taurima)

- the duty to show hospitality to visitors (manaaki)

- the duty to protect each other against physical and spiritual attack (tiaki, whakamarumaru, whakangungu) including:
  - countering attacks or insults from others
  - avoiding upsetting or insulting outsiders

- breaching tapu or breaking the law
- the duty to work together for the common good (mahi tahi), turning up to meetings and ritual occasions, helping with preparations, doing the menial jobs where required, and sharing goods and special skills;
- the duty to value and cherish those of the most senior generation (tupuna and kaumatua of the whānau)
- the duty to value and cherish the youngest (tamariki and mokopuna)
- the duty of older generations to teach the young right ways and to hand on knowledge that belongs to and will benefit the whānau as a whole

The principles of good behaviour related to the spiritual relationship between people and all other resources and can be traced to the creation myths. In the beginning of creation all of the gods had the same parents, and everything on earth and in the heavens sprang from the children of those parents, who provided a fundamental whakapapa link or family bond. This bond required the respectful treatment of people who were linked by whakapapa so that the mana of the tupuna was not diminished. It also related to the treatment of lakes, rivers, oceans and shores, natural and cultivated food resources, forests where timber for canoes and houses could be harvested, and sites where special wood or stone for tools or weapons were available.

The principles of good behaviour which derived from both spiritual and practical concerns included honesty – particularly in keeping promises, care and attention to kindred and visitors, generosity and courage. Firth[70] notes that:

> In Māori society of former days theft was not unknown, but as recorded in traditional tales, was not viewed with an approving eye.

An important aspect of the virtues described by Metge[71] was that they needed to be demonstrated with considerable modesty so as to avoid any self importance or detraction from the mana of senior whānau or visitors.

A major fault in behaviour was greed, with a variety of rituals practiced to ensure that the gods had the first of any produce, and any senior whānau or visitors were fed before the hosts sat to eat. Jealousy and ongoing grudges were also behaviours that could threaten the stability and harmony of the whānau or kainga and were discouraged by naming the actions and recalling appropriate cautionary proverbs. Metge[72] suggests that sociability and cheerful contribution to communal tasks were encouraged as highly desirable behaviours.

Strategic Relationships
The ways in which important relationships are developed and maintained internally, and also externally with potential allies and enemies.

Until the arrival of European settlers in large numbers, the traditional lands of the whānau and hapū were relatively secure, protected by the mana whenua of the holding hapū and the mana

tupuna of their ancestors, and protected by the mana and tapu of tribal atua, whose mauri would be infused in a warning emblem. Best[73] suggests that these were strong sanctions. E T Durie[74] notes that it was common among the peoples of Oceania to consider the taking of land by conquest as improper unless some 'legitimate principle or cause' could be established to support the invasion. In an extended study of the economic anthropology of the Māori, Firth[75] makes the same point, supporting Best in suggesting that the temptation to acquire greater land holdings was often irresistible but required winning public approval and facing possible retribution, including the wrath of spiritual powers.

Stability of tenure of a particular locality favoured trade between areas of different climate. Goods or food resources which were abundant in one area could be exchanged with those from a different area. There are many accounts of goods being traded between coastal and inland hapū and iwi, accompanied by gift giving and sometimes resulting in marriage between senior lines of the trading partners, thus reinforcing economic relationships through the development of whakapapa links between important whānau.

The fostering of alliances with powerful and prestigious groups who could assist in securing land holdings and resources had obvious economic and social significance for hapū. The complexity of whakapapa linkages between hapū, as well as more pragmatic considerations, meant that close ancestral ties were usually but not always the obvious and immediate allies. Unique relationships relating to particular incidents could discourage particular hapū from joining in acts of defence or aggression against other hapū, and Kawharu[76] suggests that it was as important for whānau or hapū to know where they could reliably look to for help as it was to know their kinship links with other hapū.

Alliances within the extended whānau and alliances with less closely related groups were made and reinforced over many years or even generations, and had a durability associated with the major events of the relationship becoming part of the legends whose telling developed and reinforced obligations.

Enmities also took time to develop, but could last for generations. Fighting between hapū to secure land boundaries or to avenge past events of hostility or insult were a continuing reality, with periods of truce rather than peace prevailing during the seasons where economic necessity demanded a cessation of hostilities in favour of the growing or gathering of food. For example, Metge[77] gives a fascinating account of long standing feuds between Te Aopōuri and Te Rarawa, iwi occupying almost adjacent localities in the Far North. Metge says that the iwi emerged as significant political enemies in the second half of the 18th century, and while they would

periodically patch up their relationship with the exchange of gifts, the underlying enmity persisted and would erupt from time to time. The two iwi finally became close allies when they joined together in a campaign against their neighbour, Ngati Kuri. This is not to say that the past was entirely forgotten, however, and continuing good relationships would require frequent reinforcement through arranged marriages and significant acts of generosity and hospitality.

Nicholson[78], has suggested that any research of most tribes prior to European settlement would show that life for the most part was a series of battles or building up strength to exact satisfaction for some wrong, some insult and that "war was never far from the minds and the thoughts of our tupuna". Best[79] notes that the causes of war were traditionally recognised, as in the saying: "He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata"[iii] which attributes the treatment of high-born women, and the desire to possess land as primary causes of conflict. As important were acts or words which if perceived as insulting, required extreme retaliation in order to restore lost mana.

Inevitably, means for resolving disputes and achieving peace were also prominent in tribal thinking, and considerable tradition was involved in the activity of hohou rongo, because the principle of utu required that any defeat be avenged or the loss of mana appeased. This could sometimes be accomplished by the words of a sufficiently powerful rangatira, as with the example of Te Heu Heu[iv], who as late as 1834 at the battle of Haowhenua to avenge the death of his younger brother, broke a taiaha over his knee and declared that he and his people would never again take up battle with the opposing tribes (Nicholson[80]). There were no further hostilities between those tribes from that time on.

Lasting peace required symbolic actions which needed to be supported by frequent acts of utu which were not always revenge but could also involve gift giving (see Metge[81]) to create stability among whänau and hapü, and encourage support and alliances for the future. Nicholson[82] gives the example of a tiki pounamu which was declared by Te Whatanui[v] of Ngati Raukawa to become a symbol of peace between tribes under his protection. The tiki was taken to tangihanga of both tribes (Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa) as a reminder of the peace agreement, and the bereaved tribe would receive and hold the gift until an occasion arose to return it to the other tribe for custody until the next tangihanga.

[iii] "For women and land are men lost."
[iv] Te Heu Heu Tukino II – died 1846, Ngati Tuwharetoa leader
[v] Te Whatanui – died 1846, Ngati Raukawa leader

In his account Nicholson identifies the Ngati Raukawa chief, Matene Te Whiwhi[vi], as the takawaenga for many peace arrangements. This important role could be created through a marriage arranged to end or prevent hostilities, as in the case of an arranged marriage between the Rangitane chief, Te Rangiotu[vii], and Enereta, the daughter of the Ngati Kauwhata chief Te One Kooro. Nicholson[83] relates that the offspring of this and subsequent marriages between the descendents of these two families, arranged to strengthen the original alliance, assume the responsibility for maintaining peace between the two tribes in their ongoing role of takawaenga. Through the generations the influence of the families with the role of takawaenga widens to other hapū and iwi. He records that:

> Ema Heni, the elder daughter of Te Rangiotu and Enereta, married Hare Rakena Te Aweawe, son of the Rangitane chief Te Aweawe, and that their son, Manwaroa Te Aweawe married Rangingangana Winiata, the daughter of Winiata Pataka, who was grandson of the Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Parewahawaha chief Nepia Taratoa and his wife Pareautohe of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Kapu and Ngati Toa.

Marriages arranged to avoid warfare or to strengthen alliances are well reported, and there are accounts of marriages arranged between the daughter of a victorious chief and his defeated opponent so as to restore some of the mana lost as a result. This would lessen the degree of utu required in return, and could avert further hostilities between the hapū or iwi concerned. Land was sometimes ceded to a defeated enemy to achieve the same strategic purpose.

Hospitality and generosity were important in the enhancement of mana and in the establishment of alliances. Meetings involving trade between hapū with different economic advantages would also involve feasts designed to impress and encourage future cooperation. Hospitality and feasting were also important in recognising success and rewarding those involved. Firth[84] comments that the completion of a carved house or a canoe would enhance the mana of the builders who were honoured by a feast which involved the entire kainga, and ceremonies which concluded an important task. Barlow[85] provides evidence of this in the whakatauki:

> Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka mākona te iwi.
> Your contribution, and my contribution, will provide sufficient for all.

Transformation Processes
The organisation of economic activities to produce successful outcomes for the hapū.

The strong feeling of community and responsibility to enhance the mana of the whānau and hapū led to a general willingness to cooperate in the tasks necessary to ensure adequate food

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[vi] Matene Henare Te Whiwhi – died 1881, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa leader, missionary, assessor
[vii] Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu – died 1898, Rangitane leader, peacemaker

supplies, waste disposal and defence or military enterprise. Te Rangi Hiroa describes this mutual help as "a fundamental expression of blood kinship as well as human kindness[86]".

Best[87] writes:

> Each family group had the right to use certain lands, fish certain waters, etc., so that clan and tribal boundaries were well known.

The areas which were off limits to hunters and gatherers from other whänau or hapü would often be marked with emblems of the land holder, or of the atua whose mauri was invoked to protect the area.

There were experts (tohunga) in activities such as house building, canoe making, carving, making weapons and implements, and in these activities where there was some aspect of tapu involved, only men worked. Women attended to the preparation and cooking of food and collecting food supplies such as shell fish, berries and edible roots and snaring birds. Women were also the experts at weaving and plaiting garments, mats and baskets, and sometimes joined the men in the battle lines.

Best[88] reports that cultivation of a variety of crops suitable to the climate was common, and that the plantations showed evidence of considerable care and knowledge. Cultivation was undertaken communally, when "chiefs, warriors, commoners, slaves, women, old and young, all assisted in some way". Windbreaks and fences were also in evidence.

Te Rangi Hiroa[89] notes that when gatherings took place the whole community took part in feeding the assembly. Each household provided goods from their stores, and also fished, hunted, gathered food and attended their allocated duties.

Firth[90] writes that the whänau was the basic unit of the Mäori economy and was "a cohesive, self-contained unit, managing its own affairs, both social and economic, except as these affected village or tribal policy". Some goods were made for personal use, including simple weapons, ornaments, implements and clothing. These would be made for or shared with other members of the whänau but were primarily identified with an individual for his or her personal use. Household utensils or implements were at the disposal of the whänau, and food was shared at a communal meal. At the whänau level, people contributed to the stock of goods required to maintain the group, and took from them as required. In general, where the community took part in large-scale gathering of food or crops then the rangatira would coordinate their distribution.

Tasks requiring a small body of workers and cooperation in relatively simple tasks were undertaken by the whānau. More important or complex tasks were undertaken by the hapū, and major items of property such as a war canoe or a meeting-house, or large scale fishing nets, would be owned and used by the whole hapū.

Firth[91] suggests that the economic functions of the iwi related mainly to the defence of tribal land within its borders, and the preparation of huge feasts relating to strategic planning and trade.

While the social structure of whānau, hapū and iwi groups determined who was most likely to coordinate tasks associated with the production and preparation of food, sanitation, and defence, work was accomplished on a cooperative basis, the chief setting an example and everyone expected to contribute. Some tasks were the province of either men or women, mainly for reasons of tapu, and some tasks were specialist in nature and were undertaken or coordinated by tohunga.

Exchange and Wealth
The organisation of economic activities to produce successful outcomes for the hapū.

Close bonds with traditional land holdings were revealed in many sayings which linked the current holders with their tupuna, using terms such as 'the pillow of my ancestor' and 'the bedding of my ancestor'[92]. The strong personal link between people and their traditional land is observed in the identification of people with the major features of their land – the mountain, river, lake, shoreline – when greeting others in a formal gathering.

Firth observed that every feature of traditional land had a history which was known to the traditional land holders, and was evidence of their tenure. All of the land was held by a whānau, hapū or iwi group, a point noted by Firth[93] and again strongly made by the 1985 Royal Commission on the Māori Land Court[94], which quotes the first Chief Justice in New Zealand, Sir William Martin, in 1865:

> So far as yet appears, the whole surface of these Islands, or as much of it as is of any value to man, has been appropriated by the Natives, and, with the exception of the part which has been sold is held by them as property. Nowhere was any piece of land discovered or heard of [by the Commissioners] which was not owned by some person or set of persons....

The superior rangatira took the lead in all matters regarding the allocation and disposal of land[95]. Their decisions required ratification by tribal opinion, as was a decision by an individual or whānau to transfer land rights to another person or group. In a public discussion on land

matters each hapü maintained a right to disagree and to remove itself from the decision of the majority of the iwi.

According to Firth[96] the whänau held ownership of certain types of property and had first right to its products. Trading was part of the Mäori way of life, and fishing was part of the well developed inter-tribal trade. The early settlers were amazed at the scope and proficiency of the Mäori fishing industry, and stories were documented by John Banks (botanist on the *Endeavour*) and others which favourably compared long lines and nets to those in use by European fishermen.

Performance Management
How beneficial and harmful performance by individuals and the hapü is encouraged, assessed, and how adjustments are made where harm results.

The continuing strength of whänau and hapü ultimately depended on children learning necessary skills, and positive attitudes to work, as well as moral codes and the skills of socialisation. Kaumatua took on some of the roles of teaching and caring for the young, and teaching them what resources were available to them and how they could be harnessed, maintained and extended. Hemara[97] suggests that young children were admitted to important hui, where their questions were taken seriously and answered as fully as possible by their elders. However, it was left to the whänau to teach tikanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga – essential knowledge for the child to function safely in the larger community.

Firth[98] cites his informant Ihaia Hutana who described the education of a young man:

> When a child grew up he was taught the customs of his people, to deliver a speech, to bear weapons, and cultivate food, to hunt and snare, and to take the products of forest, stream and ocean, to manage a canoe, to build a house or canoe; as also the ancestral lore of his tribe, together with many signs pertaining to the weather, winds, etc.; in fact everything that might be beneficial and useful in the after life. Indolence in a young person was severely censured, for it brought trouble to himself and his children in later years...

The whare wänanga was a place of more advanced learning, including makutu (unleashing malevolent forces), astronomy, weaving, the farming and capture of birds, recreation, histories and the biographies of important ancestors were each taught in specialist places of instruction. In describing the institution of whare wänanga Hemara[99] suggests that gifted boys with appropriate whakapapa lines were selected to learn the origins of the mana they were passed at birth. Instruction at the higher level of learning was tapu, and appropriate rituals ensured safety during the training process.

Whakatauki (proverbs) were important in instructing and encouraging preferred behaviours relating to work habits, perseverance, caution, and against idleness, laziness, gluttony, slander, lying, boasting, secrecy and numerous other anti-social behaviours. Children were also exposed to whaikorero, where elders told stories of the whānau and hapū histories and explained whānau links and important tribal relationships. Children could see how their elders behaved when they were telling stories, performing arts, arguing politics and conducting rituals. Hemara[100] states:

> Children were taught where they were located geographically and genealogically, who and what were the important social and cultural icons, and how to generate mana and economic power through hard work and guile.

According to Best[101] They would also learn the importance of public opinion and the essential skill of persuasion. While the tapu of a rangatira would ensure the deference and respect of the people, Māori were typically independent and democratic and would not always agree[102]. In this event there was no coercive force available for enforcement of or the carrying out of penalties against the people. Public opinion and support were extremely effective in ensuring compliance with preferred behaviours and the observance of tapu and its associated rituals added pressure to conform. (See Metge [103]).

Jackson[104] provides an explanation for the power of public opinion which is consistent with the shared values and beliefs of the people:

> In both the Māori and Pākehā concepts of social order there was an obvious correlation between the power to impose legal sanctions and the mana implied in that power. To the Māori it was tied to the ancestral and spiritual origins of the law and to its binding force as a fundamental base of good order.

Sanctions could include warnings, but more formal restrictions would involve rituals to invoke the mauri of particular spirit powers to protect places of religious significance such as burial places, economic significance such as land holdings or places where birds were encouraged to feed. Where death by accident or particular danger might be present then tapu restrictions would encourage people to avoid the area. If the restriction was temporary then it was known as a rahui, and this type of sanction might be used to allow a fishing area to re-stock.

Practices which might offend influential spirit powers would also be discouraged by tapu restrictions, as Walker[105] points out:

> Opening shellfish and cracking sea-eggs below high-water mark were prohibited with the strictest of taboos. When asked for an explanation the elders made the transition from a scientific to a metaphysical explanation: the fish deserted the reefs because the mauri was damaged by the practice, or offence was given to the spirits or to Tangaroa, the deity of the sea.

E T Durie[106] notes that the notion of balance was central in approaching situations which threatened the safety of individuals or the whānau or kainga. Inherent in the notion was respect for the mauri of the person or group or the thing which caused disharmony or danger. The spiritual aspect of etiquette and damage to the mana of another person or group was an inseparable part of achieving balance and harmony, and required the participation of skilled and experienced people to conduct appropriate rituals and acts of appeasement, perhaps with an accompanying tribute. Sorcery was sometimes used to secure redress against injury, particularly to mana, and the belief in tapu could result in mental sickness, illness and death.

In some situations an approach which physically adjusted the situation was seen as appropriate. The practice of muru is described by Metge[107] and E T Durie[108] describes muru as an adjustment necessary to appease a breach of tapu or taking of mana and could extend to relatively minor events where a person felt insulted, even unintentionally. Firth[109] contends that if insults were interpreted as a slur on the hapū or its leadership or ancestry then muru on a large scale could be the result. However, Metge[110] notes that muru typically took place between hapū from the same or related tribes, often with the consent of the 'victims' expressed through only token resistance, and was a mechanism for averting full scale war.

Te Rangi Hiroa[111] writes that in situations of disputes between different rōpu, or actions which threatened the mana or safety of the rōpu (whether intentional or not) harmony could sometimes be restored by the exchange of gifts appropriate to the situation. Some offences, particularly against rangatira or their family, or where treachery was involved, demanded physical retaliation and probably the death of some of the kindred of the offender, on the basis that the whānau or hapū shared collective responsibility for the offence.

End Results
The power, prestige and success of the hapū among members and externally.

Prior to contact with European whalers, traders and missionaries Māori lived in balance with the elements and natural resources. Religious beliefs influenced all activities and relationships, and were the source of mana – the power of the gods manifest in humans. Mana was partly inherited, with greatest mana passed down to the eldest of the descent line closest to the eponymous ancestor of a hapū. Mana could also be earned by deeds of courage, oratory, or contribution to the well being of the community. Māori society had well accepted protocols based on values which maintained order and harmony – essential for the survival of the community.

Land was allocated to whānau on the basis of user-rights. The ability of the hapū to hold and defend their traditional land and harvest its natural resources was the preoccupation of rangatira. From the land came the ability to provide lavish hospitality to the members of other hapū who might visit for social purposes or trade, to maintain and enhance helpful alliances and to nourish spiritual relationships and so avoid harm.

Whānau members had tasks allocated to them and would also work collectively on major undertakings. Projects such as building a waka or a meeting house would involve the entire hapū. The seasons dictated what work needed to be undertaken, and there was also a season for war.

There were many battles among hapū from different ancestry over land, the treatment of high-born women, and insulting behaviour which diminished mana. Action to restore balance and harmony was obligatory, and the principle of utu was that harm done to the spiritual aspect of people, particular those with great mana, would be reciprocated on the person responsible, or his whānau or hapū.

Alliances between hapū who could be relied upon in times of war were most important, and were supported by inter-marriage and by feasting and the exchange of gifts. Hapū and iwi were authorities unto themselves, and the sense of nationhood was not necessary to a people for whom there was no significant external threat.

Māori society was generally successful, with strong values derived from ancestry and religious teaching supporting a well understood and robust set of social institutions to provide for the security, well being and enjoyment of the people. The leadership of ariki and rangatira was based on whakapapa and while leadership in ritual and spiritual matters was not challenged, in all other things leaders needed to persuade hapū and whānau through oratory and negotiation. Society was in general democratic, and public opinion was a potent force in encouraging behaviour which would maintain the mana and well being of the community.

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Chapter Three – The Dynamics of Māori Society – Post 1800

Introduction

This Chapter continues the discussion of Māori social institutions begun in Chapter Two, and explores the impact of Pākehā settlement on the indigenous people. It identifies critical changes which have affected the way Māori groups and individuals are able to utilise their land interests and other assets. It considers the situation of hapū before and after the arrival of Pākehā settlers, particularly following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

External Factors
Over which the hapū has limited control.

About four hundred years after settlement of Aotearoa by Māori, the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman 'discovered' a land which he named Staten Landt. The name was later changed by Dutch authorities to Nieuw Zeeland, and a century passed before James Cook visited the islands in 1769, during an expedition to Tahiti sponsored by the Royal Society and the British Admiralty. Sinclair[1] writes that although Cook's early encounters resulted in the deaths of some of the native inhabitants he soon developed more successful techniques of encounter with Māori, and described them as "a brave, warlike people, with sentiments void of treachery". In his reports Cook praised the country and described the quality of flax and timber, suggesting that the land would prosper if occupied by 'an Industrus people". Cook shrewdly observed that the natives were divided among themselves and would put up little opposition to settlers.

Soon after Cook visited came traders and whalers, and inevitably some Māori were press-ganged or signed up as crew and began to visit other parts of the world. Missionaries in Sydney took an interest in the Māori seamen and decided to save their people from paganism and exploitation. Sinclair[2] summarises subsequent history:

> .... Thus industry and commerce brought the missionaries. Mission and trade led to residence which became settlement; and the flag followed the settler.

Contact with Europeans introduced Māori to goods which appealed, such as nails or cloth. Inevitably, Māori began to focus some effort on producing surplus goods to purchase these items from the traders, and commerce began, with unforeseen consequences for Māori. Sutch[3] refers to the effects of commerce at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> The provision by the Māori people of flax and timber meant that there must have been a very effective inducement to break their social and economic customs. The attraction was strong – it was hoop iron, a material which could take the place of the arduously produced stone knives and adzes.

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Sutch maintains that the success of Māori enterprise at the beginning of the nineteenth century in trading flax and timber for axes and cloth was the beginning of the break-up of the Māori economic system. He reports that the Bay of Islands felt the greatest effects as whalers from Australia, England, the United States of America, France, Portugal and Holland called in for supplies, refitting their vessels, and accessing women. They traded iron tools, steel fishing hooks, print, pigs, seeds, blankets, tobacco, clothing, muskets, powder and ball. However, the European sailors left behind them more than the goods they traded:

> Deserters from the ships and escaped convicts settled in the Bay of Islands which became notorious for its lawlessness, brutality and drunkenness. Introduced diseases, particularly venereal disease, had a disastrous effect on the Māori population of the North and weakened them considerably[4].

Missionaries resident in Australia had become concerned about the lawlessness of the early settlements in the North of New Zealand, and with exploitation of Māori. In 1810 Samuel Marsden[5] wrote to the Church Missionary Society:

> I believe the loss of the *Boyd*, and the murder of her crew, was in retaliation for acts of cruelty and fraud, which had previously been committed by some Europeans.

Davidson[6] notes that the Governor of New South Wales issued an Order in 1813 requiring masters of British ships to maintain 'good behaviour toward the natives of New Zealand'. With the support of the Governor, in 1813 Marsden[7] formed a "Society for Affording Protection to the Natives of the South Sea Islands, and Promoting their Civilisation".

In 1814 the first Anglican missionaries arrived, sent by their religious organisations to colonise the spiritual world of the Māori. Sinclair[8] reports that Samuel Marsden sailed for New Zealand from Sydney in the brig *Active*, with Messrs King (shoe maker and rope maker), Kendall (school teacher) and Hall (carpenter), their wives and five children, two sawyers, a blacksmith, a horse, a bull, two cows, sheep and poultry. Dom Felice Vaggioli[9], a Catholic clergyman and historian, confirms that the first Protestant mission was established by Samuel Marsden at Rangihu in the Bay of Islands on 200 acres of choice land purchased for 12 axes. By 1819 Marsden had established five missions in New Zealand, and Vaggioli quotes Dr Morrison, a London Mission historian, as confirming that the five lay missionaries had acquired 13,000 acres of land for 48 axes.

In 1838 the first Catholic missionaries, Monsignor Pompallier and Fr Servant with lay brother Michael, arrived in the Bay of Islands[10], evidently to a cool reception from the Anglican missionaries already installed. They were hosted by local Catholics, mainly from Ireland, and established their mission in a fine house provided by their supporters. Pompallier was

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[i] The vessel *Boyd* was burned in Whangaroa in 1809 in retaliation for the mistreatment of a Māori crew member.

successful in gaining adherents to the new faith and by 1840 there were fourteen Catholic missions – in Kororareka (Russell), Hokianga, Whangaroa, Kaipara, Waitemata and the Hauraki Gulf, Tauranga, Maketu, Opotiki, Waikato and Matamata, Akaroa, Port Nicholson (Wellington) and Terakako (Mahia Peninsular)[11]. Vaggioli records that by November 1841 there were 1000 native Catholics and 6,000 native Protestants, and again quotes Dr Morrison in suggesting that the Protestants had spent £200,000 on their missions. In collusion with the colonial powers, the Protestant and Catholic missions were to have considerable impact on the Māori way of life.

A devastating change in Māori health and mortality resulted from increasing contact with Europeans who had come from places where for generations they had lived with and survived a range of infectious diseases. M H Durie[12] notes that while the size of the Māori population was not known with great accuracy around 1840 it was probably in excess of 114,000 (I H Kawharu[13] suggests 150,000). A census taken in 1857-58 revealed that it had reduced to 56,049 which was less than the European population of 59,413. The mortality rate among Māori had been growing since the early days of contact with whalers, escaped convicts and, later, missionaries, and in less than a century the number of Māori had declined by one third. Durie[14] suggests that during the nineteenth century Māori population growth showed "a dramatic reversal with depopulation and near genocide".

Sutch[15] reports that in 1830 the number of Europeans properly settled in New Zealand was estimated to be 150, and by 1836 when 151 ships visited the Bay of Islands there were some 1800 – 2000 British subjects. Kawharu observes that by 1843 there were 11,489 Europeans in the country, with 8,326 of them in the North Island. By 1860 there were 81,000.

The period from 1830, a decade before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, until the end of the nineteenth century, saw the prevailing tikanga associated with Māori religious and cultural beliefs, land tenure, economic activities and access to natural resources systematically turned upside down and often alienated. Māori social institutions which had nurtured whānau for hundreds of years became subject to the will of a race who had little regard for the Māori's most important possession – mana.

Culture
The beliefs and values of the people within the hapū and the way in which they behave toward each   other.

The arrival of the missionaries proved to be a mixed blessing. Conversion to Christianity was initially slow, and missionaries tolerated Māori custom while providing access to desirable goods. Sinclair[16] writes that it was nine years after the arrival of the missionaries before the first Māori was baptised – a girl about to be married to a European. The next baptism was two years

later – and was a death bed conversion. Until the 1830's most Māori shared the opinion of Hongi Hika[ii], that the new religion was not suitable for warriors.

By 1830 Māori could not deny that the European culture had very superior technology, goods for all purposes, and military resources. Elsmore[17] argues that because the gods were meant to protect and provide for their people, the relative wealth of the Europeans testified to the superiority of their god over those of the Māori. Many Māori believed that if they included the missionaries' god among those whose protection they sought then it followed that they would enjoy the supply of goods which were provided by the new atua. Ward[18] suggests that Māori were keen to learn the rituals through which they could negotiate with the Christian atua, and cites a letter written in 1837 from a convert in the Bay of Islands to Samuel Marsden giving examples of every day situations where knowledge of the correct karakia and ritual was required.

The role of the missionaries as tohunga able to intercede with the hugely powerful European god became a growing challenge to the authority of the rangatira. Some opposed the new religion, some joined it, and some took the new religious teachings and adapted them into localised relationships with the atua whose power and authority was described in the Bible.

Walker[19] addresses the influence of the missionaries in more colourful language:

> In 1814 the missionaries arrived bearing the cross in one hand and the Bible in the other as justification for their mission of converting the Māori from heathenism to Christianity and savagery to civilisation. They railed against the sacred icons of the Māori as works of the Devil and systematically undermined the myths and spiritual beliefs to replace them with their own.

M H Durie[20] observes that in the Māori world, disease was identified with the authority and intervention of the spirit powers – mana atua. The new and inexplicable diseases which proved so deadly to Māori were attributed to the intervention of the Pākehā god, a belief which was fostered by the missionaries who chided their Māori congregations for not praying hard enough to the Christian god. On the other hand, the missionaries also believed in medical science and dispensed whatever medicines were available. As Durie explains:

> Māori began to accept that the two approaches were linked and, convinced that epidemics were a visitation from God, increasingly placed themselves in the hands of the missionaries.

The missionaries were often lay people who were skilled farmers or tradesmen, and who taught their new converts skills, including reading the scriptures and writing in both English and Māori. This elevated the mana of their adherents – possibly above their expectations in terms of

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[ii] Hongi Hika (1772 – 1828) – Nga Puhi leader, trader, military campaigner

mana tupuna. Someone who could communicate over long distances with European officials in writing, or act as an interpreter in official meetings, was clearly a person of influence.

The missionaries also offered something new in the way of relationships between ordinary people and their atua, based on language and ritual considerably more accessible than the often unintelligible rituals of the traditional tohunga which, according to Best[21], were confined to the "higher class of priestly experts and of the principal families". To the inherently independent and competitive Māori, acquiring European skills and participating as a lay preacher in the new Christian religion offered another path to enhancing mana, both personally and for the immediate whānau.

Christianity also offered an alternative to the seasonal round of fighting, possibly because the teachings of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries proposed a new extended family, a whānau whānui with Christ as its superior Ariki and a family of believers which mitigated against the exclusivist aspects of tribalism. Elsmore[22] suggests that as a result of the inter-tribal wars of the 1820's there were many slaves, and the missionaries were able to provide a new identity to these people who were without mana. Sinclair[23] agrees that the new religion was carried into the Māori world by numerous converts who were mainly ex-slaves. War, cannibalism and slavery were not acceptable practises in the new religion, and so the new teachings had considerable attraction for those who were most likely to be victims of such violence.

The replacement of the traditional mana atua of the Māori was not rapid or steady. The wars resulting from Māori defending their lands in the 1860's resulted in a significant drop in numbers attending church as recorded by both Methodist and Anglican churches[24]. With Māori having access to the religious books of the missionaries, their own amalgam of traditional and new doctrines emerged. Some of these new religious movements may have been anti-missionary rather than anti-christian, a consequence of the perception that some missionaries had deserted or betrayed their Māori converts during the land wars.

Howe[25] suggests that from the Taranaki War in 1860 and the invasion of the Waikato by Governor Grey in 1863, the missionaries had reached the conclusion that Māori could only be "tamed and civilized" by force. Howe[26] writes that most missionaries supported a military victory which would "bring Māori to their senses". He also suggests that most missionaries, including Selwyn, initially supported the government's plans to confiscate Māori lands after the fighting.

Belich[27] comments that European conceptions of Māori from 1820 to 1920 contrasted between "whitening" savages, who were eager to resemble Europeans, and "dying" savages who, by some scientific law, would inevitably fade away before the white man. He writes that from the late 1830's to the early 1880's New Zealand was described to prospective settlers as a latent paradise with a brilliant future which would exceed Britain. This would be achieved by the migration of superior British stock to the new colony, where the rural life would insure against "racial degeneracy".

Pākehā attitudes to the indigenous people were no different in New Zealand than in other colonies, and little worth was placed on a culture which was seen by most settlers as barbaric and primitive. The assumption of superiority by the migrants in every possible way was supported by the obvious – the availability of technology, books, and medicines to treat introduced diseases.

These diseases, and the awesome destructive power of the musket, gave some weight to the myth of the dying savage. In a paper to the 2005 Hui Taumata, M H Durie comments:[28]

> For the last half of the nineteenth century .... the level of devastation was so severe that it appeared that Māori might not survive as a people beyond the twentieth century, and the duty of the Government was to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race[29]'.

The situation for Māori was certainly grim. Belich[30] writes:

> As the twentieth century opened, most Pākehā and some Māori believed that the Māori people were destined for extinction. At best, they were thought to face complete assimilation ... Though the 'fatal impact' of Europe on Māori during the nineteenth century has been exaggerated, the stresses of contact did halve Māori numbers during the century – to 45,000 in 1901 ... They were a small minority of 5 percent in their own country. They had lost most of their best land, together with their powers of effective resistance and, therefore of valued co-operation.

It was mainly the tribes who had supported the British in the land wars of the 1860's (Ngati Porou and Te Arawa) who took part in World War One, and of the 2,200 who fought, 336 were killed and 734 wounded – similar to Pākehā casualty rates. But the influenza epidemic of 1918 took 2,160 Māori – seven times the Pākehā death rate[31]. However, notwithstanding the losses from war and disease, in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the 1936 census found that Māori numbers had increased to 82,000.

Belich[32] suggests that the growth of the Māori population was due to a number of reasons, and was in spite of the relatively high death rates. Birth rates were high, and some degree of immunity to introduced diseases was developing, with better sanitation and health care. These public health initiatives for Māori were introduced by members of the Young Māori Party who had entered Parliament, Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck).

It is arguable whether the Young Māori Party were assimilationist in their desire to see Māori succeed in the Pākehā world, or were instead trying to slow down land sales and what their Pākehā government colleagues saw as a desirable abandonment of Māori culture in favour of English language and European behaviour.

Williams[33] records that Ngata took note of the resilience of Māori and the importance placed on the retention of the key elements of the culture, and the overtly assimilationist policy was amended to 'integration'. Ngata supported the establishment of Māori schools which taught traditional arts and crafts, and the use of te reo Māori.

However, the integration policy was tempered by the intentions of the officials, who insisted on a curriculum which in all other respects differed little from that used in Pākehā schools. The Department of Education did not intend to allow Māori to determine for themselves what was important for Māori children to learn. The decision was made for them, that they must learn what was necessary to live within the Pākehā community and contribute to its industry.

M H Durie[34] notes that the development of a 'strong Māori identity' which was prescribed by Ngata:

> ... was not only sidelined in legislation, education, family policy and land
> development, but in one way or another it was actively discouraged. In became the
> rule, for example, not to allow Māori children to speak Māori in the school grounds.

Belich[35] reports that the Native School system was established in 1867 and grew from 89 primary schools and 3,100 students in 1900 to 166 schools and 13,600 students in 1957. The schools have been controversial, ranging in attitude from total assimilation, to cooperation and linking with local marae. The future of the Māori language was put in jeopardy by a mixture of official Education Department policies and the attitude of many Māori parents, who saw their children's future in their ability to communicate well in English. By 1936 as many as 96% of Māori children spoke English at home. It was only in 1984 that Māori was recognised as an official language of New Zealand.

Academically the Native schools produced better results for Māori than the public schools, with five times as many Māori pupils entering the Standard Seven academically orientated class. Pākehā opinion was that despite these good results the Native schools were working against assimilation of Māori into Pākehā culture, and the Native School system was closed in 1967.

The consequences for Maori of the patronising policies of assimilation were articulated in a letter written by Lou Parore[iii] to Prime Minister Savage in 1936:

> You will appreciate the fact, that Pākehā penetration more or less destroyed tribal organisation, without providing an adequate substitute, and that after many years of dangerous experimenting, the Māori people are stripped of their health and wealth, remaining only bleeding stumps.
>
> The tendency has been to disrobe the Māori of his mana, to rob him of the soil, curb his vigour and vitality, deny him liberty and freedom, and reduce him to become a worker. Whereas after a hundred years contact with Civilised peoples, the Māori should be surrounded by wealth, but now he is more like driftwood on the ebb-tide...".[36]

In his reply Savage[37] suggested that the time had not yet arrived to allow Māori to manage their own affairs. Legislative restrictions which limited Māori in undertaking business and financial transactions were freely admitted, but justified on the basis that the greater number needed the protection of the Department of Native Affairs.

Adult education programmes provided through the Colleges of the University of New Zealand had a significant impact on the development of Māori, including the teaching of Māori language, arts and crafts and dances. Wiremu Parker[38] reported to Victoria University College in 1950 that: "There is no denying that Māori would be attracted to adult education if it has a message for the masses".

Parker's words appear prophetic as many thousands of adult Māori have taken up the opportunities provided by the three Wananga named in the Education Amendment Act 1990, (Te Wananga o Aotearoa, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, Te Wananga o Raukawa) as well as the Māori Studies departments of all of the major tertiary education institutions catering specifically for Māori students. Māori arts and crafts as well as te reo Māori appear to be flourishing in a climate of revival and the determination of many thousands of Māori to improve their ability to advance their well-being in a way which places high priority on tikanga Māori. This includes the Māori world view as a central element, with arts, crafts and dances an illustration of those things which Māori themselves consider to be of continuing value and importance.

The levels of participation in tertiary education, particularly 'second chance' education among Māori has increased to a level which must engender optimism, particularly in terms of the expectations of families where parents and grandparents are embracing courses offered by the three Wananga registered under the Education Amendment Act 1990.

[iii] Lou Parore – Kaumatua of Ngati Whatua and Nga Puhi

Figure 3.1[39] shows all domestic students in 2002: 59% identified themselves as NZ European/Pākehä, 23% as Maori, 5% as Pacific, 8% as Asian and 3% as other ethnicities. There were 22,826 more Maori students participating in tertiary education in 2002 than in 2001. This represents a 2.6 % increase in the proportion of Maori students at tertiary institutions.

Figure 3.1 Number of Students by Ethnicity in 2002
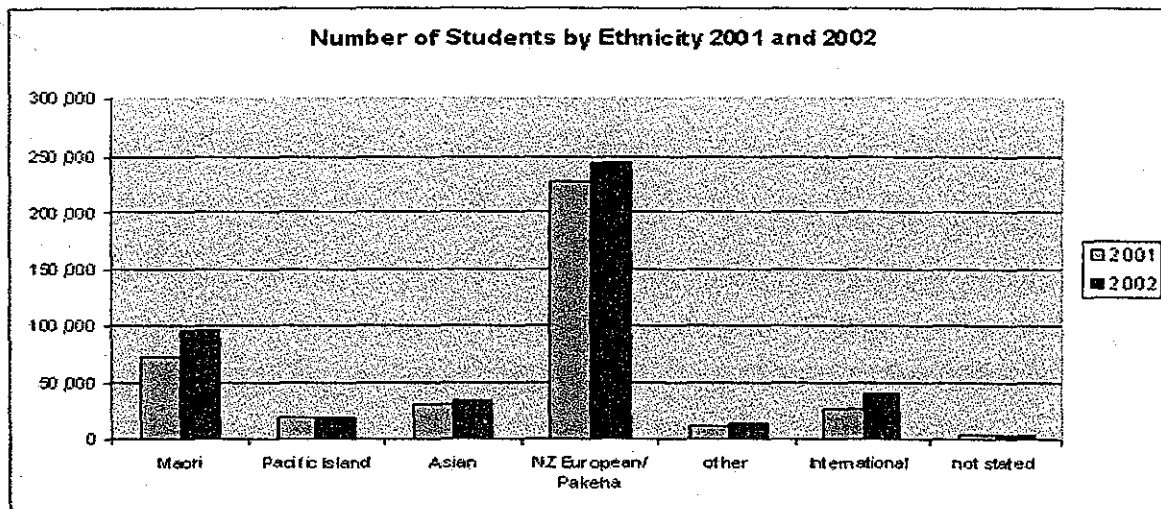
In 2004 the three Wananga enrolled 70,775 students: Te Wananga o Aotearoa 66,729 (including a significant number of non-Mäori); Te Wananga o Raukawa 2000; Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi 2046.

Vision and Leadership
What the hapü considers to be desirable outcomes, and how the role and behaviour of leaders contributes to this.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Mäori were to lose their sovereignty over their lands and their people. The ability of the settlers to enforce their will on the Mäori inhabitants had its origin in the concerns expressed both by the missionaries and Mäori at the lawless and brutal behaviour of many of the Europeans visiting or resident in the trading centres which developed around the new industries – timber, flax, potatoes and pigs. Davidson[40] records that although there may have been no sound legal basis, the British colony in Australia assumed jurisdiction over British subjects in New Zealand. Before he left Sydney in 1814 the missionary Kendall had been made a Justice of the Peace with the authority to take evidence where a British subject was accused of a crime, and to "control the embarkation and discharge of Mäori sailors on British ships".

The appointment in 1833 of James Busby as British Resident gave greater presence to British claims of jurisdiction which had been made in New South Wales Acts of 1817, 1823 and 1828,

but Busby had no military backing, and relied on his ability to mediate between Māori and Pākehä, with the involvement of the missionaries. The interest of France in the 'new' territory aroused the anxiety of the Protestant missionaries (who saw the threat of encroaching Catholicism) as well as Māori who were aware of the ambitions of land speculators such as Baron Charles de Thierry who wanted to establish a French colony in New Zealand. Busby persuaded thirty-four rangatira as the 'Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand' to sign a 'Declaration of Independence'[41] which was witnessed by Church Missionary Society missionaries, Henry Williams and George Clarke.

M H Durie[42] notes that the wording of the 1835 Declaration of Independence was an example of growing concern among Māori for their mana tangata and mana whenua, and led to an expression of 'mana Māori', an expression which was unnecessary before the arrival of European settlers.

> All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity....

The Declaration was sent to King William IV, and entreated him

> ....that he will continue to be the parent of their infant State, and that he will become the Protector from all attempts upon its independence.

The Declaration was acknowledged by the British Colonial Office and gained recognition among other rangatira, but the continuation of fighting among the tribes prevented the prescribed annual congress of chiefs at Waitangi 'for the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade' from ever taking place[43]. The Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand never met in congress because it was never actually established.

The sale of land by some hapū increased tensions and did nothing to assist unity among Māori, some of whom could see advantages in a British presence to regulate the behaviour of the settlers. In July 1939 Britain decided, with some reluctance, to appoint Captain William Hobson as Consul and Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, in the belief that the move would be welcomed by Māori as well as the settlers[44].

The year 1840 is significant for two events – the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi by a number of chiefs representing their hapū or iwi, and a proclamation from Australia's Governor Gipps declaring in New South Wales the British Government's claim to sovereignty over New Zealand.

Ward[45] observes that the decision of the British Colonial Office to annexe New Zealand as a Colony rather than to create a Protectorate where the laws and customs of the Māori would have significant sway, was not lightly made. There was a recognition by James Stephen, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, that a government which would be dominated by new settlers and their concerns would inevitably oppress the culture and the rights of the indigenous people – the Māori. However, he also recognised that in a colony dominated by new settlers a Protectorate would not protect Māori from "persecutions, which no human power will be able to arrest or punish".

Captain William Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands on 30 January, 1840 with instructions from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Normanby[46] to acquire sovereignty by cession from Māori chiefs, to assume control of land transactions and to make provisions for Māori welfare.

> The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims for herself and her subjects every pretension to seize on the Islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as part of the dominions of Great Britain, unless free and intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was framed by Hobson, acting on instructions from the Colonial Secretary, to express the wishes of the Crown, which were supported by the missionaries. According to Orange[47], the Treaty was written without any input from Māori. Hobson's notes were amplified by Busby to include the important promise that Britain would guarantee Māori possession of their lands, their forests, their fisheries and other prized possessions, without which Māori would not sign. The Māori translation was read to the assembled rangatira by missionary Henry Williams. The chiefs had no time to study the Treaty in any detail or to compare the English version with the Māori version.

The Treaty was treated with suspicion by most rangatira, but was regarded as inevitable by Tamati Waka Nene[iv], who considered that it was too late to turn back European settlement. He saw advantages in having British officials having the right to control the settlers, and perhaps to settle disputes between settlers and Māori. As Ward [48] suggests, Nene and others saw in Te Tiriti (the version in Māori which was signed by the rangatira) the means of preserving their leadership over their people and their assets – their tino rangatiratanga. This understanding was reinforced by letters from Hobson[49] telling the chiefs:

> The Governor will ever strive to assure unto you the customs and all the possessions belonging to the Māoris.

[iv] Tamati Waka Nene – died 1871, Nga Puhi leader, trader, government adviser

However, this same understanding was not reflected in Hobson's[50] instructions to George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, who was told to assure Māori:

> that their native customs would not be infringed except in cases that are opposed to the principles of humanity and morals.

This instruction assumed that British law could reach into whānau and hapū, dictating principles which would dramatically undermine the tino rangatiratanga that Hobson and Te Tiriti had guaranteed in 1840.

Some hapū and iwi were glad to cooperate with the settler government in order to avoid the horror of the musket, and some saw the opportunity to harness the legal and military power of the government to resolve long standing land disputes and to settle old scores.

After some debate and dissension among the chiefs the Māori version, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, was signed by 45 chiefs at Waitangi on February 6th, and copies were subsequently signed by other chiefs in locations around the North and South Islands. Orange[51] suggests the following reasons for signing:

Authority	A new, equal relationship with the Queen by which local officials would control the behaviour of troublesome settlers and the rangatira would look after their own people according to their customs. The mana of the land would remain with Māori, and would be protected by the British from claims by France and other nations.
Land	There would be support against aggressive European land buyers, and facilitation of land sales by those rangatira who wished to sell land (sometimes to resolve long standing feuds with other hapū over its ownership). Peace among hapū was a strong motivation for some rangatira.
Trade	The signatories hoped for a share in the increased markets for their produce, more goods to buy, and a demand for Māori services of all kinds.

Although the Preamble to the Treaty anticipated the arrival of more settlers, Orange suggests that the signatories to Te Tiriti had no idea that there were plans to bring great numbers of settlers to New Zealand. Once the document was signed British settlement could progress rapidly, and it did so without regard to the Treaty. The new settlers in Port Nicholson had no part in the preparation of the Treaty and did not feel bound by it. At best they considered it to be an expedient in order to allow colonisation of New Zealand on a basis which at least had the appearance of legality and the agreement of the indigenous people.

I HI Kawharu[52] writes that many Māori chiefs (various accounts have the number varying from 72 to 500 authenticated signatories) signed the Treaty of Waitangi on the understanding that hapū would be guaranteed rights to their lands, fisheries, and forests against all others, Māori and non-Māori alike, and that tribal elders were to retain administrative authority over their own estates. The real power lay with the colonial Governor and his resources, however, and the chiefs found that while their authority was recognised for the purpose of ceding sovereignty to the British Queen, it was not recognised for the purpose of governing[53]. Mana whenua, mana tupuna and mana tangata were effective only within te ao Māori, but were ignored by the settlers who considered that only British law had validity.

Structure and Delegation
Who is senior to whom and who is responsible for what.

The social institutions of traditional Māori society were soon to be displaced by the institutions of the settlers. The authority of the rangatira, supported by tohunga able to intercede with the many spiritual powers which influenced outcomes in the physical world, was a stumbling block to the settlers' desire for the security and familiarity of British customs and laws. The complexity of whakapapa relationships and the importance of mana in land sales were a frustration because of the uncertainty that those taking part in a transaction represented all of the relevant stakeholders.

Māori society was based on consensus decision making, with chiefs having considerable influence and respect, but always subject to the agreement of the people, which might change in the light of new circumstances or information. This was inconvenient to settlers who were accustomed to decision making based on a majority of votes. It suited the settlers to assume a hierarchical tribal structure where there was absolute authority between the levels, chiefs having a mandate to deal with the property of the group with impunity. Mana whenua did not sit comfortably with majority rule.

Prior to the imposition of British law, the dominance of whānau and hapū as the significant social units was such that the actions of an individual, whether good or bad, were attributed to the wider group. This was not a principle recognised in British law, which focused on the individual and did not recognise whānau and hapū as accountable institutions. The settlers felt no need to consider the structure and stability of Māori society, so convinced were they that the organisation of European society was superior to any other model, and that a short period of time would convince the natives of the wisdom and justice of British law and custom.

Tension between settlers and Māori over land occupancy resulted in violence which was halted or averted by troops. In 1840 Hobson proclaimed that all claims relating to disputed land sales were void until they had been investigated and confirmed by the Crown. In 1841 a Land Claims Ordinance reserved to the Crown all purchase or leasing of land from Māori. Within a few years of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi the authority of rangatira over their lands and people was rapidly diminishing as the British assumed jurisdiction over both races.

It was as though the Treaty did not exist as the British administration continued a process of diminishing the mana and influence of hapū and iwi. In 1846 the British Government proposed establishing a Parliament for New Zealand which would give the vote to males who could read and write English. Orange suggests that with 13,000 settlers and many times that number of Māori, Governor Grey saw the inevitability of a legislature which he could not control, and so he rejected the proposal.

The 1852 Constitution Act gave New Zealand the authority to govern itself, at least within the constraints of a 'self governing colony', but the Government did not include any Māori. For the next sixteen years the Māori had no place in the framing of laws and the establishment of an administration that systematically dispossessed him of his land and deprived him of protection under the law .

Tomas[54] aptly summarises the rapid changes in the political landscape:

> With the establishment of a settler government and the introduction of an English legal system, Māori autonomy and land relationships were rapidly eroded.

The loss of political independence was of great importance to Māori, who from the 1790's were producing surplus potatoes, treated flax, pigs, timber and other products to trade with whaling ships. Sinclair[55] reports that in the early years of colonisation the Europeans relied on Māori for supplies of food. However, the majority of settlers viewed the Māori as being, in some ways, less human than themselves, as children rather than as adults of a different culture. As I H Kawharu[56] states:

> In general, the settler appears to have ignored the Māori, considering him neither a charge on his conscience nor a legitimate obstacle to the fulfilment of his ambitions.

While it may be accepted that the British Government and the missionaries were concerned with the welfare of Māori at the hands of the colonists, it was clear that this was to be achieved through the replacement of Māori culture and custom with British law and customs. This is made explicit in the preamble to an ordinance from the Colonial Office[57]:

And whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilized nations on being brought into contact with colonists from the nations of Europe. And in undertaking the colonization of New Zealand Her Majesty's Government have recognized the duty of endeavouring by all practicable means to avert the like disasters from the native people of the Islands, which object may best be obtained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population.

In 1867 the colonial government, for various reasons was finally prepared to recognise that Māori were entitled to franchise in the Parliament. In order to limit the influence of the still relatively numerous Māori, four 'special' seats were created in the Parliament, and Māori were able to elect candidates to these seats but were not eligible to vote for candidates standing in the general seats. This ensured that the tangata whenua could never outvote the new settlers.

When it became apparent in the early years of the twentieth century that Māori were increasing in numbers rather than dying out, the settlers desire for Māori to fully assimilate became more urgent. Belich[58] comments that many "looked forward to a time when Māori would exist only as a 'golden tinge' on the skins of their Pākehā cousins". Māori therefore fell into three categories, which Belich suggests still exist in the Pākehā psyche today: first those who fully integrated through marriage and cultural assimilation; second those 'superior' Māori who clearly demonstrated the enlightened treatment of natives by the Pākehā settlers – for example those who occupied the four seats in Parliament established in 1867; and third the unassimilated Māori who were considered "degenerate vestiges of noble forebears".

The leaders of the Young Māori movement that emerged from the native Te Aute College (Maui Pomare, Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck) all became Members of Parliament and Knights of the British realm. Their elevation to the Cabinet had the effect of diverting Pākehā attention away from the appalling effects of crippling poverty and cultural destruction which followed the land wars. In a sense these undeniably talented and capable men gave comfort to the Pākehā population that Māori were well treated, and that those with energy and intelligence could rise to the highest levels. They were also well respected in the Māori world, and their involvement as Members of Parliament gave credibility to Government policies of assimilation – the annihilation of Māori culture and self pride in favour of total assimilation into the Pākehā culture.

Williams[59] refers to a draft policy statement of the "Young Māori Party for the Amelioration of the Māori Race" which puts in stark perspective the sense of defeat under which these men sought to find a place for Māori in the new Dominion:

It is not the aim of the party to preserve the Māori as a distinct race, or consciously to combat the influences that tend more and more to bring about the fusion of the Māori with the European; since it is recognised, naturally and with some regret, that the maintenance of the Māori as a distinct and separate race is a matter of insuperable difficulty; but the aim and effort of the party is to secure that any such fusion be brought about on the highest possible plane, and on a basis of mutual self-respect to which end the maintenance of a proper pride of place is essential.

While it is not their view that such a fusion is altogether desirable, the only other view that seems possible is that the race is doomed, that it should not be absorbed lest the white blood be tainted, and that it must be left to perish as having no place in the future life of the Dominion.

...

The methods adopted by the party in pursuit of its objects cannot be said to have yet been properly consolidated. In the inception of the movement they were necessarily iconoclastic, to a certain extent, but constructive in pointing out more desirable alternatives ... But it may be stated that the methods pursued have been governed largely by the consideration that, in his equipment as the citizen of a state founded mainly on an industrial basis, the average Māori begins some degrees below the average European in every department of civilisation, and special preparation, attention and training are required to advance him to the point where he may be considered qualified to face the ordinary problems of a civilised community, on equal terms.

...

It is recognised that as soon as this pioneering has advanced sufficiently in any department the justification for a special system will cease to exist.

These attitudes did not go unchallenged, and the prophet Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana founded a movement which was designed to uplift Māori as a nation within the Dominion, principally through the formal ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ngata's own views changed to the extent that by 1920 he was persuaded that Māori could 'adapt' to Pākehā civilisation while remaining Māori, and his principles of integration became Government policy which saw the establishment of The Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929. For the first time Government funded the development of what little land was left in Māori hands for the benefit of its Māori owners.

Ngata's influence extended to education, which he saw as essential for Māori integration into the new society, and a climate emerged in which Douglas Ball, the Inspector of Native Schools in 1929, was able to introduce Māori arts and crafts into schools which had previously operated under a policy "exemplified by the complete abolition of all things Māori from the scheme of education[60]".

By 1943 all four Māori seats were won by candidates endorsed by the Ratana movement, allied with the Labour Party.

The first Māori to be appointed to the position of Secretary of Māori Affairs (from 1948 to 1958) was Tipi Ropiha. His influence in the administration of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 included the appointment of Welfare Officers to assist the Department in providing a range of services to the rapidly growing number of Māori relocating in urban centres in search of work. Williams[61] includes the following list of Departmental services as an indication that both the old assimilationist policies as well as some new directions coexisted:

- Maintenance of hostels
- Trade training schemes
- Budgetary and counselling services
- Pre-employment instruction and orientation for urban-heading rural Māori
- Health services
- Adoption
- Subsidies for meeting houses
- Promotion of cultural activities
- Publication of magazines

A statement of the Objects of the Department[62] included the following:

    To promote, encourage, guide and assist members of the Māori race, -

(i)   to conserve, improve, advance and maintain their physical, educational, social
        and moral well-being;

(ii)   to assume and maintain self-reliance, thrift, pride of race and such conduct as
        will be conductive to their general health and economic well-being;

(iii)   to accept and maintain the full rights, privileges and responsibilities of
        citizenship;

(iv)   to apply and maintain the maximum possible efficiency and responsibility in
        their local self-government and undertakings; and

(v)   to revive, preserve and maintain the teachings of Māori arts, crafts, language,
        genealogy, and history in order to perpetuate the ancient Māori culture.

By 1949 there were 63 Tribal Executives and 381 Tribal Committees, which effectively fragmented Māori leadership and ensured that the Māori Affairs Department "controlled all aspects of Māori affairs policies".[63]   By 1966 the Department was employing 71 welfare officers, most of them Māori and bilingual. Their duties extended to the supervision and coordination of the Tribal Executives and Tribal Committees and despite representations from

Māori, including the Māori Members of Parliament, for a nation-wide body to represent Māori views and aspirations the Government continued to retain control over Māori affairs.

The introduction to the annual report for 2004 for Te Puni Kōkiri, the current equivalent of the Māori Affairs Department, suggests that its role has not changed significantly in the past fifty years.

> Legislation was enacted through the Ministry of Māori Development Act (1991) to provide Te Puni Kōkiri with the responsibility of promoting increases in the level of attainment achieved by Māori, and monitoring and liaising with those agencies that provide services to or for Māori.

> In 1999 the Labour/Alliance coalition Government broadened the functions of Te Puni Kōkiri to include auditing the effectiveness of Government programmes for Māori, and extending its service delivery role. The aim of all of these changes was to achieve an integrated approach towards the Governments' overall objective for Māori: to reduce inequalities, and improve opportunities and support for Māori development. The emphasis was on brokering Māori development at a regional level, and influencing, advising and leading at a central government level by leading key policy initiatives and providing high quality advice to Government.[64]

Largely landless, with high levels of unemployment and few resources to spare, Māori wishing to improve their situation had little choice but to accept the Government programmes on offer, applying for funding through one or other of the latest development initiatives.

Information and Control
The means of relaying and receiving information critical to the organisation and success of the hapū.

Māori society was based on consensual decision making, rangatira having considerable influence and respect, but always subject to the agreement of the people, which might change in the light of new circumstances or information.

Under British legal and administrative arrangements decisions were made either on the basis of authority derived from a statute or a government decision, or in accordance with common business practise which relied on representatives deciding issues, usually behind closed doors.

A consequence of the breakdown of mana tupuna and the authority of the collective voice of whānau and hapū has been the need for Māori to conduct the management of their material assets through legal entities which have clear rules regarding use and particularly disposal through sale or gift. These legal entities have in common a requirement that decisions are made either by those who can prove membership or ownership of the entity, and thereby are entitled to be present and vote at certain meetings, or by an executive group which is elected or

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appointed by the members or owners at large. There is room for some variation in the way the executive group is appointed and decisions are made, but by and large it is a matter of majority rule.

The Pākehā meeting format was introduced to Māori land owners by Ngata[65] around 1900, with the introduction of incorporations. In 1912 Ngata formed the Waiapu Farmers Cooperative Company, and obviously saw no danger in placing Māori interests into legislated organisations. The Pākehā style meeting with its legal criteria and established format was the basis on which these organisations would do business with government and financial institutions.

In Ngata's days life for landed rural Māori was much the same as it had been, and meetings were attended by the leaders of whānau and hapū. They had mana, and could confidently commit their whānau to a course of action. All of the owners of the assets would be represented and the form of meeting was not particularly relevant because of the mana of the people attending as trustees and directors. The meetings would begin with traditional greetings and karakia, as they often do today. The format was adapted to be comfortable to those attending by making it more like a formal hui, and while decisions might have been recorded as resolutions they would be made by consensus.

The formal hui which in former times was the forum for debates at hapū level. It is still the forum for many ritual celebrations such as tangihanga, graduation ceremonies and annual celebrations of the Kingitanga. In past times the skill and mana of orators was admired, and it is easy to picture the delight of an appreciative audience when a skilled speaker wove familiar stories and places into an attractive argument. The oral literature of the iwi was known to speaker and audience as part of their general knowledge.

Karetu[66] suggests the richness of the oral literature can still be observed at many hui, particularly when there is an important event involving many visitors. He emphasises how important oral literature is and how it can be used to set the scene for later discussions.

Mahuta[67] provides an illustration from a speech given by Matene Te Whiwhi at Pukawa, Lake Taupo, in 1856:

> I look far over to the sea to the south and what do I see? Mountains covered with snow and ice. I turn and gaze across the plains to the east and what do I behold but cabbage trees! I turn my eyes down to the belly of the fish of Maui. I see nothing but the little kōkopu fish and the kōura crayfish that walks backwards. I turn to the west and look over the forests to Taranaki. I see nothing but broken ropes. I look northward; I see a leaking house. Now I turn my eyes to Waikato. I behold Waikato-taniwha-rau, Waikato of a hundred demons. Waikato of whose river it is said: "he piko he taniwha",

at every bend a demon. There in Waikato is the place where we look for a King.
Yonder is the man.

Mahuta explains that the position of Matene Te Whiwhi as the leader of a powerful confederation of tribes gave a context to his references, which were to tribal groups which may have had aspirations to sponsor a Māori King. His references to landmarks, fish, mythological figures, ropes and a leaking house would be understood to be references to tribes which for various reasons were unable to provide a candidate. The concluding remarks refer to the power and prosperity of the Waikato tribes and the home of the renowned chief Te Wherowhero.

The format of hui may vary among hapū. Usually speakers will stand and state their position on a topic, to be followed by others who will either support or attempt to modify that position by stating an alternative position. However, the availability of an extensive oral literature as a resource which modern speakers can call on to indicate complexities and possibilities while they state their position or preferences is limited to a few skilled people.

Without the ability to indicate subtleties and possible opportunities for compromise through references to a commonly known oral literature, a speaker's statement of position can be quite stark and uncompromising. While there was once the opportunity for skilled speakers to build on the stories which had been related by others and so develop a position which suggested an acceptable alternative, this opportunity has largely vanished as access to the oral literature has diminished. Even if a speaker has the skill to build a story with potent possibilities for compromise it is unlikely that many listeners will have the knowledge to appreciate the message. If the message is missed, the opportunity for reaching consensus has gone.

In modern times, as life has become more urban and the intimacy village life has been replaced by more insular and less open and transparent relationships, family based information systems have become less effective. Issues affecting hapū and iwi are more usually dealt with by official groups such as Runanga, Māori Committees, and Trusts, with the consequence that at the whānau level the reliability of information received is often unable to be readily confirmed.

Reward and Motivation
Preferred behaviours, values and rules, and incentives to achieve behaviour necessary for the success of the hapū.

In theory, the introduction of British custom and law did little to change the essence of what whānau and hapū would regard as essential good behaviour. While European society valued individual skill, entrepreneurship and popularity more than family loyalty and contribution to

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the community, these preferences need not have made a significant impact on tikanga. What changed was the opportunity for individuals to become personally wealthy.

The ability to sell land introduced the possibility of individual rather than collective wealth, and induced some Māori to sell their land for money or goods, often without the approval of their whānaunga who were then forced to apply to the Crown to have sales reviewed or overturned. The introduction of individual land title has been a significant cause of friction, and had enormous ramifications for the concept of whānaungatanga and mana whenua.

In the society introduced by the new settlers, acceptable behaviour was defined in the spirit of the frontier. The ability to survive and prosper in the new colony was not restricted by class. However, the behaviour of the principals of the New Zealand Company[v] encouraged an attitude to Māori which was racist. Land had been sold to new settlers before it had been properly acquired from Māori owners, and the rush of immigrants resulted in demands for Māori ownership to be ignored in favour of the needs and desires of the new settlers.

In British society acceptable behaviour was defined in legislation and in case law, and finally determined by Police and courts. Laws were mainly restrictive in nature, with the consequence that individuals could undertake any activity which was not restricted by law or precedent. Spiritual considerations were absent from legislation and were significantly less compelling in European than in Māori society.

Morality and valued behaviours were important in European society, but breaches were dealt with by the social isolation of offenders rather than action against the individual or his family in order to restore balance and harmony in the community.

The frustration and anger among Māori which resulted from the displacement of tikanga Māori as a basis for fairness and justice in Māori society was tempered to a great extent by the promise of the Treaty, and by the pacifying influence of the Christian churches. The Anglican church established a Māori bishopric in 1928, and has since undertaken some constitutional measures to recognise the Treaty within its own governance processes. Besides the strong Catholic church, the Mormon church had been evangelising since the 1880's[68], and the Ratana movement was also a significant influence since it declared itself a church in 1925.

In the early years of the twentieth century tikanga Māori still had a strong influence on whānau, and was the basis of relationships in rural areas and on marae at least until the Second World

[v] the New Zealand Company was established in 1839 by Colonel William Wakefield to purchase land in New Zealand in preparation for the first settlement.

War. Belich[69] explains that there were still isolated areas of Māori political independence in 1916, and twenty years later Māori were "predominantly rural, marginal to and isolated from the urbanising Pākehā socio-economy".

The migration to the towns and cities around the time of the Second World War was greatly disruptive to Māori culture, with a majority of urban Māori isolated from the marae of their parents and grandparents. It does appear, however, that some fundamental aspects of tikanga have remained, and these will be discussed below.

Strategic Relationships
The ways in which important relationships are developed and maintained internally, and also externally with potential allies and enemies.

For the first half of the nineteenth century Europeans sought strategic relationships with the more numerous and powerful Māori inhabitants of New Zealand. The early settlers were almost totally dependent on their Māori hosts for food and protection. They offered goods and technology which attracted the interest of Māori, and in order to induce the new arrivals to stay, land was offered or sold – to missionaries and to the British officials who were sometimes useful in dealing with the delinquent elements of the whalers and traders now living in a few economically important locations.

In fact, the success of Māori enterprise underpinned the new colony for some time because many of the new settlers were unable to support themselves, let alone finance the colonization which the New Zealand Company had promised would be systematic and self funding.

Sinclair[70] writes that in the face of declining finances Hobson at first hoped that the purchase of Māori land for a pittance and resale to the new settlers at a huge profit would be sufficient. When it proved not to be the case customs revenues were imposed, and these fell on the mainly Māori traders. Consequently, significant smuggling along the extensive coastline meant that revenue was inadequate and the colony was close to bankruptcy.

Following the death of Hobson, his successor, Robert Fitzroy, demonstrated even greater impatience. He issued government debentures as legal tender, but not backed by adequate gold reserves, and consequently put the government's financial position at significant risk. Then, to the delight of old settlers who had been unable to make speculative purchases of land for resale to new settlers, he rescinded the Crown monopoly on the sale of Māori land and so eliminated the only other source of available revenue. Inevitably, property sales taxes were introduced at ten shillings an acre but, according to Sinclair[71], these were soon reduced to one penny.

Sinclair [72] reports that despite "lofty talk of systematic colonization and British law and order, for some years after 1840 New Zealand exhibited a scene of anarchy"; this had always been the experience where colonization of one culture by another occurred. He suggests that the problems in New Zealand at this time were racially based.

Belich[73] agrees:

> Europeans saw Pacific peoples through various lenses of preconception ... from the benign yet distortive Noble Savage at one extreme, and folk ethnocentrism at the other, were three knots of race-related thought, centred stereotypes of 'Black' (permanently inferior), 'White' (convertible), and 'Grey' (dying savages).

He goes on to suggest that the British conceptions of Māori from 1820 to 1920 centred mainly on the 'white' and 'grey' stereotypes, which offered 'subordinating colonialism' as the practical paradigm of ethnic relations. While the success of Māori in 'war, economics and politics' contradicted this paradigm it was dismissed as transitory. As Sinclair[74] suggests, to the settlers whom the New Zealand Company had promised a new home, 'there was no room, except perhaps on the periphery of their vision, for Māoris'.

War between hapū became rare and ceased altogether as land was lost and whānau were forced to take employment and find food and lodging where they could. Those hapū and iwi who sought collaboration with the new settlers found that the gratitude of their allies was short lived, and that they had handed Pākehā an easy victory when it came to enforcing unpopular laws. Where battles between neighbouring hapū and iwi over natural resources still take place they are more likely to be referred to a Pākehā court or tribunal for resolution.

There is now little trade between hapū and iwi, and in modern times the basis of ownership of hapū resources is very different. Most Māori are employed in either private or public organisations, although there is a growing involvement in self employment and collective enterprises.

Transformation Processes
The organisation of economic activities to produce successful outcomes for the hapū.

The new colony in Australia and the new settlers in New Zealand provided an alternative for Māori to exercise their skill and innovation. The basis of trade reveals the keen desire Māori had for European goods. For example, Sutch[75] reports the following transactions in 1814:

> 150 baskets of potatoes and 8 pigs for 1 musket
> 1 bag of potatoes for a small piece of hoop iron
> 200 acres of land for 12 axes (Marsden)

50 acres of land for 5 axes (Kendall and Hall – each)

By 1830 ships were carrying large quantities of produce from Māori traders to Sydney, a practise which continued well after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The report of the Waitangi Tribunal[76] into the Muriwhenua Fishing Claim quotes Rev R Taylor:

> The trade of Auckland is perfectly surprising, the number of small coasters, most of which belong to the natives and are laden with their produce, cannot fail striking the stranger who visits the port with astonishment.

Sinclair[77] writes that in the 1850's Māori were thriving in agriculture and shipping, owning most of the coastal shipping and exporting potatoes, wheat and other food to Australia. He says that in the Waikato alone in 1853 Māori owned ten watermills, worth £2,700, while eight more were being erected, and they had thousands of acres planted in wheat. However, 1856 saw the beginning of a depression in agriculture markets which affected the viability of Māori commercial enterprises.

The Waitangi Tribunal[78] identifies 1860 as the year that the tide turned against the dominance of Māori in the fishing industry. It reports:

> It was then that the numerical superiority of the settlers was achieved. It was also at that time that Britain passed over to them its political control, and war with certain Māori was declared. Racial attitudes hardened. In the wake of the wars came a series of laws destined to break the Māori control of the resources of the land and sea, and significantly, to put an end to their competitive trading habits.

The first of the laws related to the supply of oysters to the Auckland market. The Oyster Fisheries Act of 1866 put paid to a vigorous trade which had seen Māori supply thousands of kits of oysters in the year before. The Act forbade the exploitation of oysters by Māori, and leased Māori oyster beds to non-Māori commercial interests. A later law in 1900 which continued until 1962 opened small coastal reserves for Māori to collect oysters, but only for their own use[79], and the Tribunal notes that no granting of such a reserve was ever recorded.

Concern was expressed by missionaries in New Zealand and echoed in sentiments expressed by Mr Selwyn, MP[80] in the British House of Commons in 1864:

> In 1845 the Māori of New Zealand had good reason to doubt whether Britain intended to preserve inviolate the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi; and on the 30th June in that year Lord Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed a letter to Sir G Grey, the Governor of New Zealand, strongly urging the necessity of honestly and unconditionally maintaining that Treaty, by which it was distinctly stipulated that the possessions enjoyed by the natives were to be granted to them by Her Majesty, to be held by them so long as they might desire to retain them. Now, he would ask, had the Government ever acted up to that declaration, which he would remind the House was much more essential now than it was then...

Māori competition in the fishing industry was dealt a further blow when from 1885 the Government gave special loans to purchase conventional fishing gear for the development of a fish export trade. Many Māori communities were already well established and depended on fishing but their ability to access development loans would have required them to change their already successful fishing methods. Very few Māori would have had the personal asset base to secure even a modest loan.

The successful Māori fishing industry was abruptly curtailed when Māori who were the major suppliers of grey mullet to many canning factories in the North had their gear outlawed in 1890 on the excuse of over-fishing the resource. The Waitangi Tribunal[81] notes that their grounds were taken over by non-Māori fishermen whose catch was even greater. Its report says:

> State enforcement action against Māori exercising their claimed treaty right to fish has caused many Māori to discontinue their fishing activities at several of their usual and accustomed places.

The reality for most Māori, particularly rural Māori, is far from the ideal of self determination. Only farm work or seasonal contract work such as shearing or harvesting may be organised on a whānau basis. Work is no longer seasonal for most city dwellers, and is unsatisfactory for rural dwellers who are limited in choice. Private ownership of forests and legal constraints on fishing or gathering seafood for sale has had an impact on the ability of rural Māori to sustain their families without State assistance. Whereas it was once common for rural Māori to work as shearers, harvesters and fishermen, fishing without official government-reglated quota is no longer legal, and without the additional money earned from hawking fish people are not able to earn enough from their other two activities and are forced to take unemployment benefits. Rural communities offer little in the way of permanent employment, and levels of unemployment among rural Māori remain relatively high.

The migration of Māori into the towns and cities did not guarantee employment. The most popular occupations were in manufacturing, railways, and forestry, which had a high level of security and often employed many family members. The economic reforms of the 1980's shattered this security, but left Māori trapped, seeking work in the manual and lower paid occupations. Poata-Smith[82] points out that in the year ending March 1994, nearly two-thirds of Māori received weekly individual wages and salary of under $500 per week, compared with just over half of Pākehā, while twice as many Pākehā as Māori received over $1000 per week.

Poata-Smith[83] also reports that the Māori labour force doubled in size between 1961 and 1987 from 47,818 to 100,600. The 1991 census reported a Māori labour force of 153,258, with 37,050 unemployed and seeking work (24.17%). Of the total Māori employed 17.5% were in

part-time employment. The average rate of unemployment for Māori in 1995 was 19.5%, which was three and a half times greater than the rate for Pākehā (5.6%).

The New Zealand Institute for Economic Research[84] (NZIER) observes that Māori unemployment peaked at over 25% in 1992 and had reduced to around 15% by 1996. Māori unemployment rose again as a result of tight monetary policy, two droughts which affected agricultural income, and an economic crisis in Asia, but in 1998 it began to reduce and has continued to fall - to a level of 12% in 2003, compared to 5.4% for New Zealand as a whole.

Poata-Smith[85] suggests that the low income which results from the relative position of Māori in the labour force is linked to inadequate housing and low disposable income for food and fuel. This results in higher infant mortality, other chronic illnesses, learning disabilities and poor school performance among children, and higher suicide rates.

> Numerous studies confirm that Māori continue to experience: poor educational outcomes, ill-health, and thus lower life expectancy; high rates of imprisonment; low rates of ownership; and high rates of state dependency.

NZIER[86] describes three 'waves' which have carried Māori into the modern economy. In the first wave, which dates "from the early days of colonisation" Māori sold their produce and their labour into the market, and this will probably continue to be the mainstay of the Māori economy. Higher levels of tertiary education will result in better paying jobs and careers, and will boost Māori incomes.

In the second wave whānau and hapū owned assets became important in the market, and tribal trading activity thrived. However, the new settlers responded:

> Sustained and largely effective efforts at breaking the power of Māori collective commercial enterprise in the mid 1800's – through the individualisation of title to Māori land, the 'Land Wars', and disenfranchisement of tribes themselves – signalled the end of a brief but successful Māori involvement in the non-Māori cash economy.

This second wave has had a 'second wind' since the 1930's through land development legislation, and through recent Treaty of Waitangi settlements. Māori acquisition of interests in the fisheries industry is cited as an example of the growing Māori economy.

The third wave is Māori entry into the 'knowledge economy', with a rapid entry of Māori into the service industries. These businesses "serve Māori needs or provide access to authentic Māori culture and experience.

NZIER sees all three waves as "are critical to Māori economic well-being":

> The second and the third waves, however, play a special role in promoting Māori collective aspirations. These two waves combine into what we call the Māori economy: a space in which self-determined economic development can take place."

M H Durie[87] is optimistic about the future for Māori, based on trends which he describes during the twenty years from 1980 to 2000:

> Prior to 1980 there were only a handful of Māori providers and they often had to contend with dogmatic assumptions that all New Zealanders shared the same cultural values, aspirations and histories. In contrast, by 2000 there were several hundred Māori providers of health, education, and social services and Māori language and culture had become more or less accepted as part of the operating norm in schools, hospitals, state agencies and community centres.

In its 2003 report to TPK, the NZIER[88] comments:

> The most difficult challenge for the Māori cultural industries is to move outside their dependence on the vagaries of government funding.

There is evidence that this comment holds true across all sectors of Māori economic development, including rural land development. This aspect will be discussed below.

Exchange and Wealth
The organisation of economic activities to produce successful outcomes for the hapū.

The New Zealand Company dispatched its first ship of new settlers in 1839. According to I H Kawharu[89]:

> In 1839 it embarked on an unauthorized programme of colonization in New Zealand, and within a year or two had, by strong-arm tactics and guile, established settlements at Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth and Wanganui, and had wrested hinterland claims from the Māori to almost the whole of the southern half of the North Island and the northern half of the South Island. The Company's claims, together with several lodged by speculators from Australia and elsewhere, totalling nearly 46,000,000 acres, were uncovered when the British Government decided to check pre-1840 transfers made from Māori to European.

Poata-Smith[90] suggests that the sale of land to new settlers by the New Zealand Company took place "at a time when British capitalism was reeling from prolonged economic depression and declining prosperity". He asserts that :

> Exporting the working class population that had become 'surplus' to the requirements of British capital gradually emerged as the solution to the economic crisis.

> ...But the systematic colonisation of Aotearoa was premised on the discovery that, if the British Crown sold land in the colonies to prospective settlers, subsidised emigration would be possible without any cost to the British taxpaying class.

> ...Acquiring this land proved the driving force behind settler society, and this, in turn, involved the systematic expropriation of Māori land.

It appears that not all of the land lost to Māori was taken by stealth or by force. Ward[91] suggests that deeds of sale for large tracts of land were signed away by chiefs for a variety of reasons, including both confusion over the permanence of the sale (believing it to be rather a right of occupation) and the desire to acquire guns, goods, and the money offered for land. These sales often gave rise to challenges from other chiefs who claimed mana whenua, with subsequent modification of the deed of sale or claims for payment from other owners. Such claims caused consternation among buyers who, for their part, were ignorant of the basis of land ownership and occupation among Māori. Agitation among the new settlers for enforcement of their titles was an inevitable consequence.

Captain (later Sir) George Grey became Governor in 1845, and by 1853 had purchased 32,000,000 acres of land under Crown pre-emption which resumed in 1844 after a period when private sales between Pākehā buyers and Māori sellers was allowed.

The law was manipulated to facilitate land sales to the new settlers, while at the same time establishment grants and loans were being provided to settlers to develop the land[92]. Māori were unable to access these funds or to raise debt, and so were forced to sell some land in order to finance the development of the remainder. Māori were farming successfully during these early years of European settlement, providing half of the colony's exports by the mid-1850's. [93]

In 1853 Governor Grey left New Zealand to take up the governorship of Capetown, and was replaced by Governor Gore Browne, who was soon faced with tension between settlers and Māori land owners, particularly in Taranaki, which had been mounting for almost twenty years. According to Sinclair[94], Gore Browne advocated that the rights of the Māori were superior to the forces of colonisation. However, without reconciliation of the rights and intention of the Māori to retain their land, and the determination of the settlers to obtain land 'rightly if possible, if not then by any means at all' he foresaw that the situation would end in 'calamity to one Race, and annihilation to the other'. In January 1860 the authorities set out to survey land claimed by Wiremu Kingi at Waitara. When Kingi showed resistance by ordering the surveyors' pegs to be pulled out, martial law was declared and war against the Māori land owners continued for twelve years until Kingi capitulated. Military action by the government did not end until its invasion of Parihaka in 1881.

M H Durie[95] writes that as a result of these conflicts, alienation and confiscation were extensive and severe:

> Some hapū lost everything, others virtually everything, and no hapū had sufficient lands returned to provide even minimum relief... Even after the wars, when hapū were promised lands for survival, none were returned and, when the government was pushed, some reserves were eventually defined but given over to administrators rather than to the owners.

Durie[96] reports land confiscated and land returned, following the wars (Table 3.1):

Table 3.1   Land Confiscated Following Land Wars

	Opotiki	Tauranga	Taranaki	Waikato
Total land confiscated	448,000	290,000	1,199,622	1,217,437
Area returned to tribes	230,600	240,250		50,000

The Tribunal[97] makes the following comment on the Taranaki claim:

> This land reform, so clearly contrary to the Treaty, made alienations more likely, undermined or destroyed the social order, jeopardised Māori authority and leadership and expropriated the endowments to which hapū, as distinct from individuals, were entitled.

King[98] comments on the effect of the New Zealand wars on Māori, writing:

> For Māori adversely affected by the wars and subsequent land confiscations — principally in Waikato, Taranaki and the Bay of Plenty — life would be considerably more difficult physically because of the loss of economic resources which had previously allowed them to feed themselves and to trade with Pākehā and in some cases with the wider world. These peoples also experienced the demoralisation that came with what was viewed as a loss of mana.

More potent even than the war waged on major Māori land owners was the effect of legislation and the establishment in 1862 of a special Native Land Court to limit the number of Māori owners who could be recorded as owners of land blocks. Ballara[99] states that:

> "the greatest catalysts of change in tribal organisations in the 19th century, directly or indirectly, were land legislation, the rulings of the Native Land Court, and land alienation by sale or lease. There were several phases to these continuing phenomena in the 19th century. The major ones were: 'sales' before 1840; sales to the Crown under pre-emption from 1840 to 1862; and sales to private persons following the institution of the Native Land Court, not effectively under way until 1865.

Tomas[100] describes the work of the Court in the following terms:

> Through the efficient work of the Native Land Court, Māori collective title was converted into tenancy-in-common holdings, a system whereby a number of owners held undefined shares in a single area of land. While appearing to closely approximate the way Māori held title to land, this type of ownership allowed those listed as owners to alienate the land by sale.

Asher and Naulls[101] report that the Court allowed only ten owners to be listed on the title. Where hapū consisting of 80 – 100 whānau traditionally and collectively owned an area perhaps 75% - 90% of the traditional occupants were made legally landless. The consequences of this draconian measure continue to hamper sensible land use and development.

Ballara[102] points out that while much of the land lost to Māori resulted from such government activities 'to facilitate land sales there were also numerous instances of Chiefs selling land which was either not theirs to dispose of, or without consultation with the occupiers, who sometimes did not receive any of the proceeds. There was greed on both sides, but on the Māori side there was often poor understanding of the irreversible nature of the sale. Moreover, the Court did not always distinguish between owners and trustees, sometimes giving full ownership powers to people whose names were listed on the title as trustees for the wider group.

Robertson[103] indicates a dramatic conversion of Māori land into other tenures:

> In the first 15 years 50% of New Zealand's land surface of 26.9 million hectares was converted ... In the next 65 years 90% of New Zealand was converted. Over the next 65 years a further 5% has been converted.

Figure 3.4 Rate of Conversion of Māori Land To Other Tenures
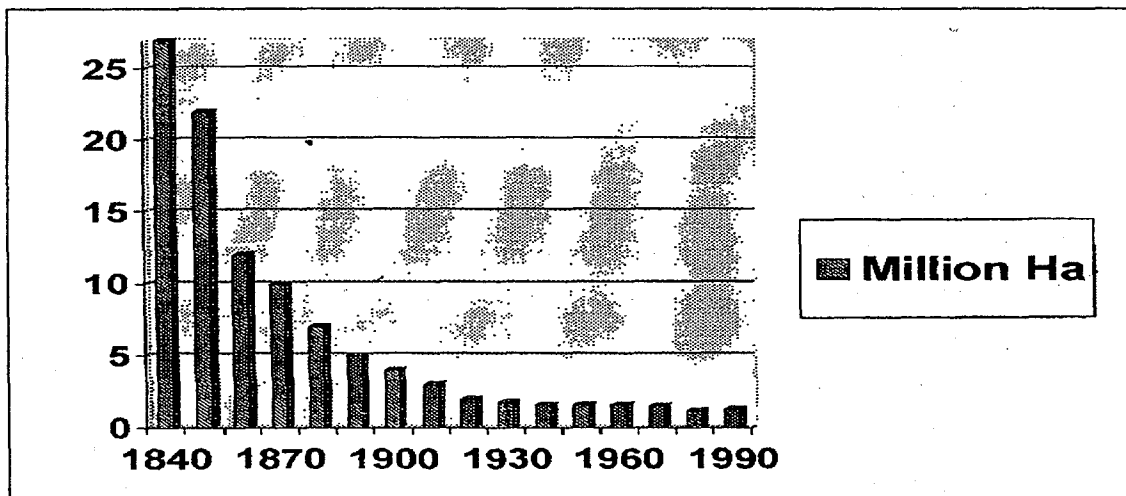
Tomas[104] records that by 1909 there were seventy-two statutes regulating Māori land, and these were consolidated in the Native Land Act 1909. This Act included (in section 84) legislation which prevented Māori from enforcing native customary title against the Crown. Asher and Naulls[105] record that by 1911 there were 7,137,205 acres of land left in Māori hands, but in 1912 the Reform Government gained power and the purchase of Māori land intensified, so that by 1920 Māori held only 4,787,686 acres. The need for land to settle returning soldiers from

World War One was a major stimulant of government purchases, accompanied by a period of intense land speculation which saw 2.5 million acres of Māori land sold between 1911 - 1920. Māori returned soldiers did not enjoy the benefit of the rehabilitation funds provided to Pākehā servicemen – to settle on Māori land.

In 1928 Ngata became Native Minister, and was successful in obtaining legislative support for improvements in the administration of Māori land. These gains included schemes for consolidation and legislation which wrote off duties applying when Māori land was alienated, abolition of the right for up to 5% of any Māori land block to be taken for public purposes without payment of compensation, and funding for schemes to assist Māori farmers[106]. The Native Land Amendment Act of 1929 saw the first government initiatives to develop Māori land through financial initiatives with small-scale dairying and farming. The Act gave the Minister power to authorise lands to be brought under production, and to commit the land to service mortgages of up to 60% of the land value in order to equip and finance the land for settlement by Māori. A majority of owners or an order of the Māori Land Court had previously been necessary for a government agency to take control.

By the beginning of World War Two in 1939 there were 4,028,903 acres of land in Māori hands – insufficient to support the rapidly increasing Māori population. Māori moved to the towns and cities in search of employment and by 1961 of the Māori population of 167,068 some 40% were urban. By 1981 the Māori population had increased to 279,252 (Pākehā population 2,896,485) with some 80% urbanised[107].

In 1967 the Māori Affairs Amendment Act was passed making it easier to transfer Māori land to a general title. This was an attempt to deal with the problem of fragmentation of land titles, but caused concern among Māori that small shareholders were being forced by legislation to sell their shares. In 1974 an amendment to the Act made provision for transferring Māori land which had been transferred to general title back to Māori freehold title, reflecting Māori concern that too much land was being transferred out of Māori hands[108].

By 1975 there were just 3 million acres of land left in Māori hands. Concern among Māori was such that a national protest was staged, with a Land March creating a rallying point for a new generation of Māori activists. The same year saw the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal, with limited ability to make recommendations to government on claims relating to the application of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – post 1975. This exclusion of the Tribunal's ability to hear historical claims was amended in 1985, allowing claims dating back to 1840 to be heard.

During the next twenty years Māori made good use of the Tribunal's extended powers and there was an increase in the number of claims against the Crown for land which had been illegally or unfairly alienated. The Tribunal made no secret of its dismay at the evidence of settlers' and governments' contempt for the Treaty as it considered the evidence of claimant groups. In its preamble to chapter ten of the Taranaki Report, the Tribunal[109] quotes the following statements:

> It is absolutely essential, not only for the sake of ourselves, but also for the benefit of the Natives, that the Native titles should be extinguished, the Native customs got rid of, and the Natives, as far as possible placed under the same position as ourselves.
>
> F A Whitaker, 1877

> The continual attempts to force upon the tribal ownership of Māori lands a more pronounced and exact system of individual and personal title than ever obtained under the feudal system of all English speaking peoples had been the evil of Native Land dealings in New Zealand.
>
> Native Land Laws Commission, 1891

and goes on to say:

> Ancestral laws on how lands were held, allocated, and inherited were displaced by Government laws that brought Māori into the Government system. Through the Native Land Court and various commissions, Europeans determined which Māori owned what lands and how ownership, devolution, and administration should be organised. Increasingly, Māori land became unrelated to Māori society and culture.

Economist Brian Easton[110] gave this advice to the Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of the Muriwhenua claim:

> It is evident both from general studies, and from the evidence already presented to the Tribunal of the experience of the Muriwhenua Iwi, that the detriment from the dispossession of the assets went to the very foundations of Māori society. There has been a loss of the tribal independence and autonomy, both collectively and individually, a poorer attainment of the iwi on most welfare measures involving education, employment, health, housing, wealth and general prosperity. In addition, the lands of the Muriwhenua have been unable to sustain all the iwi, and while some may have left anyway, many live outside the Muriwhenua rohe but wish to return in order to take a greater role in the life of their iwi. It is not obvious how any cash sum could simply remedy these outcomes.

A 1988 report to the Māori Development Commission by the Māori Multiple Owned Land Development Committee[111] noted that there was an overwhelming demand among Māori business people "for a financing facility that is more empathetic to the peculiar characteristics of Māori and Māori business". It also suggested that there was a growing number of Māori equity investors who could be instrumental in resolving issues around access to finance for Māori business. The report favoured credit unions to address "deep seated behaviours" and build economic power, capacity and credibility among Māori. These potential new funding sources could overcome problems in locating funds for business based on Māori land, and the growth of enterprise capital in private Māori hands could offer opportunities for funding which do not exist at present to any great degree.

Difficulties in adequately funding developments through traditional banking sources were investigated for Poutama Trust in 1995 by John Austin and Mark Fox[112] from the Department of Management, University of Canterbury. They suggested that while traditional lending institutions such as banks may be less risk averse than in the past, the assessment criteria for lending have not changed, strong historical cash flows, significant shareholder equity and good security being basic requirements. Institutions respond to an attractive idea, well researched and well planned with realistic objectives summarised in a convincing business plan, and with evidence of sound governance and management in place.

M H Durie[113] summarises some of the key events in the closing years of the twentieth century in his book *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga*. He records that the 1975 land march to Parliament led by the first President of the Māori Women's Welfare League, Whina Cooper, under the slogan *NOT ONE MORE ACRE* presented a petition signed by 60,000 people. The National Party Minister of Māori Affairs, Duncan McIntyre, was reportedly sympathetic to Māori aspirations, and had introduced a new Māori Affairs Bill in 1973. Māori concerns at not being sufficiently consulted on the Bill led to it being withdrawn, and in 1983 the government tabled a further Bill which had been prepared in accordance with the New Zealand Māori Council. After delays caused by changes in political parties occupying the Government benches, in 1993 Parliament passed the Te Ture Whenua Māori Act.

Durie[114] considers that this Act 'reaffirms Māori concepts of land ownership and represents a legal interpretation of whānau and hapū relationships and their joint interest in a particular piece of land'. He suggests that:

> Under Te Ture Whenua, owners of Māori land are not free to dispose of their interests as they might wish. If they intend to sell or if they die intestate, the first claim on their interests lies with 'preferred classes of alienees', usually other owners who have a traditional interest in a a particular block of land by virtue of a common ancestor. Unless spouses are from the same hapū, they are only entitled to a life interest. Individual liberties to dispose of land interests have been traded off against the objective of retaining land for future generations.

While the Te Ture Whenua Act may have indicated a more enlightened view of government toward Māori land ownership, it has not been able to recognise the legitimate grievances of Māori against a clearly hostile Pākehā electorate. In 1996 a Bill was introduced into Parliament to address injustices with respect to Māori reserved lands which had been created as the Crown or the New Zealand Company purchased land, or following confiscation. It seems that the 'official' quantity of land to be reserved for the original owners was seldom if ever set aside, and their establishment and administration was at the whim of the Native Land Court or the

Crown. Some were sold or used for Crown purposes and some were leased in perpetuity to Päkehä as farms, commercial sites and residential properties.

Durie writes that in 1975 a Commission found that Mäori owners had been treated unfairly, and in 1996 a Bill was introduced into Parliament suggesting a remedy which would see rentals move to market rates over time, with compensation of $60 million to be paid to the lessees on the basis that they would suffer economic loss by losing their perpetual right to enjoy below-market rents. On the other hand, the Mäori land owners were to be paid no compensation whatsoever for their economic losses sustained over many years, and would have to apply to the Waitangi Tribunal for any adjustment.

More recently, the government has introduced legislation to alienate hapü claims to the coastal foreshore and seabed. This followed legal action by Mäori fishermen who were concerned that no Mäori in their region were granted marine farming licenses by the local District Council, while organisations from outside the district were granted licenses. The Government hurriedly assured the public that no Mäori claim of ownership of the foreshore and seabed would be successful, and advised the Mäori Land Court to discontinue hearing the case, which was to decide whether the matter should be referred to the High Court for a decision.

The ensuing protest from Mäori at what was seen as further confiscation of hapü land assets included a national hikoi to Parliament. Press coverage at the time indicated that 5000 people marched over Auckland Harbour Bridge to Orakei Marae in support of the protest. Perhaps 30,000 more joined the march at Parliament in Wellington.

In order to defuse the issue the Mäori claim of confiscation was referred to the Waitangi Tribunal[115] had this to say about the referral:

> The Crown released the first version of its foreshore and seabed policy in August 2003. It elicited a storm of protest from Mäori. In the following weeks, the Crown held a number of hui around the country to consult with Mäori about the policy. We have heard a lot of criticism about the Government's consultation, but we decided early on that we would not inquire into the alleged deficiencies of that process. We felt that to do so would only be to confirm what everybody already knew: the consultation process was too short; and it was fairly clear that the Government had already made up its mind. The policy was further developed between August and December 2003, but was not changed in any of its essentials.
>
> The Crown told us that:
>
> In brief, the Government's policy seeks to establish a comprehensive, clear and integrated framework which provides enhanced recognition of customary interests of whänau, hapü and iwi in foreshore and seabed, while at the same time confirming that foreshore and seabed belongs to, and is in principle accessible by, all New Zealanders.

We have closely examined the policy, and the Crown's claims for it. We have been unable to agree with any of the Crown's assertions about the benefits that will accrue to Māori. On the other hand, it does seem to us that the policy will deliver significant benefits to others - reinstatement of (effectively) Crown ownership, elimination of the risk that Māori may have competing rights, and the ability of the Crown to regulate everything.

As we see it, this is what the policy does:

- It removes the ability of Māori to go to the High Court and the Māori Land Court for definition and declaration of their legal rights in the foreshore and seabed.

- In removing the means by which the rights would be declared, it effectively removes the rights themselves, whatever their number and quality.

- It removes property rights. Whether the rights are few or many, big or small, taking them away amounts to expropriation.

- It does not guarantee compensation. This contradicts the presumption at law that there shall be no expropriation without compensation.

- It understates the number and quality of the rights that we think are likely to be declared by, in particular, the Māori Land Court under its Act. We think that the Māori Land Court would declare that customary property rights exist, and at least sometimes these would be vested as a fee simple title.

- In place of the property rights that would be declared by the courts, the policy will enact a regime that recognises lesser and fewer Māori rights.

- It creates a situation of extreme uncertainty about what the legal effect of the recognition of Māori rights under the policy will be. They will certainly not be ownership rights. They will not even be property rights, in the sense that they will not give rise to an ability to sue. They may confer priority in competing applications to use a resource in respect of which a use right is held, but it is not clear whether this would amount to a power of veto.

- It is therefore not clear (particularly as to outcomes), not comprehensive (many important areas remain incomplete), and gives rise to at least as many uncertainties as the process for recognition of customary rights in the courts.

- It describes a process that is supposed to deliver enhanced participation of Māori in decision-making affecting the coastal marine area, but which we think will fail. This is because it proceeds on a naive view of the (we think extreme) difficulties of obtaining agreement as between Māori and other stakeholders on the changes necessary to achieve the required level of Māori participation.

- It exchanges property rights for the opportunity to participate in an administrative process: if, as we fear, the process does not deliver for Māori, they will get very little (and possibly nothing) in return for the lost property rights.

These are fundamental flaws. The policy clearly breaches the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. But beyond the Treaty, the policy fails in terms of wider norms of domestic and international law that underpin good government in a modern, democratic state. These include the rule of law, and the principles of fairness and non-discrimination.

It would appear that after two hundred years of colonisation some of the paternalistic attitudes of Päkehä settlers toward Mäori land and its owners have not changed.

Performance Management
How beneficial and harmful performance by individuals and the hapü is encouraged, assessed, and how adjustments are made where harm results.

For some years after the signing of the Treaty by rangatira at Waitangi and at other sites around the country the reality was that hapü and whänau retained the same level of authority over their members as before. Their authority to do so was confirmed by Te Wherowhero who had refused to sign the Treaty himself but maintained that those who did wished to preserve their chieftainship. They also saw the power of the Governor as useful in maintaining peace with powerful neighbours. As Ward[116] states:

> ... the chiefs were happy to see the Governor's authority exercised over Päkehä, and even extended to Mäori-Päkehä disputes, but their views on its use in Mäori matters per se were very mixed.

Governor Hobson's view of the matter, concealed from the rangatira in order to ensure the formality of a negotiated cession, was different, and Ward suggests that Hobson was well aware that Mäori were signing in trust of assurances-given by the missionaries regarding their future position. Ward cites a letter in April 1840 to Major Thomas Bunbury, his first military commander and his emissary in this task, as evidence that the Governor saw the gaining of signatures as an exercise in public relations rather than a serious negotiation.

The British interpretation of the treaty which the rangatira had supposedly entered into with the Queen was solidified in laws drafted in Australia, to which New Zealand was initially annexed, creating a system of Justice's courts, Police Magistrates courts, a Court of Requests and a Supreme Court similar to those operating in Australia. Initially these courts had no jurisdiction over Mäori, but as Ward[117] notes, the Protector of Aborigines and some of the Sub-Protectors appointed in some districts were appointed Justices of the Peace and instructed to observe native custom in minor offences under British law. However, the British authorities considered that Mäori came under the jurisdiction of the Police, and a number of incidents around 1840 demonstrated this intention. Ward cites an incident in June 1840 in Port Nicholson (Wellington), where troops intervened in an adultery dispute which had divided hapü who were on the verge of violent retribution against the offender, as was their custom.

When the missionary George Clarke was appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines he was instructed to ensure the rangatira 'that their native customs would not be infringed, except in cases that are opposed to the principles of humanity and morals'. Ward[118] points out the

paternalistic nature of this instruction, clearly in breach of their understanding of the effect of the Treaty, and writes:

> ...it was precisely this power to permit or to forbid that the chiefs had not conceded to the British. Bent on their mission, Hobson and his staff were basically careless of the opinions of the people they had come to save, and cared little that the exercise of their power, unless accompanied by ample measures to engage and compensate the Māori, would appear oppressive and evoke resistance. Hobson took no steps to engage the Māori leadership in the formal machinery of state. The Māori were placed in a position of subordination and tutelage from which they have ever since been trying to recover.

As interaction and commerce with the settlers increased, Māori were obliged to deal with many of the implied legal processes. Cases where property had been sold to Pākehā without the involvement of all of the Māori owners raised issues of individual ownership, but traditional methods of adjustment were less and less available or appropriate.

Māori were not slow to use the new courts to press claims against disputed land purchases. In many cases it was pointed out that the purchasers had been dealing with people who had no clear mandate to sell the land in question, or where the intended area to be sold was not clear to both parties. The courts were also used by Māori who had been forced off their land as a result of inter-tribal war, to regain their former territory.

With the rising popularity of Christianity, the sanctions of tapu lost much of their influence, and among communities which were in close contact with Pākehā, theft and other anti-social behaviour became more common as traditional sanctions became less effective.

In the twenty-first century public opinion is still an important influence on the way people tend to behave, in particular, public opinion as shaped and presented by the major news media. It may make business sense for the commercial media to report things in a way which is comfortable to the majority of their subscribers, and clearly Māori are not seen as an important or economically powerful group as subscribers. McCreanor[119] cites some of the "widely used patterns" in media reporting of issues involving Māori:

1. **Māori Culture.** Māori culture is fundamentally inferior to that of the Pākehā.

2. **Good Māori/Bad Māori.** Māori fall into two groups, those who fit society and those who don't.

3. **Māori Violence.** Māori (men especially) seek and enjoy violence.

4. **Māori Inheritance.** There are very few 'real' Māori left. Most part-Māori are more something else.

5. **Privilege.** Māori have special privileges which are unfair, racist and akin to apartheid.

6. **One People.** We are all New Zealanders, Kiwis, etc and should all be treated the same.

7. **Stirrers.** If only the (Māori) agitators would stop stirring up trouble where none actually exists race relations in New Zealand would be the "best in the world" once more.

8. **Rights.** Equal rights for all is a democratic cornerstone. Privilege is anathema.

9. **Sensitivity.** Māori have become over-sensitive to their culture, and this causes racial tension.

10. **Ignorance.** Where Pākehā do offend Māori they do so out of ignorance rather than intent.

McCreanor refers to reports which label Māori as 'activists' or 'protestors', and their actions as 'takeover', language which has negative connotations toward Māori. Any merit that Māori might have in taking public action is discounted by the use of such terms.

When the Government announced its intentions to remove the possibility of hapū ownership of foreshore and seabed adjacent to their traditional land coverage in the NZ Herald on 5 May 2004 of a hikoi which set out from Northland to end its journey in a peaceful demonstration at Parliament was limited to how disruptive the hikoi would be to traffic in Auckland, how much it would cost to police the crowd, and what the effect would be on the Auckland economy to have traffic circulation disrupted. The Herald did not cover the reasons for the hikoi.

The journal of the NZ Public Service Association[120] quotes Mita Harris:

> Mita, who is a Department of Conservation programme manager for community relations, finds the negative reporting about Maori issues dispiriting and believes it rubs off onto people in their workplace and in the community. "If you're brown, you wear this tag, like it or not."

And quotes Race Relations Commissioner, Joris de Bres:

> The mainstream media's approach to Maori news is unlikely to be making the job of Joris de Bres, the Race Relations Commissioner, any easier. "When the public is fed a diet of predominantly negative stories about Maori, it is hardly surprising that negative attitudes are fostered. This impacts on one-to-one relationships between Maori and Pākehā," he says.
>
> "Any perceived failure on the part of Maori is branded as Maori. Were Air New Zealand, AMP or Tower branded as Pākehā when they encountered financial difficulties?"
> One of the failures of the mainstream media is in not providing proper balance or context when reporting Maori news, he says. It may be due to ignorance of the wider story, but not only is it reflecting a monocultural view of the world, it is feeding and reinforcing it."

The journal also includes a telling comment from Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner, Dr Judy McGregor:

> Dr Judy McGregor, a former newspaper editor and now the Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner, believes the treatment of Maori issues by the mainstream media is getting worse. Her concern prompted her to organise a public forum in June, provocatively entitled Why Maori News is Bad News.
>
> "Twenty years ago there were 92 Maori journalists in mainstream newsrooms. Now there are very few. The result is that mainstream news is being reported by journalists who lack knowledge of the issues and fall back on stereotypes."
>
> She also pointed to the growing media focus on "celebrities", preferably involving conflict between one stereotyped celebrity and another. So in the midst of the media storm on ownership of the foreshore and seabed, Titewhai Harawira[vi] is back under the spotlight giving "the Maori view".
>
> But as Judy McGregor pointed out, "Most of the big Maori stories are not personality-based but are about issues which may have their roots in a little-understood history and require a lot of background information to make sense. It is easier to fall back on the simplistic approach."

Māori activities are judged by Pākehā standards of good performance. No merit is seen in the areas Māori traditionally have seen as worthy – manaakitanga, utu, rangatiratanga, what it means to live well, and the importance of protecting the whānau and its traditional assets.

End Results
The power, prestige and success of the hapū among members and externally.

It has been some two hundred years since Māori began to interact with people from Europe, firstly as whalers, then traders and finally settlers. For Māori, an experience which began with dreams of abundance based on sharing land and technology rapidly turned into a nightmare when settlers came, firstly in their hundreds and then in their thousands.

The traditional leadership of hapū and iwi was diminished and displaced, firstly by the Christian church, which installed a new atua with supreme powers, and then by the new settlers who gained authority from Britain to establish a Parliament. Laws were enacted which systematically broke the terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi which promised Māori continued ownership of their natural resources.

After the settler government's war against particular iwi some Māori lost their best land and their traditional source of livelihood. Military defeat was followed by laws which were intended to alienate Māori from their land, and a Native Land Court was established for the

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[vi] Titewhai Harawira – a Maori leader from Nga Puhi who has been prominent in many Maori causes.

purpose of deciding which Māori would own which land. The Court dispossessed most Māori in its conversion of land from collective to freehold title, and imposed laws requiring succession of title to all the children of deceased owners. As a result Māori were left with mainly poor land in relatively small blocks, many of which are multiple owned, and insufficient to support the local people, most of whom have relocated in order to survive.

Most Pākehā settlers saw Māori as primitive and in need of the guidance of the British legal system. The social institutions of whānau and hapū were displaced by rules and forms of social structure which destroyed tikanga and replaced public consensus and collective decision making through committees and the rule of the majority. The levelling influence of the voting system of decision making does not sit well with tikanga, where mana tupuna and the opinions of elders are accorded significance.

Since the 1920's there have been various government sponsored schemes to develop Māori land, with only limited success. The development model saw land boards and government officials take control of land blocks, often without the involvement of the owners and in some cases running farms into debt. Farm blocks have been handed back to their owners, who are faced with numerous problems and barriers to the development, or in some cases, the retention of the little that remains of their customary land.

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[4] *Ibid*, p 11-12

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[11] *Ibid*, p 87-88

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[13] Kawharu I H,1977, *Māori Land Tenure*, Oxford University Press, p 1

[14] Durie M H, *1994, op. cit.*, p 28 - 32

[15] Sutch W B, *op., cit.*, p 12

[16] Sinclair K, *op. cit.*, p 38

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[18] Ward Allan, 1995, *A Show Of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, University of Auckland Press, p 27

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[31] *Ibid,* p 193

[32] *Ibid,* p 194

[33] Williams David, 2001, *Crown Policy Affecting Māori Knowledge Systems and Cultural Practices,* Waitangi Tribunal Publication, p 65

[34] Durie M H, 1997, *Taku Titiro: Viewpoint – Māori Advancement Into Te Aonui,* in He Pukenga Korero, Volume 3, Number 1, p 6

[35] Cited in Belich, 2001, p 203

[36] Parore to Savage, 18 November 1936, quoted in David Williams, 2001, *op. cit.,* p 57

[37] Savage to Parore, 30 December 1936, quoted in David Williams, 2001, *op. cit.* p 58

[38] Parker Wiremu, 1950, *Report on Māori Education,* quoted in David Williams, *op. cit.,* p 70

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Chapter Four – Research Methodology

Introduction

This Chapter explains and justifies the research methodology utilised to answer the research question identified in Chapter One. It describes the research setting, practical and ethical issues, the research methodology adopted, and the research project. It also explains the strategies adopted to ensure the validity and reliability of the research information, and identifies some residual issues regarding confidence in the methodology.

The research project was intended, above all else, to develop a methodology that would be beneficial to Maori land owners and stakeholders in achieving success in the development of rural Māori land. The research questions were intended to address long standing problems regarding Māori land and assets, and to identify practical solutions which might be explored further and then applied. An over-riding consideration was that the project should itself be part of the solution.

Research Methodology

The task was to design a research approach which was able to give life to the spiritual and cultural drivers of contemporary Māori society while at the same time empowering participants to gain the necessary knowledge and skills that could be applied to their own specific situations. Participants in the research were looking for real assistance both in understanding the issues around owning and managing Maori land and other assets and in improving the performance of themselves or their family members who had governance or management responsibilities.

These preceding comments suggest that in undertaking research which is intended to be helpful to participants at the same time as it increases knowledge about their assets, it is important for the researcher to be known and accepted by the participants. There is also the implication that the researcher must take responsibility for assisting the participants in achieving important improvements in their own situations if this is possible and desired by them. In this participant approach, the researcher is more than a reporter and must be prepared to become involved with the participants at a level that is closely linked to their own priorities and realities.

G H Smith[1] describes this approach as necessary when faced with crisis conditions. He argues that "it is not ethical to walk away, or simply to carry out projects which describe what is already known".

This requirement indicates a form of qualitative research which allows a high degree of interaction between the researcher and participants in the research. The value of this interaction is described by Lofland[2]:

> "The fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being is face-to-face interaction."

> "...statistical portrayals must always be 'interpreted', 'grounded', and given human meaning in the context of qualitative – face-to-face – contact."

A research methodology which has the potential to meet all of these cultural and ethical requirements and at the same time provide information which can be tested for reliability is action research, so named for its emphasis on creating a shift in the understanding and behaviour of the participants in the research project. Action research has been described by Dick[3] as having the following characteristics. It is:

- Cyclic – similar steps tend to recur, in a similar sequence;
- Participative – the clients and informants are involved as partners, or at least active participants in the research;
- Qualitative – it deals more often with language than with numbers; and
- Reflective – critical reflection upon the process and outcomes are important parts of each cycle.

Other definitions emphasise similar criteria:

McCutcheon and Jurg[4] suggest:

> A systemic inquiry that is collective, collaborative, self-reflective, critical and undertaken by participants in the inquiry.

Kemmis and Mc Taggert[5] propose:

> A form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out.

Rapoport[6] is quoted by J McKernan:

> Action research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework.

Masters[7] suggests that there are three requirements necessary for valid action research:

1. The project takes as its subject matter a social practice, regarding it as a strategic action susceptible to improvement;

2. The project proceeds through a spiral of cycles of planning, acting, observing and reflecting, with each of these activities being systematically and self-critically implemented and interrelated;

3. The project involves those responsible to the practice in each of the moments of the activity, widening participation in the project gradually to include others affected by the practice and maintaining collaborative control of the process.

The validity of action research as a reliable as well as practical means of getting to the real causes of social situations in all their complexity has its supporters and its critics. As a model it encompasses the ethical and cultural criteria which Māori would consider to be essential. Perhaps the first and most important of these is the status of the participants in the research as equal partners, able to influence the way in which the project proceeds. The longstanding frustrations and disappointments of Māori may need to be expressed by participants as part of the process of providing information. The setting of the project must give a clear signal that asking questions, trying out possible answers, being wrong, and other behaviours which are potentially inappropriate in some settings are absolutely appropriate here.

A setting familiar to Māori which is appropriate in this regard is the contemporary wānanga, a hui specifically for learning. Because it is a hui, the wānanga provides a familiar site and a safe process conducted by local people in accordance with their own culture and traditions. And because it is a wānanga it is accepted as a place where people can be students rather than experts, and can expose their current state of skill or understanding without risk of embarrassment. The idea evolved that an appropriate research method might be fashioned around the model of a wānanga, with the researcher being facilitator, teacher, and participant.

Within the context of a wānanga people might be asked to share their knowledge, experiences and ideas as a way to increase general understanding of the issues involved in owning Maori land and other assets. Their sharing could be acknowledged through formal recognition of their demonstrated ability to produce and utilise this significant contribution. The question arises, however, whether the wānanga setting creates any conflict or bias which might limit the usefulness or the reliability of the information developed during the exercise.

One possible barrier to full participation is the culture of a wānanga, where people of supposedly advanced knowledge or experience are able to instruct and advise others. The possibility exists that a flawed solution could be accepted by participants, or valuable criticism or comment might be withheld for reasons such as unwillingness to be critical of a person in the role of facilitator lest it be interpreted as a lack of hospitality. For example, H M Mead[8] describes the value of manaakitanga as:

> ... nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated.
>
> ... It cannot be stressed enough that manaakitanga is always important no matter what the circumstances might be.

Secondly, where land or other valuable assets are involved as subject matter owners could be expected to be cautious in a situation where some participants were not from the same whānau or hapū. In the case of many land claims lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal there are some conflicting claims where more than one whānau or hapū has laid claim to the same area of land. Achieving unity of purpose in these circumstances could be expected to be extremely difficult. Placing the research in the setting of a wānanga might not in itself lead to a situation where important and valuable information could be exchanged freely.

The establishment of trust between participants in action research is clearly important. If there is a withholding of trust between participants, or participants and researcher in the role of facilitator, then valuable opinion or information might not be made available.

Without an initial and perhaps conditional acceptance of the whakapapa of the researcher, his familiarity in the Maori world, reputation, and as a person experienced in the subject of the wānanga, it is most unlikely that participants would feel comfortable sharing information relating to their whānau and hapū and the governance and management of their assets, for ethical and cultural reasons (see, for example, G H Smith[9] and L T Smith[10]). Therefore in addition to the credentials, the means by which the researcher is introduced to the participants is extremely important.

Creating a context for the research which meets the main considerations from a cultural and ethical point of view is a critical first step. Those who attend wānanga would expect to be comfortable within a familiar framework of relationships, they would expect to receive new information which goes to the heart of their concerns, they would expect to learn techniques which will help them to analyse and understand their situation, and they would expect to be entertained or to entertain each other so that the wānanga was an enjoyable as well as a worthwhile experience. Their input of

information for discussion, validation and evaluation must be a seamless part of the learning experience and result from a willingness to share opinions and examples as part of a learning exercise. One indication of the success of the research method would be in the attendance of participants for the whole of the wānanga.

These expected educational requirements must be aligned with equally important research requirements relating to the usefulness and reliability of essential information. The research method must be able to withstand criticism as a sound and repeatable method for gaining basic information and for testing some conclusions which might be postulated from that information. The challenge therefore was to construct a research project which would deliver sufficient and appropriate information, reliable enough to lead to some ideas and conclusions about the research question. In other words the information must at the same time be true and useful.

This requirement is problematic, however, in that with respect to the ownership and development of Maori assets there are likely to be many different influences at work. The 'truth' may be so complex that any attempts to state its usefulness in explaining situations, drawing conclusions and making decisions could be lost. As Griseri[11] suggests:

> "Utility is multi-faceted — depending on the needs of a variety of interest groups, but, nevertheless, if practising managers are taken as a central party, then it is clear that their needs, to put ideas into direct practice to solve problems, work against the complexity of accurate, truthful, research material."

The needs and expectations of those whose interests are in the governance and management of Maori assets are for simple, straightforward analyses of what might be detrimental or threatening to the interests of all the owners. These analyses should lead to some equally clear and straightforward options which could be expected to lead to planned results. The danger is that the researcher in the role of facilitator of a wānanga interposes some theory which provides a simple and understandable explanation of the research material but glosses over the complexity of possible explanations and is consequently untrue. There is therefore a potential conflict in the dual roles of facilitator and researcher which must be resolved.

Davies and Ledington[12] provide a valuable suggestion which would allow the alignment of the research and the education methods so that conflicting roles which might damage the reliability of the research material are minimised:

> "The role of the problem solver is often talked about as if one person goes into a problem situation and acts as a lone champion by seeking to change that situation. This is a heroic but rather foolish situation. The heroic actions of seeking changes are better if adopted by

many, and especially those within the problem situation.... This means that the role of the problem solver is concerned with structuring the communication of the debate for change, so that those within the problem situation adopt the role of problem solver themselves."

It was therefore necessary to identify or develop ways of ensuring that participants in the wānanga provided the information which they considered to be relevant or appropriate with the minimum of prompting, and also to identify and develop processes which left analysis and conclusion in the hands of the participants rather than the facilitator. It was important to ensure that the facilitator was not seen as the wise and expert problem solver who would tell people what to do to solve their problem.

Even resolving this issue, it could not be assumed that the researcher/facilitator would be assured of eliciting reliable and truthful information. Lofland[13] pointed out a number of difficulties:

1) *Factions*[14]. Almost any setting is likely to contain factions, cliques or quarrels of one kind or another.... In entering as a known observer there arises the question of the observer's stance relative to local disputes and alliances..... The known observer must maintain the appearance of neutrality relative to internal divisions.

In most situations there were participants from several hapū or iwi, which would tend to suppress the emergence of purely whānau issues or factions. On some occasions factions emerged in relation to overlapping land claims, a dominant religious group, advocates of radical action with regard to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. These tended not to involve the researcher as participant.

2) *Loyalty*[15]. The observer can become a projective screen for all manner of fears over a variety of otherwise unexplained back stabbings and information leaks.... One typical way in which known observers appear to guard against such occurrences is to align themselves with a single, broad grouping within a setting while remaining aloof from that grouping's own internal disputes.

Occasionally a local 'personality' would attempt to take control of the wānanga and demonstrate that the researcher's knowledge was faulty. On those occasions such a possibility was quickly admitted and the issue put to the wānanga for discussion.

3) *Marginality*[16]. There is the subtle separation between the observer and the members that can be painful and poignant: "You are here and you know, but yet you are not really one of us." One

way to reduce the intensity [of these feelings] and perhaps forestall their occurrence is to observe on a team of two or more, thus deriving social support from meeting with the team.

The researcher was always accompanied by two or three assistants who took an active role in explaining how the research tools worked, and also in operating the recording equipment.

4)   *Personal Involvement*[17]. People everywhere tend to need help; their circumstances call out for your moral involvement with them. There can arise the felt necessity, in fact, to join in and help. How far and in what ways should one do so? Responding to a situation may draw one into local disputes. The more profound level of moral involvement where people are facing extreme difficulties may require one to respond in a practical way. This raises the question: at what point does one draw back from the intensive personal and human long term involvement which is otherwise possible.

Personal involvement was offered universally with the statement that the researcher was available to provide "after sales service" where participants might want to implement some ideas which had formed during the wānanga. This involvement was always offered on the basis of returning after the wānanga was completed, and so did not interfere with progress.

5)   *Seduction*[18]. There is the phenomenon of the observer becoming very much like the participants. The term 'seduction' is acknowledged as a biased term suggestive of a weak will in the face of allurements. Whether to join or not is a personal affair. "

Unavoidably, the researcher shared much in common with the participants. This tended to mitigate against seduction — familiarity breeding objectivity in this case.

Perhaps the best defence against the dangers Lofland identifies was linked to the planned scale of the research project. It was intended to offer the wānanga in at least seven locations in Te Tai Tokerau and at a number of other locations in the North Island. In the event, by the end of the project the wānanga had been conducted in eighteen different locations including three urban settings. Some 38 individuals on average attended each wānanga, with a total of 685 participants. This level of participation held the potential for consistency in results which would negate most researcher-caused bias and provide a level of confidence in general themes or points of view shared by a significant majority of participants in most or all of the eighteen research locations.

Designing The Research Project

The presentation of the research project was to be as an education programme or wānanga designed to appeal to owners of Maori assets, both those living on the land in its rural setting and those who principally live in an urban situation. The project was called Whakapūmau Te Mauri[i], indicating its purpose in establishing some essential principles. The wānanga promised to instruct people in knowledge and techniques which would assist them to understand the language and concepts of asset management and at the same time deal with practical issues and local concerns where there was agreement within a particular wānanga to address them.

Attracting sufficient numbers of people who could identify with the aims of the project and the necessary lengthy process of investigation and discussion required a significant incentive which did not by its nature pre-select participants in a way which would narrow the range of information forthcoming or pre-determine a particular emphasis or result. In other words, the research should take place within a context which was inviting, rewarding and accessible to participants.

The design emphasis was on creating among participants in the wānanga an appreciation of the situation regarding the ownership, governance and management of Maori land and other assets. The wānanga would achieve its purposes if it could elicit reliable information about the problem situation (the research findings) which then led to a meaningful analysis of the problem situation (contemplation of the research findings) and then hopefully to some decisions or activities which could resolve the problem (action based on research and contemplation). As noted above, reliability of the research findings produced during each wānanga would be enhanced by successive cycles of gathering information, contemplating its contribution to appreciating the problem situation, and coming to some decisions to resolve the problem.

Each element of the programme required participants to provide information from their knowledge and experience. This information was then processed in a way which gave it structure and power. For example, collected thoughts from members of a workshop on how they might exert greater influence over the early education of their children becomes several clusters of ideas which are then turned into coherent statements of objectives which everyone can see could easily become the basis of a local policy on primary education. People become enthusiastic as they see their own thoughts and preferences included in something larger and more structured, and which has quality and clarity.

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[i] Whakapumau Te Mauri – literally 'permanently fix the life force' (Williams, 1971)

Structured to encourage maximum comfort and participation on the part of the local community during two hui of three days each, the wānanga also needed to be exciting and entertaining. To achieve these aims it needed to have the familiarity of a hui with some ritual or well known events as well as variety and new ideas. Each event needed to contribute to one of the following:

- the wānanga as a hui based on local and agreed tikanga,
- gathering and assembling the research findings provided by participants,
- presentation of information provided by the facilitators as background information to assist in appreciating the research findings,
- contemplation of the research findings,
- making decisions as a result of the contemplation,
- increased skills and knowledge of participants in the wānanga

The wānanga were not always held on marae, mainly because of the possibility of conflicting events such as tangihanga which would take precedence and disrupt arrangements for the wānanga.

Seating was arranged inside the wharenui or other venue so that groups of six to eight sat around long tables which were placed so that every participant could comfortably see a projection screen at one end of the room. The groups around these tables were self selecting and whānau or people from the same area often chose to sit together. These groups then became workshops within the wānanga for some of the events and discussions.

Visual as well as auditory communication was very important. The tools used in the programme were a laptop computer, LCD projector, laser printer, and a copying machine. Everything people offered as individual comment was first written down on paper, and the results of workshop activities were recorded on screen and printed off as soon as the hui agreed that the statements accurately reflect their views. On each subsequent day there was the opportunity to correct anything which might have been incorrectly recorded, or might be the subject of "second thoughts". There were several opportunities during the programme to elicit information which modified or verified other information gained from different learning processes.

A first step in seeking the approval of potential participant groups in different parts of Aotearoa was to discuss the proposed methods with Ngorongo Iwikatea Nicholson and Whatarangi Winiata, well known Kaumatua of my iwi, Ngati Raukawa, and leading teachers[ii] at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. This included discussion of any ethical issues relating to the setting of a wānanga as a research

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[ii] Respectively, Ahorangi (leading teacher), and Tumuaki (Principal) of Te Wānanga o Raukawa

project where participant information would find its way into a publication, even though individuals would not be identified. Approval of these Kaumatua was necessary because they were asked to provide their personal support for the research project. The following strategy was agreed:

1) A detailed explanation of the research programme would be presented to a participating hapū for approval before the programme was launched in their community. To achieve this a visit was arranged with the senior representatives of a hapū which had expressed interest in receiving the programme and a presentation was made by a group including the researcher and his Kaumatua.

The presentation of the elements of the research programme to Kaumatua and others from the host hapū had several purposes:

a) It clearly identified the people who would be presenting the programme.

b) It indicated strong support both from Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and Ngati Raukawa.

c) It explained in some detail the sequence of events which would make up the programme and gave examples of the methodology which would be used and the type of information which would be elicited from participants during the programme.

d) It made clear that the researcher would learn a great deal from programme participants, and that one result would be publication of information in a form which would not identify individual participants or the contributions of particular hapū.

e) It indicated that the result from helping people to gain greater clarity about their values and beliefs and their aspirations and disappointments might be that people became dissatisfied with the organisations they currently owned and which managed and controlled their land and other assets.

f) It indicated that at all times the research team would be manuhiri and that the tikanga of the hui would be the local tikanga as directed by the local taumata – whose presence would be most welcome during the entire programme.

g) It asked the hapū to decide whether they wished to host the programme on their marae.

2) A hosting marae or hapū would be responsible for all aspects of local organisation including catering, the venue and the care of participants during the programme. This responsibility acknowledged that manaakitanga with respect to those attending the programme was in the hands of the iwi kainga, whose mana was thereby acknowledged. A budget would be negotiated with representatives of the iwi kainga, with an additional koha to acknowledge the local marae.

3) A short time after the completion of the research programme the Kaumatua of Ngati Raukawa would return to a hui which would acknowledge the contribution of participants to the research programme, and also to celebrate and affirm the new skills and knowledge which they had acquired through their participation in the wānanga. This hui would also provide the opportunity for those who had participated in the research project to give feedback, or to raise any questions or issues which might have arisen as a consequence of the project.

At least from the point of view of the hosting hapū and iwi this strategy proved effective because the programme was accepted by each of the eighteen hui taumata at which it was presented, although there were occasions when the hosting iwi asked a number of questions following the presentation. These proved to be in three main areas, namely:

1) the use and confidentiality of information provided during the wānanga;

2) the identity of the facilitator of the wānanga and the organising team; and

3) practical matters such as the commitment participants in the wānanga would need to make in time and cost, and any financial risk which might accrue to the iwi kainga.

Without doubt, a main contributing factor regarding the acceptance of the programme by the hosting iwi was the calibre of the representation from Ngati Raukawa. On many occasions the ope from Raukawa would include the Tumuaki as well as the Ahorangi of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and their partners. Two of the group became the Kaumatua for the wānanga and were present at each hui taumata to introduce the programme. Their presence and their ability to speak about the research programme and introduce the facilitator and support team undoubtedly added a significant dimension to its credibility.

At an early hui taumata seeking permission to trial the programme the wānanga team was not accompanied by Kaumatua and was regarded with a good deal of suspicion by the local taumata. There was a chance that the decision to proceed would be deferred because of the absence of one or two hapū, and it was only a plea from a rangatahi group to be given the opportunity to take part in the wānanga which resulted in the invitation being extended.

At each hui, following introductory speeches, a power-point presentation lasting some twenty minutes gave considerable detail about the proposed six-day wānanga. Often the questions that followed were very searching, and on one occasion a hostile local pakeke mistook the researcher for

a government employee from the Treaty Settlements Office, who was trying to persuade the iwi to settle their claims. Things went better once the error became obvious and was explained.

Ethical Issues

In addition to these issues which mainly relate to the effectiveness of the setting of a wānanga and the validity and reliability of results there are also ethical issues to be taken into account. For example, at a conference at Massey University dedicated to exploring Maori research Bevan-Brown[19] gave the following guidelines which represent cultural and ethical safe ground in Maori research. Appended to Bevan-Brown's prescription is a response which seeks to demonstrate how these guidelines were achieved in this project.

1) Maori Research must be conducted within a Maori cultural framework.

The manner in which the wānanga and the research project were introduced was entirely within a formal Maori cultural framework. On most occasions representatives from several nearby hapū were present and the proceedings were conducted with due ceremony.

2) Maori Research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required. They must also possess a commitment to things Maori, the trust of the Maori community being researched, cross-cultural competence, personal qualities suited to doing Maori research and an understanding of and commitment to the obligations, liabilities and responsibilities that are an integral part of Maori research.

With close to twenty years as a teacher at Te Wānanga o Raukawa the researcher had the credentials to undertake the research, and the endorsement of his Kaumatua reassured the hosting hapū of his understanding and commitment to the research kaupapa and to the ongoing relationships between Raukawa and the hosting iwi which would result.

3) Maori research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Maori people. It should arise out of their self-identified needs and aspirations.

The enthusiasm with which the programme was accepted by hosting hapū and iwi and the recognition of education elements which would address deeply felt needs assured the researcher that this condition was satisfied.

4) Maori research should result in some positive outcome for Maori. This may be manifest in many different ways e.g. improved services, increased knowledge, health gains or more effective use of resources. Whatever the form, Maori research should benefit Maori in some way.

The ope from Ngati Raukawa did not need to labour this point. The advantages which could flow from the wānanga were obvious to the local iwi and were often pointed out by speakers supporting the take.

5) As much as possible, Maori research should involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process.

Within the context of a wānanga the research would clearly involve interaction between the researcher and the participants.

6) Maori research should empower those being researched. This empowerment should stem from both the research process and product.

The process of introducing the idea of the wānanga and its promised learning outcomes easily satisfied this condition.

7) Maori research should be controlled by Maori. This is to ensure that it is carried out within a Maori cultural framework and that Maori interests and integrity are protected. The control of Maori research should extend to control in matters relating to ethical requirements, assessment, funding, intellectual property rights and ownership and dissemination of knowledge.

The cooperation between Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Pūtahi a Toi (Massey University) in this research project assured receiving iwi that the research would be
controlled by Maori in all of the above respects.

8) People involved in conducting Maori research should be accountable to the people they research in particular and to the Maori community in general.

The nature of the wānanga as well as the organisations supporting the research gave this assurance to the hosting iwi.

9) Maori research should be of a high quality. It should be assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measured against Maori-relevant standards.

The presentation to hosting hapū gave details of the content and the form of facilitation, which gave some assurance of the quality. However, the most relevant measure was the usefulness of the wānanga. Its reputation quickly spread so that hosting hapū were assured of high quality.

10) The methods, measures and procedures used in Maori research must take full cognisance of Maori cultural preferences. They must take into account the previous nine requirements of Maori research.

The measures and procedures were presented to each hui taumata and the decision taken by each hui to invite the wānanga to be presented locally on the basis that it was satisfied that cultural issues and preferences were adequately addressed.

A Durie[20] suggested that among the requirements which traditional university research ethics committees should seek must be included:

1) The provision of informed support for research which adopts Maori processes and procedures.

2) A recognition of the need for ethical processes which take account of values arising from a Maori cultural base where research among Maori is proposed.

3) The protection of Maori from researchers who operate from a deficit or stereotypic view of Maori.

Durie[21] makes the following sobering observation:

> "Research is an intervention, one which can be invasive with negative outcomes for Maori, or collaborative with mutual benefits for researchers, participants and their communities. Universities are already familiar with research conducted for the advancement of knowledge, but the step towards research conducted for the advancement of people will have to be conducted with even greater ethical consideration."

In relation to these points perhaps the greatest ethical safeguard in the conduct of this research project is the degree of control which participants maintained, and in particular the role of those who formed the taumata or leadership group of the hosting hapū. Whenever a matter of propriety or a challenge to the conduct of the wānanga arose it was up to this group to give guidance, either by providing a compelling point of view or by indicating comfort with the situation.

Whakapūmau Te Mauri

The events at each of the eighteen locations where the wānanga was presented followed a similar pattern:

1. Powhiri for participants and facilitators.

A formal powhiri to participants and facilitators preceded all other activities. It varied in formality from one location to another and was usually in the form of mihimihi inside the wharenui or the venue chosen by the hosting hapū. It was not intended to repeat the formality of the hui taumata at which the invitation to conduct the wānanga was sought and given. Many of the locations were host to participants from hapū which were not local, either because the participants now resided within the location or had travelled specifically to attend the wānanga (a few participants attended two or even three wānanga in order to ground their learning).

The powhiri also identified for all participants the taumata for the hui – who among the participants of the wānanga was in control of tikanga or kawa such as karakia. This was achieved during speeches which deferred to the local senior men and women present, and was critical to the establishment of the wānanga context. It emphasised that the event was being conducted at the invitation of the local hapū and indicated where authority lay if there were matters of tikanga or local knowledge which were important to the wānanga.

If there were male participants from other hapū who were confident in their reo and tikanga they would respond to the mihi, sometimes in a show of strength or to show support for the kaupapa of the wānanga. The final response would be made by male members of the research team. If karakia had not been conducted at the commencement of the powhiri it would be taken at this point, the final event indicating the closure of the welcomes by the iwi kainga and handing over the hui to the facilitator to begin the wānanga.

2. Whakawhanaungatanga.

Upon taking over the floor from the taumata the facilitator would suggest that it was important to know who was present, and would begin by naming his maunga, awa, moana and iwi. The familiar process was taken up by someone in close proximity and one after another participants would identify themselves and their relationship with the local hapū. Those who had skill in te reo might include some humour or close with a waiata, and the process of establishing links between the participants was an enjoyable means of reinforcing that the wānanga was a hui which would allow participants to express themselves as Maori. It also had the natural consequence of bringing together members of a whānau who might not have been aware of the presence of other members in the locality, and so resulted in an initial feeling of warmth and satisfaction among participants.

3. Hangaia Te Kaupapa.

This process was developed by the researcher to introduce participants in the wānanga to some important concepts relating to organisations, including the fundamental question: what is an organisation? Four questions were put to the hui:

1) What do you want to achieve during the wānanga?
2) What do you expect of your facilitator?
3) What can your facilitator expect from you?
4) How will we behave toward each other, making decisions and dealing with issues that may arise during this wānanga?

The first question requests that participants indicate what they considered to be the main purpose of the wānanga. The nature of the wānanga had been advertised and so a common theme emerged around the administration of Māori land, and there were also a number of additional issues of particular interest to local participants. Each suggestion for discussion was accepted by the facilitator as something which could be accommodated within the wānanga, or was declined because it would take the wānanga away from its main purpose. A kaupapa was finally agreed by

each wānanga, and was retained as a checklist which would indicate the progress of the wānanga in dealing with issues which participants had identified as important to them.

The second and third questions specified the roles and responsibilities of both the facilitator and the participants. Responses relating to the preferred behaviour of the facilitator, and the commitments participants were prepared to make regarding their own behaviour, contained a number of statements which gave a clear indication of some of the values and qualities which participants preferred to be present during a hui.

The fourth question asked participants for some guidelines regarding the conduct of the wānanga and set out to establish its tikanga and kawa, including how decisions would be made and any problems or issues handled. At each location there was discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of making decisions by majority decision or by achieving consensus, and the facilitator was often asked to explain the mechanisms of both options so that everyone understood what was being discussed. Establishing a method for dealing with issues or problems that might arise was also important in drawing out local tikanga or kawa. This process emphasised that the hui would be conducted in accordance with the tikanga or kawa endorsed by participants, always acknowledging the importance and authority of the tikanga of the hosting hapū.

Hangaia Te Kaupapa identified some basic ideas about the requirements of any organisation, and established the wānanga as an organisation which existed by agreement of all of the people involved. Once the four questions had been discussed and a list of responses had been agreed, it was pointed out that this process could be applied to any organisation in order to establish important behaviours and relationships, and to clarify what should be done and how it should be achieved. The second question could be adapted by replacing the position of facilitator with the position of manager or executive committee in order to clarify members' expectations of their leadership.

4.   Survey of values of participants
In order to develop an appreciation of the problem situation it was considered important to identify which values among those commonly considered to be some of the most universal ideas of tikanga Maori the participants in the wānanga still considered to be important. A survey questionnaire of sixty statements was prepared (Appendix 1), each of which sought to illustrate a behaviour relevant to the functions of Māori organisations. Each statement of behaviour encapsulated a value expressed in terms which invited a positive response if the value was supported, or a negative

response if the statement was not supported. The questionnaire included some statements which negated accepted values and qualities in order to avoid a pattern of 'right' or 'expected' responses.

Many writers have described particular values held by Māori and agree that not only are there a large number of qualities and values which are at the essence of preferred behaviours, but also that many values and qualities can appear to be in conflict. For example Patterson[22] points out that 'one proverb commends a quality, another commends its opposite', and goes on to suggest that the overriding concept of balance in Māori ethics requires that opposing values (such as the quality of bravery versus foolhardy behaviour) be kept in check, and the proverbs provide a multitude of examples to balance different aspects of ethical behaviour. From the large range of qualities and values identified in numerous reference materials a selection was chosen which would have relevance to the subject matter of the research, as well as some which have been identified as core values or tikanga by several writers including Te Rangi Hiroa[23], Best[24], Metge[25], Durie[26], Barlow[27], Patterson[28], Johansen[29] and Mead[30].

An important point in including a discussion of values and qualities in the wānanga was to introduce the possibility that participants would discover that despite any inter-personal or inter-whānau difficulties or antagonism which may have existed between them, they nevertheless shared an ethic which might prove a starting point for constructive discussion and reconciliation. Therefore the first consideration for constructing statements was that each provided an example of highly ethical behaviour in Māori terms.

Ethical concepts may have several applications or different aspects, and it would not be possible to draw any valid conclusion about a particular concept from the response to a single example. For example, the quality of generosity would be generally accepted as desirable, but to what extent should it apply to competitors?

By asking for responses to several statements which included a different aspect of the same concept it was possible to develop a cluster of statements which explained the concept. The cluster of statements was represented by a summary statement which attempted to explain the ethical concept or tikanga (Appendix 2).

Identifying phrases which could be amended to include references to business or organisational behaviour was assisted by the work of several writers. The language used in the survey statements is the responsibility of the researcher, and it is highly likely that others would have put things

differently or even associated some of the statements with entirely different concepts or values. However, the final and most important test for the survey was whether participants found it easy to understand and to respond, and that when the statements were grouped into core concepts or values, whether wānanga participants agreed that the language was appropriate. Remarkably, there was no significant disagreement that the summary statements adequately explained the qualities or values with which they were associated. As time went on confidence grew that whatever grounds there might be for criticising the language used, the statements were useful because people understood and identified the concept being explained.

Eleven values or tikanga were selected, mainly following E T Durie's[31] explanations of custom law as it applied to customary Māori social organisation and land tenure:

1.   Tikanga   The custom lore of tikanga is of fundamental importance and provides the basis of all important decisions and personal lifestyle choices. It remains valuable as a guiding principle and a source of wisdom.

2.   Mana A person gains authority through displaying the qualities of a rangatira including integrity, generosity, bravery, humility, respect, commitment to the community, using facts and honest information as well as legends and stories to make a case, relay a message or explain things in a way which binds people together, facilitating rather than commanding.

3.   Whakapapa   A common ancestry provides a platform for celebrating jointly held property, shared sites, common histories, and similar understandings of the material world.

4. Wairuatanga The spiritual world is an important part of reality which is integral to day to day activities and necessary for successful endeavours.

5.   Kaumatuatanga Kaumatua play a crucial role in keeping families and the community together, and offer both guidance and advice, though the role has become more difficult as people look to Kaumatua for guidance in the world of business as well as in their traditional leadership role.

6. Utu   Maintaining balance and harmony through "give and take", reciprocal obligations, honesty in all things, the punishment of wrong doing and the exchange of gifts are still essential practises which increase the welfare of the community and balance other economic interests.

7.   Kaitiakitanga People who work in Maori owned businesses should acknowledge the mauri of the resources they work with, preferring the best materials and practices rather than the cheapest, ensuring safety at all stages of production, pursuing quality over price.

8. Whakawhanaungatanga   Family bonds take priority over all other considerations in deciding who to employ or what action to take, ensuring the continuity of employment and providing opportunities for career development.

9.   Manaakitanga A Maori owned business supports the social objectives of the Maori community through contribution of money, people and facilities, treating its employees as well as any partners or competitors fairly and generously in all respects.

10. __Whakarite Mana__ A contract is a statement of intention to form a lasting relationship and the elements of the contract should be open to review as circumstances change. The objective is to provide long term satisfaction for both parties rather than relying on "the letter of the law" to cement understanding.

11. __Hui__ Full and active participation in decision making is important.

The sixty statements were arranged in the form of a multiple choice questionnaire. Participants were asked to indicate whether in respect of each statement:

- they strongly agreed
- they mostly agreed
- they mostly disagreed
- they strongly disagreed

The responses to the survey were processed so that participants at each wānanga could see a bar graph showing their level of support for each of the values and tikanga. Showing participants these results of the survey prompted discussion about each of the categories and how each might be relevant to organisations. It also led to a wider discussion of other values and aspects of tikanga, and participants were introduced to some opinions of writers who had identified particular values and aspects of tikanga. This event was intended to promote contemplation of the underlying values which Maori consider to be important to their current experience and circumstances, and through doing so to provide a vocabulary for identifying and speaking about these taonga.

4.   Situation Analysis

The situation analysis introduced a relatively simple but effective 'expert system' to assist in strategic analysis. This particular expert system was a formal process of identifying and analysing the issues and problems people experience within organisations. It is relevant to organisations which administer communal assets and community affairs.

Expert systems are meant to solve real problems which normally would require a specialised human expert. Merritt[32] suggests that expert systems can provide a very great degree of accuracy depending on the complexity of the sorting systems which drive them. The sorting system makes it very easy for a user to be guided to a conclusion based on data items which the user has selected as relevant to their situation or organisation. However, the simpler the sorting system the greater is the opportunity for uncertainty or inaccuracy. With a paper system this inherent problem is overcome by allowing users to amend the language of individual data items, or to add data items.

An expert system designed to assist users to assess weaknesses and threats within their organisation was designed by Faust[33], and is a paper based system which utilises rules to categorise symptoms of organisation failure. It is based on data driven reasoning and utilises a large number of symptoms of organisation failure which were gathered as responses to the question asked of many participants: "What is preventing your organisation from performing as well as it should?" From the many thousands of data items produced from this process Faust selected the 270 most common items.

Within their workshops participants reviewed the 270 negative statements regarding organisation performance and applied them to the Maori organisation responsible for the management of their land or the provision of services to Maori. Each of the statements was printed on a card and the cards were divided among the people in a workshop. A list of statements is included as Appendix 3, and a sample of typical statements is:

1) Sound reasoning is not rewarded if it leads to unpopular decisions.

2) We do not have good communication of goals, directions, decisions and/or plans from our leaders.

3) We regularly shoot ourselves in the foot.

4) Other points of view are not always considered before a decision is made.

5) Changes happening outside our community pose a serious threat to us.

6) We do not get enough information to make decisions.

7) We have unsatisfactory employees who we carry because we are unwilling or unable to "sack" them.

8) We do not have good security for our people, plant, equipment and other property.

9) We do not regularly invest in projects with long-term benefits to the community.

10) We are very dependent for our success on one or two key people.

Working silently so as to negate any power-related relationships or tendencies to defer to others, each participant decided which of the statements in front of them was typical of the organisations which held or managed their land. Two piles of cards accumulated in front of each participant, statements which were true for their organisation, and statements which were not true. Once each member of a workshop had been through their allocated cards the pile of "not true" cards was handed on – one place to the left. This process was repeated, and finally the remaining "not true" cards were read to the workshop. This meant that people had a good opportunity to look at each of the negative statements and make a collective decision about each statement.

Each of the 270 cards was coded so that it could be sorted firstly into broad categories and then into more specific sub-categories. Each of these sub-categories could be summarised by a single statement representing a typical example of organisation failure, such as: *Poor communication of plans and priorities.*

The sub-categories were sorted by Faust into eleven broader categories or aspects of organisational activity which together completely describe an organisation. The eleven aspects are:

1) External Factors - the things outside our organisation which affect us.

2) Culture - the way we do things around here.

3) Purpose and Direction – the values and purpose guiding our actions.

4) Structure and Delegation - roles and responsibilities within the organisation.

5) Information and Control - information and procedures to help manage the organisation.

6) Reward and Motivation - our people policies for recruitment and compensation.

7) Customers - how we promote and deliver our services.

8) Transformation - how we turn inputs into outputs to produce our services.

9) Money - how we raise, budget and account for our money.

10) People - how we treat people, deal with their issues and resolve their disputes and differences.

11) End Results - our achievements, our relationships and our reputation.

Once the chosen cards had been sorted into their eleven aspects they were further sorted into sub-categories in accordance with a code printed on each card. Each sub-category was assigned a key statement which summarised the statements in that particular group. Once this step was complete each workshop could review the sub-categories and rank them according to their impact on the organisation. In practical terms it made sense to sort into only three priorities of importance:

1) Critical – if left unchecked this problem could severely damage the organisation within twelve months;

2) Important but not critical – this is a problem which needs to be solved but if it is not solved within a year the organisation will still survive;

3) Not important – issues which irritate some people but do not really affect organisation performance.

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This particular analytical system had been used by the researcher over several years with major public and commercial organisations as well as many groups of Maori students. It had proven simple to understand and very powerful as an analytical tool. The use of an expert system within the wānanga for the purpose of this research project was considered to be helpful to Maori land owners who might have little management knowledge or experience. For people who are not experts in organisation analysis it provided a rapid, understandable and robust process for getting from symptoms to causes of organisation failure. It gave further emphasis to the notion that understanding what was happening in an important part of their world was not beyond the capacity of participants, and with understanding was introduced the possibility of greater participation in making decisions.

6. Worst Case Scenarios

Immediately following the highly structured situation analysis using an expert system, participants were introduced to a less structured means of identifying areas of concern and dissatisfaction with their organisations. A simple process was developed to identify participants' fears, concerns and bad experiences relating to the loss of their assets. The simplicity of the process led to surprise and delight when its effectiveness was revealed in identifying undesirable outcomes, and subsequently in identifying action to ensure that the worst case would not eventuate.

Developing a worst case scenario allowed people to express the converse of their hopes for their organisation in a way which is not competitive or argumentative. Experience with this simple analytical technique showed that people who are unable to agree on desirable objectives or outcomes and who may have entrenched positions are readily able to develop a list of unacceptable or undesirable outcomes.

In work groups people were asked to identify a worst case scenario for their organisation, given the assumption that the organisation had significant funds. Each work group initially worked in silence as participants wrote down their thoughts. The work groups then pooled all the contributions and sorted them into those issues which had an affinity such as financial management, or inter- personal or inter- whānau relationships. These issues or groups of issues could then be prioritised in order of critical importance and the entire wānanga could share their thoughts via the projector and screen.

The first two strategic analysis exercises produced lists of serious or critical problems, or possible outcomes which could be highly undesirable. In the next part of the worst case scenario work groups were asked to look at each negative statement and find its obverse. For example, a

statement which indicated that there was a lack of leadership in an organisation could be converted to a desirable outcome – to have good leadership; a fear that some whänau may benefit from settlement or business activities to a greater degree than others converted to an objective of fairness and generosity among whänau in any distribution of benefits.

The simplicity of converting a worst case scenario into a desirable scenario brought relief and excitement as participants saw possibilities for resolving some long standing and possibly bitter disagreements among stakeholders. As participants used this simple means of converting lists of undesirable outcomes into positive action to prevent them, their confidence in their ability to understand and discuss controversial issues increased.

A limitation of focusing on the negative aspects of their experience as owners of assets was that resulting positive objectives were conservative. The intention was to prevent bad things from happening as they pursued their objectives. What remained to be identified were the more creative outcomes and objectives which embody success.

7. Kowhai Raparapa

Kowhai Raparapa was the name used during the wänanga for a technique more commonly known as the creation of Affinity Diagrams. This technique was documented by Brassard[34] and is reported to have its origin in ancient methods used by communities in Japan to identify issues and make decisions on a collective basis. It has become widely used as a management and planning tool to discover useful groups of ideas within a raw list of ideas produced by brainstorming. It is important to let the groupings emerge naturally rather than according to preordained categories. Brassard recommends using the affinity diagram when facts or thoughts are uncertain and need to be organized, when pre-existing ideas or paradigms need to be overcome, when ideas need to be clarified, and when unity within a team needs to be created.

The first part of the techhique was a brainstorm, carried out silently by participants who were asked to provide issues around a defined topic. The topic was kept loosely defined in order to avoid bias through attempting a definition of a problem, possibly leaving out some of its important aspects. The problem was best stated as: "What are the issues around ...?" Each idea was recorded on a

"Post-it" [iii] (these are often yellow and adhesive along one edge, hence the name "kowhai raparapa").

Silence was maintained during the following procedures:

1) Rapidly grouping ideas that have a common theme and seem to belong together.
2) Changing the groupings until consensus is reached.
3) Copying an idea into more than one affinity set if appropriate.
4) Looking for small sets which could belong in a larger group.
5) Determining whether large sets needed to be broken down more precisely.

Silence ended when the ideas had been sorted.

6) A title for each affinity set could be identified from among the ideas, or a new one invented.
7) Groups of ideas from workshops within a wānanga could be shared via the projection screen.

This tool proved ideal for generating positive outcomes or objectives relating to the problem situation and developing these ideas into a coherent proposal.

8. Action Planning

A useful application of the "kowhai raparapa" analysis tool was in action planning. Taking a positive outcome or objective which had been generated, issues around the implementation of the objective are brainstormed. Once they had been accepted by a workshop group as helpful they could be arranged in logical time sequence to demonstrate the various events which must occur before the objective could be achieved. Discussion around action plans was designed to increase appreciation of the problem situation and introduce participants to some of the intricacies and issues which are involved in managing and coordinating a number of variables which must all come together to achieve a result.

9. Difficult Situations

It is common experience for Maori, often with good reason, that the actions of some whānau members cause suspicion with regard to motives, especially in relationship to land. In order to examine some of the reasons why there is so much inter-whānau tension and disagreement a process of enquiry described by D Stone, B Patton and S Heen[35] was introduced to the wānanga. The process was introduced with as much explanation as required to explain the reasoning behind

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[iii] Commercial name of a common adhesive note product

its sequence of discussions, then a real case study was introduced in the form or a role play and participants were asked to play the role they had been given.

Each workshop played the case study after analysing their role and the general information sheet in accordance with the following process:

The Events
- What actually happened?
- Who was involved?
- How did the event affect each person?

The Stories
- How does each person interpret the actions of each of the others involved?
- What is the <u>position</u> of each person?
- Who is blaming who for what?

The Identities
- How does each person see themselves?
- What "filter" does each person apply to the events?

The   Contributions
- How did each person contribute to the events?
- What are the <u>real interests</u> of each person?
- How can each person contribute so that:
  There is better understanding
  Events like this don't happen again

10. Negotiation Strategies

Participants in the wānanga were asked to think about why so many disputes between Maori hapū and iwi remain unresolved, even though common values and a shared Maori world view would suggest that people should not find it difficult to reach agreement. It was suggested that some thought be given to the formal structure in which disputes and negotiations take place on a Marae, and to compare that with a process of analysis and discussion which was developed to reflect the values of mana and manaakitanga. The research objective of this exercise was to answer the question: "Is there an alternative model for the analysis and conduct of negotiation which Maori will find acceptable and which will generally result in a successful outcome?" A model was

developed based on work by Fisher and Ertel[36] and sought an outcome of enhancing the mana of both parties to a negotiation. It has seven stages of enquiry:

1) *What are our real interests?*

   Go through the processes of identifying key objectives.

2) *What are the other parties' real interests?*

   Are the other parties taking a position which hides their real interests?

   Have they looked at their worst case scenario?

   What would they do if they got what they are asking for?

3) *What are our alternatives?*

   What are the key elements we are seeking?

   What are the various ways in which a deal could be put together?

   What ideas do the other parties have?

4) *What is our BATNA?*

   What is the Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement?

   Would we realistically take any of these actions?

   How do we improve our BATNA?

5) *Relationships*

   What do we want the relationship to be at the end of the negotiations?

   How can we enhance the mana of all parties?

6) *Opening Position*

   Ask for what you want - not what you think you can get.

   Include something the other parties would like you to concede.

7) *Validate your position*

   Give your reasons for what you want.

   You need to be able to show that your position is fair, reasonable and just.

   Precedents and similar cases are very powerful

A case study which set two workshop groups on either side of a dispute was distributed and each side prepared its case on the basis of the suggested process.

11. Analysing Maori Organisations

The discussion of values and a Maori world view lead to the question of what had changed over time and what were the main differences and similarities between traditional Maori institutions such as whānau and hapū, and groups which derived their structure and processes from legislation. The model for this enquiry is the Faust analysis of organisations described above. The reason for choosing this model was its familiarity to participants in the wānanga. Participants shared a vocabulary which was broad enough to allow distinctions to be made between models. Discussion therefore centred on identifying whether there was a significant difference in ownership, culture, purpose and direction, structure and delegations, information systems, and people requirements.

There are many examples of Maori organisations which display a range of processes and behaviours including aspects of tikanga Māori (see Puketapu[37]) as well as meeting procedures derived either from legislation or tikanga Pākehā. Maori Incorporations, Trusts, Runanga, Incorporated Societies are all based in legislation and may be expected to function in ways which display a continuum of values and procedures ranging from what might be called "te kawa o te Marae[iv]" to those displaying processes prescribed in constitutions or procedural rules based in legislation. In order to focus the discussion on the major differences and similarities, participants were asked to focus on the extremities of the continuum and discuss "pure" ropu tuku iho such as whānau, hapū, marae and 'pure' business organisations such as those providing goods and services to paying customers for profit in order to increase shareholder wealth.

The research objective was to identify important factors relating to the possibility of inherent conflict between old and new models of organisation, and to explore any negative or positive consequences arising from such conflict.

12. Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Executives

The term "capabilities" encompasses the skill, knowledge, experience and personal characteristics or qualities required to fulfil particular duties and responsibilities.

Within the workshop groups participants at each wānanga discussed the similarities and differences in the duties and responsibilities of people in ropu tuku iho, governance and executive roles within

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[iv] Kawa – ritual and procedure (E T Durie, 1994, *Custom Law*)

legislated organisations, and the capabilities associated with these different roles. The research question was whether there was possible danger where people with responsibilities as rangatira or Kaumatua in ropu tuku iho cross over to fulfil governance or executive roles within legislated organisations.

Information identifying the legal responsibilities of Trustees and Directors was taken from advice published by Bell, Gully[38], a major New Zealand legal firm. Examples of illegal or unethical behaviour and identifying some of the common reasons for business failure was presented as background information. Sutch's[39] account of the history of Maori enterprise in Aotearoa was also presented as background information for these discussions.

Selection of Research Locations

The project was fortunate to attract the interest of the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, a State Entity established to assume ownership of certain State owned forests pending claims to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal for their restoration. The Chairman of the Trust, Sir Graham Latimer, arranged a meeting of Māori leaders from Tai Tokerau in Whangarei and the project was presented to them both as a research project and as an education programme which would assist Māori owners of forests to prepare for the return of significant assets. The project was accepted on this basis and preparations were made to present it in a number of locations identified by CFRT. During 2000-2001 the programme was presented in seven locations within Tai Tokerau.

Each of the locations where Whakapūmau Te Mauri was presented had the pre-requisites of an enthusiastic hapū, or group of hapū, and people willing to act as local organisers. It was left to the local people to identify a suitable venue, and although our stated preference was to meet on a Marae this was not always feasible. An important consideration was the risk if the venue was needed for a tangihanga during the course of the wānanga. The tangihanga would have to take precedence, and it was sometimes considered better to go to an alternative venue. These varied from sports club premises to civic centres such as a War Memorial hall.

The reputation of Whakapūmau Te Mauri as a helpful programme appeared to spread quickly throughout the North Island, and requests to deliver it in places other than Tai Tokerau were made. It was always pointed out that an invitation to a Hui Taumata would need to come from a hapū rather than a legislated organisation such as a Trust Board or Runanga. It was felt that to respond to legislated organisations would detract from one of the principle intentions of the project – to

identify the cultural and spiritual imperatives of contemporary Māori society. Legislated organisations operate in accordance with rules established by Statute, and have limited and defined objectives.

During 2001-2003 Whakapūmau Te Mauri was presented in a further eleven locations in Hawkes Bay, East Coast, Wellington, Horowhenua/Manawatu, Hauraki, Auckland, Bay of Plenty.

The self selection of all eighteen locations was an important factor in the research project. The organisation of two hui of three days is a complex matter and only to be undertaken by people who are enthusiastic and relatively experienced in organising hui at their Marae.

The identification of a case study of necessity also had a major element of self-selection. The purpose of the case study was to test a new approach to the governance of Māori organisations, and investigate any resulting behavioural changes in the way whānau or hapū manage their land or other assets. Inevitably this needed to involve very close co-operation between the researcher and participating whānau. The only way an appropriate relationship between the researcher and participants could be expected to occur was for the whānau to invite the researcher to work closely with them. The case study involved a whānau with well defined land holdings which are not in dispute or subject to claims.

The case study was initiated by an invitation from members of the whānau to conduct a wānanga exclusively for them. A period of two years elapsed from the initial invitation to the presentation of Whakapūmau Te Mauri. However, during this period there were frequent discussions with whānau members and an occasion where the researcher was able to assist with the facilitation of a hui to determine governance structures and processes for their Marae. Perhaps this elapsed time is an indication of the degree of persuasion required for whānau members to agree to take part in the project, and also for the researcher to demonstrate sufficient commitment to the whānau as well as skill and knowledge in the subject area. The case study is reported in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

Although there may be certain limitations in a methodology which approached organisation development through language rather than numbers, the requirements for action research could be met, not only during the six days of each wānanga, but also from one wānanga to the next. The essential consideration was that it seemed possible to produce useful research that could answer research questions such as those identified by Shipman[40]:

1) Is the topic of the investigation important?

   A large number of hapū and participants shared our view that the topic was worthwhile, important and valuable.

2) If the investigation were to be repeated by different researchers, using the same methods, would the same results be obtained?
   We believed that our research methods would produce answers which were objective and reliable.

3) Does the evidence reflect the reality under investigation?
   We believed that it would be highly likely that the answers we obtained would be true.

4) Do the results apply beyond the specific situation investigated?

   We believed that the research results could be generalised.

5) Has sufficient detail been provided on the way the evidence was produced for the credibility of the research to be assessed?
   In summary, we believed we could present the research in such a way that its quality in terms of its objectivity, reliability, validity and generalisability could be assessed by others.

The research project was well attended, and produced consistent findings. These are analysed in Chapter Five.

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Chapter Five – Quantification of Responses

Introduction

This Chapter explains how the research programme was conducted in the different locations during the period 2000 to 2003. The research findings are analysed and discussed, and an initial response to the research question is outlined. This response is the subject of further discussion and development in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Four explained the research approach, utilising a wānanga format. Although participants were encouraged to identify issues for discussion, the progress of the wānanga was shaped by a series of consensus building events. The approach took into account tikanga appropriate to each group, subject to the tikanga of the marae and the hapū which hosted the wānanga. Each wānanga included the following events:

1)   Powhiri for participants and facilitators

2)   Whakawhanaungatanga

3)   Hangaia Te Kaupapa

4)   Survey of values of participants

5)   Situation Analysis

6)   Worst Case Scenarios

7)   Kowhai Raparapa

8)   Action Planning

9)   Analysing Difficult Situations

10)   Negotiating Techniques

11)   Analysing Māori Organisations

12)   Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Executives

The outcomes from each of these events, and the consequent research findings, were:

1.   Powhiri and Whakawhanaungatanga

Welcoming the research team to the wānanga varied in formality from location to location. Some locations requested a formal outdoor ceremony during which kaumatua from Ngati Raukawa would be present. Others considered that the hui taumata described in Chapter Four had provided sufficient formality for the wānanga to proceed and a more modest ceremony would suffice. These less formal, indoor occasions allowed speakers from other than the host

hapū to introduce themselves and on occasion to use humour to challenge the seniority of the host hapū.

These exchanges, and the introduction of participants usually after refreshments, fulfilled four important functions:

1) The wānanga was clearly established as an event supported by the hosting hapū.

2) The taumata who would represent the tangata whenua was identified as a point of reference for any issues relating to the tikanga of the Marae.

3) Everyone became aware of the identity of all participants, and the opportunity arose to question the presence of any person whose motives might be suspect.

4) The research team was also identified in terms of their whakapapa and often their reputation in conducting wānanga. Any initial judgement about the merits of the exercise were suspended as the atmosphere of whanaungatanga evolved.

Meetings of Māori in any formal situation must begin appropriately. The opening rituals, including karakia and speeches of welcome, created a sense of safety and familiarity. Participants could make assumptions about the way others would behave during the course of the wānanga.

Challenging issues did occasionally arise, and a short description will indicate the importance of the opening events and the capacity of the taumata to deal with them.

1) At the very first location a participant well known to the local people as forceful challenged the capability of the research team to discuss the management of Māori assets. The response was to list the academic qualifications of the team and their business and other experience. The questioner was satisfied after qualifications were recited and was content to rest the issue. However, the situation turned to humour when the team continued, saying that the hui would get everything that was asked for, and went on for some time quoting credentials (despite the questioner's protests) while the wānanga enjoyed the experience. This response matched a form of humour quite common at hui, where antagonists spar verbally to the delight of onlookers. This was not the last challenge from this particular participant, but the relationship was established and the support of the rest of the participants for the research team was revealed.

2) At another early location the wānanga was asked to prepare an action plan using a tangihanga as an example. During the process a young man rose to his feet and with great emotion protested at using such a sacred and inappropriate example. The

response was to say that it was not the intention to cause anyone distress, and then to ask the taumata to comment. Four elders from the area responded, treating the views of the participant with great tenderness and respect. They also indicated their support for the process and their willingness for it to continue using the tangihanga example. By the time these kaumatua had supported each other in their comments the issue was laid to rest.

3) An attempt to politicise the wānanga and turn its attention solely to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and strategies to counter colonisation persisted at one location where the taumata was relatively young and inexperienced. However, at this location two or three kuia, respected well beyond their home district, attended apparently to observe, knit and greet their whānau from time to time. Their presence each day indicated their support for the wānanga and gave the research team the confidence to continue with the kaupapa that had been accepted by the hui taumata.

4) At one location a persistent challenge to the introduction of each event was made by a participant who had the advantage both of seniority and expertise in te reo Māori. The local kaumatua, advanced in years, was not prepared to silence the participant, and while the situation from time to time became a little tense the wānanga was able to continue. Support came informally from other participants who expressed admiration at the ability to shrug off the hostility and maintain the agenda. However, without a strong taumata to protect the mana of the tangata whenua the wānanga was in danger of collapsing.

5) At another location the presence of two people who were employed by the local District Council was challenged during the whakawhanaungatanga. Those challenged were not Māori, and their presence might have meant that participants needed to be more guarded in their discussions. The response from the research team was that it was entirely a matter for the hosting taumata to invite or exclude whoever they wanted, and a discussion ensued where the two Council employees stated their reasons for wanting to attend and pledged that nothing which occurred within the wānanga would be disclosed. Having explained their apprehension, the wānanga then welcomed the Council people and no further reference was made to the status of the two employees, whose contributions to subsequent discussions was well received.

The incidents described above illustrate the importance of the research project being conducted as a Māori event. The ceremony and ritual endorsed local tikanga, and established that

everyone present was under the authority and the protection of the tangata whenua, represented by the taumata. If the project had been conducted without acknowledging customary values and processes, it is very doubtful that these issues could have been dealt as successfully as they were.

An important change to the way the wānanga was conducted was made after the first wānanga was completed and reviewed by the research team. It was decided to include a creative event during each day. Work groups were asked to create something which expressed their feelings about the day, for presentation to the wānanga at the end of the day. The purpose of this event was:

- To increase the level of fun with a task not to be taken too seriously;
- To give work groups who had completed a task ahead of other groups something to occupy their time;
- To give participants who were reticent during discussions the opportunity to express themselves and demonstrate their creative talent.

The events proved very successful and enjoyable, with a song to be composed by each group on the first day, a newsprint sculpture on the second day, and other challenges on other days. On the last day of the wānanga the creative medium was harakeke, with many of the creations being exchanged among participants as gifts.

At the end of each day the research team would reflect on the day's discussions and review the output of work groups. Points for further reflection by the wānanga were identified, and the following day would begin with an invitation for participants to suggest improvements or changes to the previous day's work. Changes to discussion papers were often made, and a fresh copy of the output made for participants to retain.

The structure of the wānanga and the sequence of events was also frequently discussed. The willingness of participants to remain engaged in the wānanga, and the consistency of responses from one wānanga to another persuaded the research team that no changes in the structure of the wānanga or the sequence of events were required.

2. Hangaia Te Kaupapa

This process created an agenda for the wānanga and defined roles and responsibilities for the participants and the facilitator. It also determined how people within the wānanga would behave toward each other, handle any issues or problems which might arise, and how decisions would be made within the hui. Four questions elicited responses which fell into categories

indicating the key issues participants wished to explore and the behaviours which they considered important. The four questions were:

1) What do you want to achieve during the wänanga?

2) What do you expect of your facilitator?

3) What can your facilitator expect from you?

4) How will we behave toward each other, making decisions and dealing with issues that may arise during this wänanga?

The outcomes for this event were:

1. What do you want to achieve during this wänanga?

> The responses have been consolidated and grouped into eleven categories based on the expert system devised by Faust and described in Chapter Four. There was very little variation between locations in the nature of the issues raised for discussion, which is perhaps to be expected in a project related to asset management.

An indication of topics nominated for discussion is shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1   Frequency of Topics for Discussion
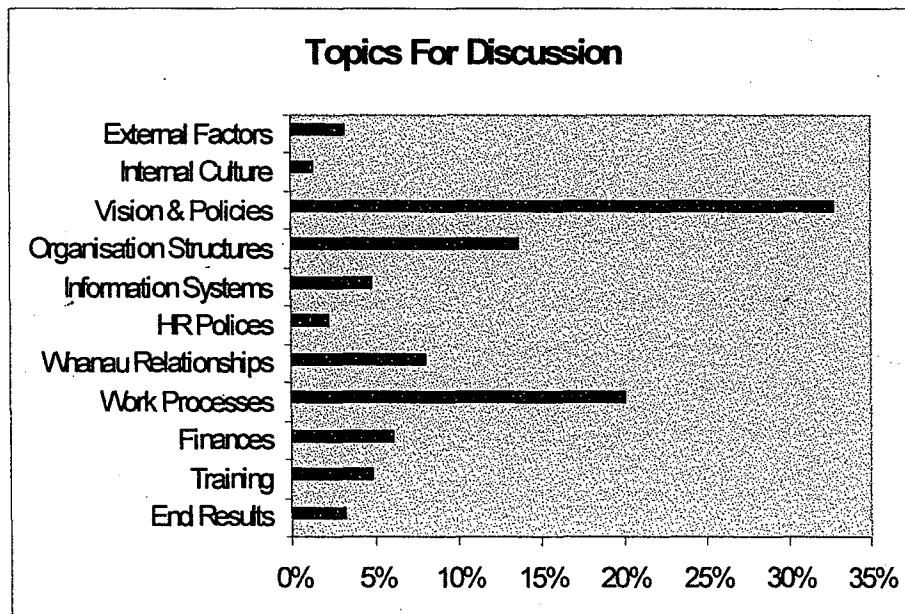
Figure 5.1 indicates that the primary concern of participants collectively was the <u>vision and policies</u> of organisations (31%). These concerns were focused in statements which asked for discussion of the following topics:

1) Good leadership

2) Policies and procedures which suit Māori structures

3) Leadership, conflict resolution, governance, asset management, facilitating claims

4) Marae autonomy – organisation relevant to Marae structures

5) Governance and representation

6) How we can become an organisation based on whanaungatanga

7) How to plan a positive direction for our future

8) Spirituality in organisations

9) Being able to manage an organisation and knowing the structure to put in place

10) Creating an organisation that is able to bring together multiple owned land

11) Purutanga taonga tuku iho (maintaining the treasures we inherited)

12) Obligations of trustees

The next most frequent request for discussion was to better understand the work processes of their management entities (20%).

1) Processes that will help fulfil our vision

2) How to phrase applications in a language familiar to Government

3) How to access information to assist in limiting the risks in development

4) Logistics in keeping with tikanga Māori

5) The steps to achieve things – how to develop a time line

6) How to meet other organisations with the same vision

Organisation Structures was the next most frequently proposed topic for discussion (14%) with the following issues of concern:

1) Structuring the organisation for the best results

2) Will the structure we learn in this hui affect our Marae structure

3) Get a better understanding of what is a Māori organisation

4) Develop better management structures and processes

5) Roles and responsibilities

6) Organisational growth and management

Strategic Relationships featured next (8%):

1) Interaction between the organisation and its beneficiaries

2)   How to encourage full participation in our organisation that reflects all our ideas, concepts and values

3)   Effective consultation

4)   Sharing of vision

5)   Accountability of managers/governors

Next was Finances (6%):

1)   Reasons for failure in a business organisation

2)   Protection for stakeholders against loss of ownership

3)   Controlling assets

4)   Financial management

5)   Financial projections

Other topics represented 5% or less of the topics requested for discussion.

Training (5%)

1)   Personal skills for the future

2)   How to be a good manager

3)   Administrative training

4)   Presentation styles

Information Systems (5%)

1)   Quality control

2)   Accountability

3)   How to better understand the information – reading between the lines

External Factors (3%)

1)   Effects of legislation

2)   Obstructive government policies

3)   How to heal the damage of colonisation

4)   Talk about the Treaty

End Results (3%)

1)   How to become self governing

2)   How to make Māori organisations self reliant

3)   Amalgamate our holdings so we can all benefit

Reward and Motivation (2.2%)

    1)   Better understanding of roles and responsibilities

    2)   Empower staff to reach their fullest potential

    3)   How to select people fo management positions

Internal Culture (1.3%)

    1)   Relationships

    2)   Self esteem

    3)   How can I learn to be more tolerant

The lists represent a 'brainstorm' rather than a considered response, and reflects issues foremost in participants' minds. The purpose of asking the question was to involve participants in planning the wānanga in a real sense. It provided an early indication of the way in which the wānanga would be conducted. It also introduced the first essential question in the creation of any organisation: what is the kaupapa – what do we want achieve?

2. What do you expect from your facilitator? ‑

The second question is one of two which had implications for roles and responsibilities within an organisation. Figure 5.2 shows how participants responded to this second question.

Figure 5.2 Roles and Responsibilities of Facilitator
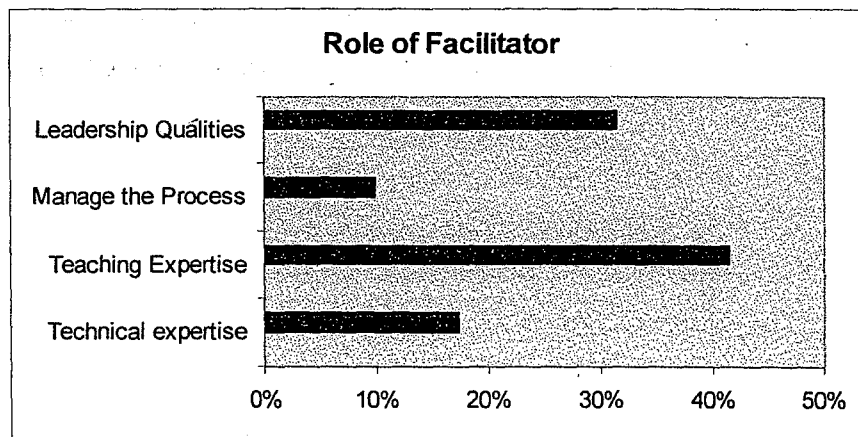
The responses to this question fell naturally into four categories:

Teaching Expertise (41%)

    1)   Keep it simple

    2)   Extract knowledge from everyone in the room

3)   Explanations without embarrassing the asker

4)   Useful information

5)   Sense of humour

Leadership Qualities (31.5%)

1)   Honesty

2)   Tika, pono, aroha, manaaki (truth, integrity, love, generosity)

3)   Open minded

4)   No hidden agendas

5)   Whakamana te tangata (respect everyone)

6)   Open to learning from the whānau

Technical Expertise (17%)

1)   Give us the basics

2)   Speak from experience

3)   Share experiences

4)   Te kete matauranga (basket of knowledge)

Manage the Process (10%)

1)   Review the day's proceedings

2)   Keep us on time

3)   Keep people who talk too much in line

3.   The third question relates to the roles and responsibilities of participants, and the two questions together simulate the distinction between leaders and supporters in an organisation. Responses are indicated in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3   Responsibilities of Participants

Responsibilities of Participants
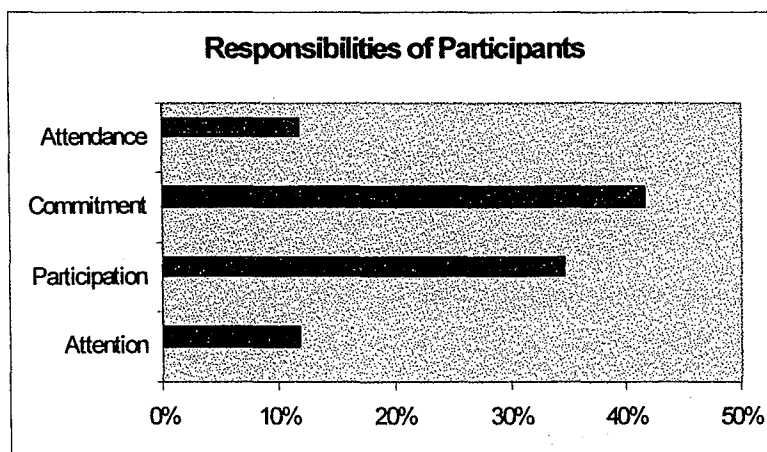
The responses fell into four categories:

Commitment (42%)

    1)   Stay on the kaupapa and stick to the agenda

    2)   Tika me pono (appropriate behaviour)

    3)   Do the work

Participation (35%)

    1)   Give feedback

    2)   Everyone gets a chance to talk

    3)   Be challenging

    4)   Open minded

Attendance (12%)

    1)   Punctuality

    2)   Come every day on time

    3)   Stay till the end

Attention (12%)

    1)   All eyes, all ears

    2)   Listening and hearing

    3)   Undivided attention

4. How will we behave toward each other?

The fourth question addresses how people will work together to achieve the agreed objectives, and how decisions will be made and issues or problems resolved. This establishes the tikanga for the organisation. Responses are grouped into six categories, as shown in Figure 5.4:

Figure 5.4 Tikanga of the Wānanga
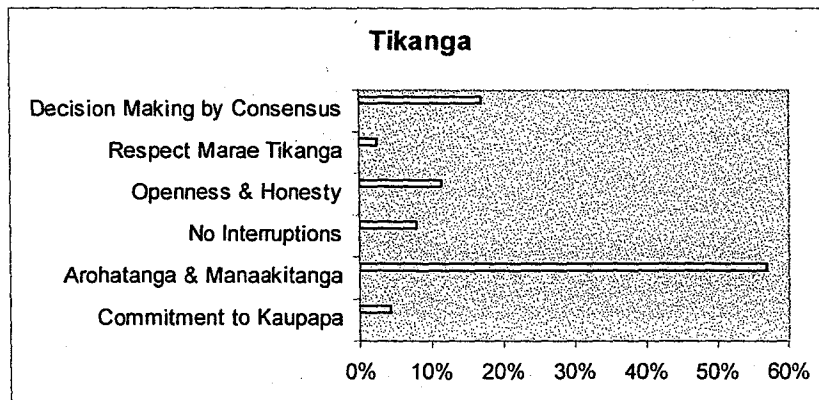
Arohatanga and Manaakitanga (57%)

1) Be respectful and not invade other people's space

2) People must feel safe to express their views

3) Manaaki tētahi i tētahi (generosity toward each other)

4) Speak to the issue and do not get into personalities

5) Be able to pass if you don't want to speak

6) Encourage each other

7) Cell phones off unless necessary

8) Be able to honour the differences between one another

9) Ükaipö/pito/whenua and other aspects of tikanga important to our nourishment (associations with birth and nourishment)

Decision Making By Consensus (17%)

1) Consensus decision making

2) Whakawhitiwhiti korero (lively discussion)

3) We can change our decisions by consensus

4) No deals behind closed doors

5) No lobbying – no trading of votes or influence

Openness And Honesty (12%)

1) Transparency – no hidden agendas

2) Taking responsibility for one's words and actions

3) Rangatiratanga (acting with mana)

4) Whakapono (true to one's beliefs)

5) Kaua e whakaiti tatou (not belittling anyone)

6) Honesty, integrity and dignity

7) Speak without fear of intimidation

No Interruptions (8%)

1) Tautoko korero (support the person who is speaking)

2) Everyone has their say without interruption

3) One person speaking at a time

Commitment to Kaupapa (4%)

1) Accountability/commitment to the kaupapa

2) Communication of issues and decisions to the people

3)   Stick to the point

4)   Wānanga – share knowledge

<u>Respect Marae Tikanga</u> (2%)

1)   Tikanga of the local hapū or iwi prevails

The very small number of responses relating to respecting local tikanga was initially surprising. However, given the context of the wānanga it may well have been assumed that local tikanga would be observed. Mentioning it in this context could be as redundant as specifying in a western business meeting that European courtesies would apply.

It is also relevant to note that while 17% of responses specified that decisions would be made by consensus, this requirement was present in every location, some adding the condition of prior discussion, or whitiwhiti korero.

The time for participants to complete this event varied from 30 – 90 minutes, most wānanga completing within 45 minutes. The longest time for completion was at a wānanga where there was great rivalry between two hapū, and some issues were debated fully, speakers often being supported by waiata. Many of the responses were delivered with personal explanation. Some such as references to spirituality, mutual respect and love, involved a sharing of very personal feelings.

In Pākehā business organisations it can take many hours of contact, sometimes even two or three days before participants feel safe and confident enough to share personal feelings. This difference was discussed with participants at each location, and while many did not have experience of Pākehā organisations they agreed that they felt no fear of being ridiculed or disadvantaged by sharing deeply held feelings, even with people who they may have met only for the first time that day. It was often pointed out by participants that the rituals of mihimihi followed by karakia made them feel safe and comfortable. The whakawhanaungatanga process identified that they were among people with whom they could assume a common vocabulary for discussing spiritual and emotional aspects of being together. The absence of fear of each other was notable among participants in each location, and contrasts with the experiences of Pākehā organisations.

To illustrate, in 1985 the researcher was employed by a major New Zealand manufacturing and trading organisation which required significant organisation changes as a result of changes in

New Zealand's trading relationship with the European Economic Community. In order to facilitate discussion among staff on the different skills and content of many jobs within the organisation a prominent writer and consultant in organisational psychology was engaged. The consultant was familiar with the New Zealand situation, having taught at Canterbury University in Christchurch for some years. His requirement was that groups of staff spend five days together analysing and attempting to resolve real issues which staff had identified as critical to the future stability and prosperity of the organisation. The first three days were spent in exercises which slowly removed the fear people had of sharing feelings and concerns with each other, and developing a common vocabulary and structure which would allow people to discuss issues without causing resentment or dismay among their colleagues.

Analysis of the process of Hangaia Te Kaupapa suggests that Māori share a confidence among each other which is very different from the Pākehā experience. In the Māori context, once the tikanga of the gathering has been established people identify issues and discuss them openly and 'from the heart'. Participants suggested that it was the feeling of whanaungatanga, along with commonly held spiritual beliefs affirmed by opening karakia, and kinship based on whakapapa which allowed people to develop a deep level of trust. This aspect of taha Māori is a taonga both unique and valuable, because of its implications for people being able to work together and to develop robust personal relationships very quickly, even when external circumstances are challenging.

To summarise, the major research findings to be gained from the 'hangaia te kaupapa' process were:

1) The most significant issue on the minds of participants in the wānanga was the leadership of the organisations which hold and manage their assets, and the policies which would take them forward. This was followed by issues related to improvements in the way their organisations were administered.

2) Participants placed knowledge and experience above other requirements when considering their expectations of the person who would facilitate and lead the wānanga, closely followed by leadership qualities which would foster and protect the open and honest exchange of valuable information .

3) Participants identified as very important their willingness to participate energetically in the wānanga, and their commitment to assist each other while gaining valuable knowledge and skill which could be shared with their whānau.

4) In identifying how they would conduct themselves and how they wished the wānanga to be conducted, participants placed strong emphasis on creating good relationships among each other – arohatanga and manaakitanga.

5) Some key rituals enabled participants to initiate a level of confidence and trust which allowed the sharing of deeply held beliefs and feelings.

6) Participants strongly preferred consensus decision making after discussion had taken place, and would allow decisions to be changed only by the same method.

Hangaia te kaupapa was the first demonstration of the ability to provide a learning experience for participants while at the same time gaining valuable research findings. The information was valuable to both the researcher and participants in the research project. The way in which it is collected and utilised provided an example for participants to follow within their organisations. It was sometimes reported during review sessions that some participants had, in the interval between the two three-day hui, used the same process to review the structure of their marae or church or sports committees, with helpful outcomes.

Values Survey

As described in Chapter Four, the values survey questionnaire contained 60 statements about behaviours relevant to organisational and family relationships. Participants were asked to score each statement on a four point scale, from strong disagreement to strong agreement with the statement. The sixty statements were grouped into eleven values or tikanga. Responses to the survey are summarised in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5   Support for Core Values

Support For Core Values
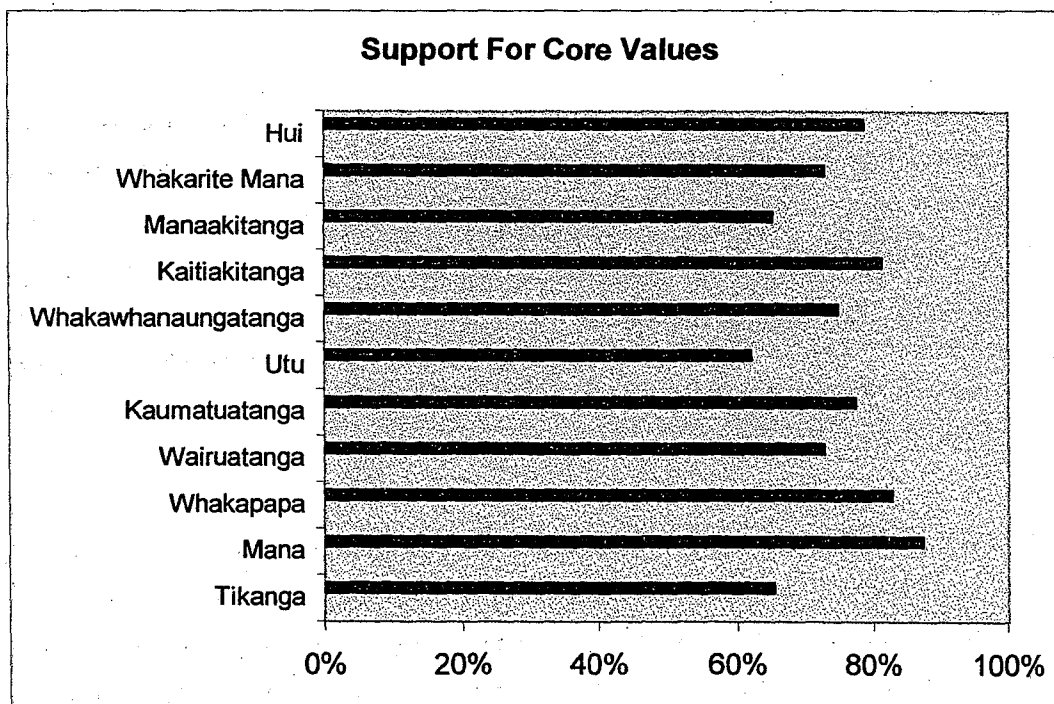
Most of the sixty statements were presented in positive form, but some were presented in negative form, when support of the core value was indicated by disagreement with the statement. For example, two of the statements which support <u>Wairuatanga</u> were:

(a) The spiritual world is an important part of reality which must be accommodated on a day to day basis.

(b) The spiritual world has its place, but business has its own rules which must be followed to the exclusion of other considerations if it is to succeed.

In order to calculate the scores of those participants who supported the value of Wairuatanga the number of participants who AGREED with statement (a) was added to the number of participants who DISAGREED with statement (b). Scores related to each core value were added and standardised by dividing the total number of supportive responses by the number of statements which produced those responses. This allowed for simple comparison where the number of statements associated with each core value may be different.

i.e.   <u>Number of supportive responses</u>
         Total responses X number of contributing statements

The importance of this analysis is in introducing participants to the possibility of discovering shared values and beliefs. It proved valuable in promoting discussion, often centred on the observation that there were always 10% - 40% of participants who did not support particular core values or tikanga.

The benefit of the survey was immediately apparent. Participants realised that they were able to define something about themselves as Māori which was uplifting and in tune with ideals such as generosity, self-sacrifice, honesty, knowledge and caring. Discussing the survey also gave participants the opportunity to develop a vocabulary for referring to values and preferred behaviours. For example, a former primary school teacher at one location said that while she innately knew what tikanga suggested about ideal behaviour she had never seen it in writing and was grateful to have the vocabulary to talk more confidently about it. Pakeke at other wānanga had similar comments about the experience.

The value 'whakawhanaungatanga' was the subject of discussion at several wānanga, with participants noting that the particular responsibility which Māori feel for people to whom they are linked by whakapapa is not universally regarded as a virtue by Pākehā and is sometimes dismissed as nepotism. Many participants expressed support for the positive aspects of preferring family members for appointment to positions within whānau enterprises. It was

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agreed that access to the people who are leaders within the shareholder group is simpler for whanaunga, but needs to be earned by ongoing contribution to the organisation. It was also suggested that whanaunga will care for the shareholders and their representatives who act as trustees. Participants considered an emotional connection to an organisation to be beneficial.

Whakapapa links were not considered to be sufficient on their own, however, and it was suggested that appointments of family members may carry the disadvantages associated with nepotism if the appointee does not have the capabilities necessary for the job. At wänanga where this was an issue, participants suggested that it is important to an organisation that appointments of whanaunga are at least contestable by other whanaunga. There can be damage to the confidence that staff and shareholders have in an organisation if appointments are made under authority derived from a position held under tikanga Päkehä, and then justified in terms of tikanga Mäori. Using tikanga Päkehä to achieve a desired outcome then reverting to tikanga Mäori to justify it was seen to be corrosive of Mäori values. It was seen as being much safer for discussion of whänau appointments to take place at an appropriate hui so that the suitability of an appointee could be explained in comparison to other possible candidates.

The research information gained from the values survey was:
1) There are a number of core values and tikanga which participants support as the basis of ideal or preferred behaviours.
2) Where there is conflict between tikanga and legislation, there is often a weakening of confidence in tikanga.
3) There was a view that the ideal qualities and behaviour which people in leadership positions should exhibit is very similar to the qualities and behaviours which were exhibited by rangatira from past times.
4) People already had an understanding of core values and tikanga, though they may not have had readily available the vocabulary to describe them. Participants were able to discuss and refine the values when presented with possible definitions and explanations.

Situation Analysis
The situation analysis utilised an 'expert system' asking participants to respond positively or negatively as to whether a the description of a typical organisational problem was relevant to their trust or other organisation.

Initial discussion of the analysis process among participants identified that there was not a great deal that a group of owners or governors could do in the short term to affect the External Factors which influenced an organisation. It was agreed that energy should rather be focused on factors which could be influenced or changed within a reasonably short period of time.

This pragmatic approach to prioritising action extended to the End Results for an organisation, which are beyond direct influence simply because the time to change them is past. Poor results may indicate what an organisation might need to give attention to in the future, but the results cannot be changed. Similarly, the Internal Culture of an organisation may not directly be changed by a decision of owners or managers. Wānanga agreed that culture is a consequence of the policies and the operations of an organisation, and so is an 'effect' rather than a 'cause'. If culture is to be changed then aspects of the organisation's policies and strategies, or its operations, must first change. This distinction encouraged participants to focus on the policies and strategies of their organisation – the things they could directly influence.

Within wānanga were participants from many organisations, and the regional diversity and large number of participants taking part in the project provided a reliable indication of how many Māori organisations are perceived by their beneficiaries and owners. There is sufficient convergence on critical issues between workgroups in a single location, and between locations in different regions, to support the view that the analysis is a useful indicator of Māori opinions. Each wānanga identified very similar critical issues, presented in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6   Critical Issues in Māori Organisations

Critical Problems With Organisations

Percentage Workgroup Response
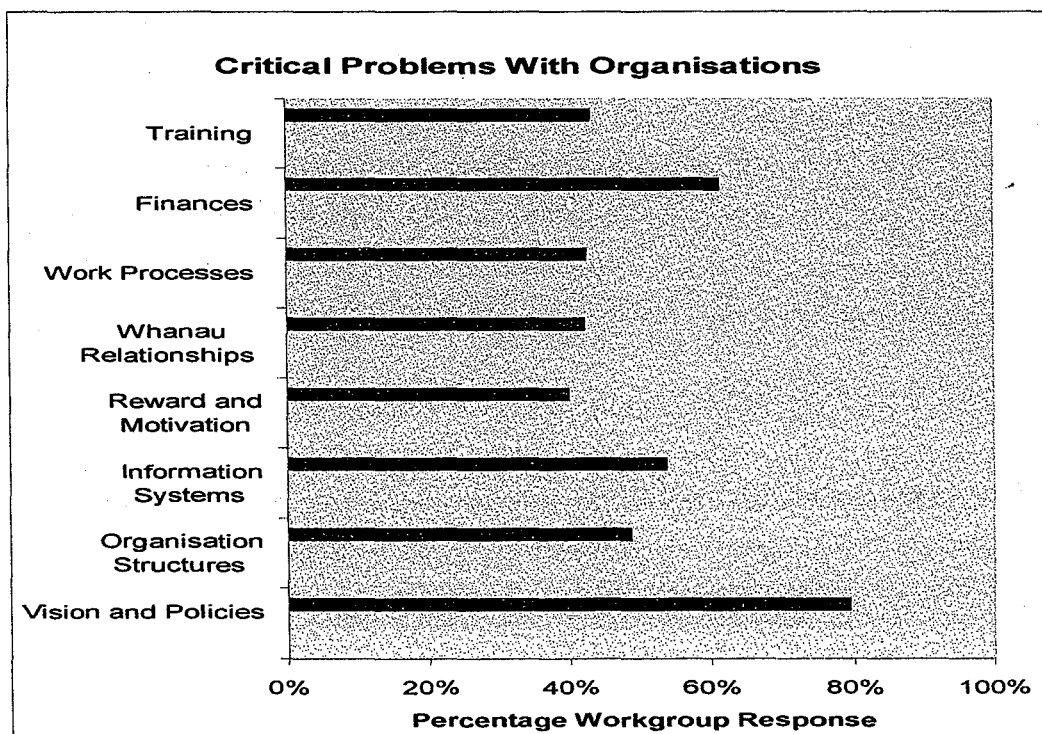
The category 'vision and policies' was identified as the most critical issue. Financial management was identified as the next most critical issue.

Underlying each of the aspects of the Vision and Policies of organisations are the statements which participants identify as issues within their organisations: For example:

Poor Communications of Plans and Planning:
- We do not have good downward communication of goals, decisions and/or plans.
- Our corporate growth and development plans are not well understood or accepted.
- Our long range plan is not well coordinated with annual plans and budgets.

Unfocused:
- We are doing too many different things.
- Everything is a priority.
- Major decisions are not guided by a formal decision process.
- Goals are unclear.

Lack of Plans and Planning:
- We do not have a clearly defined long-range plan
- We don't identify critical external trends soon enough
- The direction of our organisation is not exciting or meaningful to some key people.
- We do not regularly assess and redefine our purpose and direction.

Imbalance in Philosophy and Orientation – We Don't Walk The Talk:
- We do not balance long-term and short-term goals and plans.
- We do not balance individual and organisation goals.
- Growth rather than profit oriented.

Leadership Not Leading:
- Our organisation is not actively led; it is just managed.
- We don't have strong outside advisors/board members to help us gain perspective and give expert input as needed.
- Management is not in control of the organisation.
- Our chief executive does not lead by example and/or does not actively promote our mission and philosophy.

Figure 5.7 reveals that of the work groups which identified 'vision and policies' as a critical issue in their organisations 95% considered that their leaders were not leading their organisations in a way which satisfied stakeholders; 82% thought that their organisations lacked focus; and 70% - 75% faulted communication of plans and priorities, a perceived lack of planning, and an imbalance between what the mission of their organisations and what they saw as its real behaviour.

Figure 5.7 Critical Issues in Vision and Policies
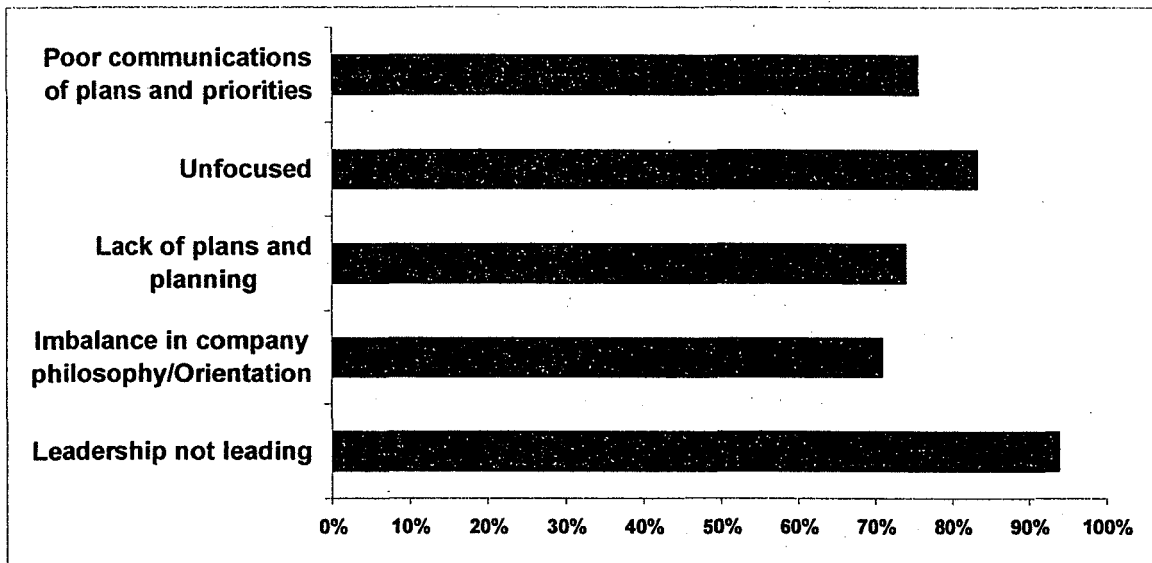
As an 'expert system' the situation analysis had considerable value for people who may not have been familiar with the language commonly used to discuss the management of organisations. Statements of perceived problems were stated in simple language which could then be used with confidence to describe events which occur in participants' everyday experience. This was often illustrated in the break between the two three-day hui which allowed people to try their new knowledge and vocabulary. For example, a participant who has been prominent in the affairs of her whānau attended a meeting and reported that she had asked just as many questions as always, but now everyone could understand what she was talking about!

The research information from this event showed that:

1) A significant majority (80%) of participants identified critical problems with the leadership of their organisations including planning and communicating with owners, 62% identified problems with financial management, and 53% with information systems.

2) Analysis of the critical issues revealed that in every location, and in 54% of all work groups, there was the perception that organisations were not close enough to their stakeholders in terms of providing information and allowing input and feedback at appropriate times.

3) Using an expert system which requires participants to identify whether certain symptoms of organisation failure are true in their experience was an effective method for conducting a situation analysis. It also provided a common vocabulary which

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participants were able to use to describe similar situations. Participants expressed feelings of comfort and reassurance that situations which they often perceived as being disorderly and illogical could be analysed and placed in a framework of logic and order.

4) Having workgroups from different hapū within the same wānanga arriving at very similar conclusions convinced participants that they had more in common with each other than they had at variance.

5) Having gained insight into some of the problems of their organisation and with an extended vocabulary to discuss organisations, some participants demonstrated a greater degree of confidence in discussing matters where formerly they would have remained silent.

Worst Case Scenario

While the situation analysis focuses attention on the working of organisations established to manage multiple-owned assets, it is also important to gain a wider view of the context in which the organisation operates. A simple event which seeks to elicit participants' deep concerns for the whole situation involving their present and future assets is the identification of their Worst Case Scenario.

Participants were asked to imagine that their ownership group had recently gained significant funds. They were then asked to put in writing the things that they would definitely not want to happen subsequent to the sudden increase in financial resources.

Developing a worst case scenario allowed people to express their fears and concerns for their organisation.

Throughout the research project it was demonstrated that workgroups could very quickly agree on their worst case scenario. Previous experience with this analytical technique suggests that people who are unable to agree on what should happen seem nonetheless to be able to reach agreement on a list of unacceptable or undesirable outcomes.

Each wānanga indicated similar concerns. These were:

- Mismanagement and bad investments lose funds
- Inadequately researched plans means funds squandered
- Fraud, misappropriation and other dishonesty by managers and trustees
- Mana is lost, morale is destroyed, squabbling among beneficiaries as relationships deteriorate
- Lack of confidence in management means everyone wants to be in control

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- Rewards and benefits are distributed to a select few beneficiaries
- Disagreements, misinformation and internal politics mean nothing is done to develop the assets
- People are employed because of connections rather than ability to assist beneficiaries
- Interference by Government agencies means nothing happens
- Bad publicity from hostile press
- Tikanga is disregarded
- Poor governance results in wastage of asset
- Beneficiaries do not know what is happening and are left out of decision making
- An influx of whānau who suddenly discover their whakapapa

The Worst Case Scenario is less structured and more intuitive than the Situation Analysis which precedes it. The method has characteristics which are helpful in deciding positive action. For example:

1) There is nothing competitive about compiling a list of negative or undesirable consequences. Participants never displayed a desire to have their worst case elevated above anyone else's and there was little disagreement in compiling lists of unwanted outcomes.

2) Within the fears and concerns expressed by participants in the worst case scenario are hidden some of the hopes that people have for their organisation, and some of the outcomes they desire for themselves and other stakeholders.

3) There is a possibility of healing bad relationships in reaching agreement even on negative or unwanted outcomes, possibly among people who are unable to agree on many important things. In reaching agreement on the worst case there is a realisation that people who may have expressed very different views on desirable outcomes for the organisation nevertheless share the same fears and concerns regarding undesirable outcomes.

4) The process encourages participants to think beyond the interactions within an organisation or its business relationships outside. Wider issues are also brought into focus.

Once participants had agreed on a list of undesirable outcomes for their organisation, they were asked to identify the obverse of the list, and to convert each of the negative statements into positive statements indicating the corresponding desired outcome. Table 5.1 provides an example of undesired outcomes converted into positive statements.

Table 5.1   Transforming Negatives Into Positives

Negative Statement	Positive Statement
▪ Mismanagement and bad investments lose funds	▪ Investments are well managed and the funds are secure
▪ Fraud, misappropriation and other dishonesty by managers and trustees/directors	▪ Managers and trustees/directors are honest and ethical
▪ Lack of confidence in management means everyone wants to be in control	▪ Confidence in management means that they are left to do their job
▪ Rewards and benefits are distributed to a select few beneficiaries	▪ Rewards and benefits are distributed on an equitable basis
▪ Disagreements, misinformation and internal politics mean nothing is done to develop the assets	▪ There is agreement based on good information and objective analysis so that the assets are able to be developed
	▪ People are employed because of their ability to assist beneficiaries
▪ People are employed because of connections rather than ability to assist beneficiaries	▪ Government agencies assist rather than interfere
▪ Interference by Government agencies means nothing happens	▪ Good publicity from sympathetic press
▪ Bad publicity from hostile press	▪ Tikanga is upheld
▪ Tikanga is disregarded	▪ Beneficiaries know what is happening and participate in decision making
▪ Beneficiaries do not know what is happening and are left out of decision . making	

The research information from this event showed that:

1) Each wānanga identified situations where there was a breach in the ability of stakeholders to discuss their assets and organisations in a forum which is open and where valuable information is shared.

2) Participants revealed that there was an underlying dissatisfaction and lack of trust between different whānau who share the same asset base, and were concerned that the process of managing and distributing benefits is therefore likely to result in further worsening relationships.

3) While people share fears and concerns in relation to organisations they also share hopes and aspirations that the restoration of some of their assets will allow good things to happen and will result in greater trust and satisfaction.

Kowhai Raparapa

The advantage of this method lay in its ability to assemble a large number of diverse ideas or issues and in a short period of time instil a sense of order and logic. A challenge to some participants was becoming familiar with writing ideas on paper so that in a few words a single

idea could be expressed without ambiguity. Because the idea generation aspect was carried out in silence people were not able to ask their neighbours for help. While that may have caused difficulty for some participants who seldom put pen to paper it did ensure that each idea or issue was the product of the author rather than of someone else who may have been persuasive in promoting a particular issue or point of view.

The method was applied to the generation of objectives and policies. Workgroups were asked to identify one of the positive outcomes identified in the previous event (their worst case scenario) and amplify a set of sub-objectives. These sub-objectives would both expand on the kaupapa of the leading statement or objective, and would also serve as a set of performance indicators. If all of the sub-objectives were achieved then the leading objective would also be achieved. In effect, achieving the leading objective was dependent on achieving all or most of the sub-objectives.

The purpose of this exercise was to demonstrate an analytical tool which could be used to 'brainstorm' issues, and then rapidly sort responses into groups with common themes, or affinities. The kowhai raparapa process was a way of ensuring that everyone in the wānanga was able to contribute ideas and suggestions without any hindrance or prompting. The process usually resulted in a number of short statements which put together made a clear statement of intention. The example in Table 5.2 will demonstrate the type of statements which resulted from this learning exercise.

For this particular group the settlement process had long been a matter of contention among the many iwi who claimed to have mana whenua in "Rohe H".

The kowhai raparapa method allowed rapid grouping and prioritisation of the ideas of individual participants in the work group. It was a good demonstration of the ability of participants to contribute to strategy on a relatively complex matter. By using a systematic approach which was inclusive but simple the workgroup was able to arrange its ideas into a cohesive statement

In a further extension of the method, participants in each location were asked to consider a different question: "What are the issues around taking control of the education of your children?" Table 5.3 shows the response from a wānanga held in Tai Tokerau. There were 10 workgroups and the table includes one objective from each workgroup.

Table 5.2 Example of Kowhai Raparapa Outcome

1. **The negotiation settlement process for Rohe H will:**
   - Allow all people to participate
   - Appoint trustworthy people
   - Enable open and informed debate
   - Be fair and honest
   - Have clear accountability procedures
   - Have agreed terms of reference for negotiation
   - Negotiators will be appointed by a selection panel
   - All groups are included in the process

2. **Demonstrate quality political leadership by:**
   - Developing processes in conjunction with the people
   - Demonstrating good governance practice.
   - Transparent accountability to the people.

3. **Promote trust and faith so that:**
   - Our shared cultural values are demonstrated
   - No one will be left out
   - We trust one another
   - We support the people chosen

4. **Political leadership should have a governance structure that:**
   - Ensures shared vision
   - Minimises conflicts of interest between Iwi reps and their people
   - Ensures Iwi are not confused

Table 5.3 Taking Control Of The Education Of Our Children

1. **Teaching starts from home so that:**
   - As parents we feel accountable to provide for our children's needs
   - The children know about karakia and whanaungatanga
   - Children and parents have quality time together to establish loving respect for each other
   - Children become strong and independent leaders who will lead by example with parents walking the talk

2. **We want a Maori education strategy which is:**
   - Based on tikanga, tautoko, aroha, taha wairua and whanaungatanga
   - For Ngapuhi nui tonu
   - To cater for past, present and future - starting before birth
   - At home and in the schools

3. **Change the way our tamariki are taught so that:**
   - We believe in what is taught
   - We can plan career paths well in advance
   - Children are taught taha Māori, including
     - Well being
     - Mahinga kai
     - Kaitiakitanga

4. **Take control of the education of our tamariki by:**
   - Teaching them as soon as they are born
   - Telling them that education is vital

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- Telling them there is no limit to knowledge in our lives
- Showing good examples including traditional teachings so children learn to walk the talk
- Teaching children to love and respect themselves and others
- Nurturing their mauri by providing an environment built on enhancing their identity
- Utilising traditional Maori concepts to strengthen the mana of Maori children

5. We will create a proactive regime of learning which will:
- Ensure social needs are met
- Include a type of education system we as whānau want put in place for our tamariki

6. Instruction of our tamariki so that:
- We can talk out our family values and kaupapa, and awhi tamariki
- There is open and relaxed communication between the teachers and parents
- By becoming members of school boards we know what our tamariki are learning
- That they may excel
- Our children become well equipped leaders for tomorrow

7. Ko te matauranga te ara tika   mo nga tau kei te heke mai – education is the future
- Kia puaki tonu te huarahi ki te minita o te matauranga – open communication line to the ministry
- Me whakahuihui nga whānau, me nga tarahiti o nga kura – mobilise whānau to meet regularly with the trustees
- Kia akongia nga kura tauiwi ki nga tikanga Maori – mainstream needs to identify with tikanga Māori
- Me te huihui me nga tamariki ki te rapu i nga kaupapa pai ki a ratou – hui with tamariki to find out what they really want and cater for it
- Me ako nga tikanga Maori i roto i nga kura katoa – tikanga Maori needs to be taught in all schools

8. Taking control of the education of our tamariki so that:
- We can help the educators and decision makers to provide the best for our tamariki
- We can understand teachers' responsibilities as educators
- We attend parent teacher interviews regularly

9. Taking control of the education of our tamariki by:
- Getting on the Board of Trustees
- Making sure the school is a safe and enjoyable environment for the children
- Encouraging child when they get something wrong
- Teaching them basic things
- Getting more funding for our talented tamariki
- Bringing back our local area schools

10. Taking control of the education of our tamariki by:
- Being totally involved
- Ensuring we have a stable and happy environment filled with love, respect and understanding
- Showing that learning is a two way thing – listening to children's wants and needs
- Getting onto Boards Of Trustees – the body which sets the ground rules
- Not being made to feel inadequate – so we can communicate at the same level
- Being confident in ourselves and not feeling threatened by tauiwi terminologies etc
- Expecting teachers to be of highest quality so our children come through the system just as highly qualified

The compilation of the items in this table from the initial generation of ideas to editing the list of objectives and sub-objectives took around one hour. Participants were impressed with the power of their collective efforts, and could visualise that a larger hui with more time to spend refining the results of their analysis would be able to assemble an impressive policy statement on this topic.

Research findings from kowhai raparapa were:

1) Participants were able to grasp the method of generating ideas on 'kowhai raparapa' and arranging them into affinity groups very quickly, with some more able than others to generate ideas on the issue being analysed.

2) As a group participants were able to reach agreement in a very short period of time on a collective approach to complex issues, with some participants in a work group being more productive than others in some aspects, but all participants taking responsibility for the final outcome.

3) The technique of initially working in silence again proved effective in generating ideas while postponing discussion of their relevance or priority until all ideas were assembled and ready for grouping.

4) The technique demonstrated that it was possible for participants in a wānanga situation to reach agreement on complex or controversial matters without disagreeing, using techniques which fostered consensus rather than discussion.

Action Planning

The process of moving from objectives to a detailed action plan was important for participants in order to complete the strategic planning process.

To demonstrate the process workgroups were asked to provide a detailed action plan of a tangihanga. This topic provided an opportunity to involve pakeke in an exercise where their experience and expertise would be valuable. They actively contributed to the experience, and participants gained some insights into an aspect of Maoritanga which they may previously have taken for granted. In particular it was noted that the preparation of a tangihanga by iwi kainga is often commenced with very few resources on hand, and with expectations of an unknown number of mourners who will require hospitality over two or three days.

Research Findings:

1) The intricacies and uncertainties involved in planning and carrying out a tangihanga to the exacting standards of whānau and manuhiri demonstrated that Māori have a

tradition of planning and executing complex projects, succeeding under uncertain conditions, with few material resources.

2) Even though the planning may not be obvious, achieving results in situations where there a number of variables requires careful planning to ensure things occur in their correct sequence, and so that changes can be made to accommodate variations from initial expectations.

Difficult Situations

This event commenced with a discussion of the types of misunderstandings that sometimes occur between individuals and whānau. The discussion centred on a model of analysis, with examples to illustrate each aspect of the analysis. A case study was then presented for role play and each workgroup had the task of analysing the situation according to the model. A role play was undertaken, with further analysis of each stage of the model.

The following report summarises the nature and content of discussions of some of the causes of dissension among individuals and whānau.

1) Participants noted that misunderstandings among individuals and whānau frequently occur because of assumptions made in interpreting the actions of the other people involved. Situations are complicated where some family members live in close proximity to their rural base or marae, while others liver near their work, in towns and cities. Communications become misunderstood or misplaced, and where decisions appear to be urgent there is always the possibility of people who consider that they should be involved being left out. When people are left out of the decision making process it appears that suspicions regarding motivation begin to appear, and if accusations or anger are

expressed then a cycle of difficulties may ensue.

2) With the advent of legislated organisations to manage assets there appears also to be fertile ground for roles to become confused. If senior people within whānau are involved in the governance of these organisations then they may transfer their authority and responsibilities as pakeke to their role in the Trust or Company. This may lead to decisions being taken which generally would involve a wider discussion among whānau or hapū, and where they are matters involving tikanga or decisions relating to Marae or

urupa then quite major resentment may occur among those who have been left out of the decision process.

3) Another fertile ground for dissatisfaction, suspicion and erosion of trust is in pursuing land claims with the Office of Treaty Settlements. It is notable that the case study used in this event depicts controversy over the pursuit of a land claim, and in every location there were people who were adamant that they knew the real people that each of the roles portrayed, and were entirely familiar with the circumstances of the case.

The model appeared to be particularly useful in identifying the position taken by individuals involved in difficult relationships, i.e. a stated belief or desired outcome which the individual puts forward. This may be different to the real interests which may underlie a person's stated position. These are matters which an individual may not be aware of, and examples were identified such as a person putting forward the position that a decision has been made without sufficient discussion, when their real interest is that mana or status has been diminished because they were not included in the decision process.

Discussion of the case in each location revealed that most workgroups were able to draw this distinction. Identification of real interests became a source of fascination among participants and the need to make the distinction was understood. The terms "position" and "real interests" became terms raised in various discussions during the wānanga, and turned to humour in some locations. Participants also discovered that the time taken to analyse a person's real interests was often sufficient to allow anger to subside and tensions to ease.

Discovering plausible real interests underlying an unhelpful or unpopular position was a source of enthusiasm. It also provided encouragement to think more carefully about why people took their positions and on this basis, what strategy might be adopted to improve relationships.

Participants were able to identify the contribution of each role in the case study. While those playing each role were often vigorously defensive of their blamelessness it was also acknowledged that assuming that everyone involved has contributed to a difficult situation was more productive in achieving reconciliation and improved relationships than attributing blame. Participants were readily able to identify what each role in the case might have done differently in order to avoid the difficult situation.

The research findings from 'difficult situations' were:

1) Participants were able to utilise a simple model for analysing difficult situations and make a number of distinctions relating to the point of view of various people involved in the situations, including their stated position and their real interests.

2) Participants noted that usually most of the people involved in a situation which becomes difficult have contributed to the misunderstanding or difficulty.

3) Participants were able to plan action to resolve the difficulties and improve inter-personal and inter-whānau relationships.

Negotiation Strategies

Negotiations are very much a fact of life for Māori trying to retrieve assets, and many participants were able to provide examples of negotiations which were still in train after years of frustration and seemingly little progress. The analytical model provided a simple but logical basis for thinking through the negotiation process, and each aspect of the model was discussed and illustrated with examples.

A role play depicting a common cause of dissension was developed and different workgroups took opposing sides in the ensuing negotiation. Prior to negotiation each workgroup had to undertake an analysis of the situation and develop a negotiating strategy. Negotiations were limited by the time available. Groups were encouraged to cut to the chase and focus on their real interests.

The role play seemed to have an equivalent real situation in each location and in one or two wānanga it seemed that certain individuals were taking up the argument where they had left off. In one example the leader of an unsuccessful workgroup identified so closely with the case which involved ownership and use of land that he was unable to detach from the real situation, particularly because the other party in the real situation was in the opposing workgroup. It was interesting to observe that while the negotiation within the wānanga situation was not successful the opposing parties spent until the early hours of the following morning analysing the situation and were able to report to the wānanga on the following day that the dispute had been resolved and an agreement had been negotiated.

Of the 57 teams who took part in a negotiation exercise, only 3 teams were unable to negotiate an agreement. The few exceptions were notable because in all but one case one team contained at least one person who had missed a significant part of the wānanga, but was prominent in the negotiations. Lack of familiarity with the analytical models showed up and in each of the three

cases where opposing workgroups were unable to reach agreement, the negotiation strategy of one of the teams was to win, rather than to reach agreement. The inconclusive negotiations were valuable in highlighting the importance of both sides wanting to achieve agreement by consensus, and the difficulties which arise when one side holds to a position.

The example of political negotiations was frequently discussed by participants, concluding that because the interests of justice and the interests of politics are often widely different, making agreement between negotiating parties is difficult to achieve. This occurs when the benefits of reaching agreement are unequal and the real interests of both sides cannot be reconciled.

The research findings gained from 'negotiations' were:

1) Participants were able to analyse a situation and to construct a negotiation strategy based on the identification of the real interests of opposing sides.

2) The consensus building strategy which is the basis of all of the analytical methods offered during the wānanga was effective when it was followed, but was not intuitive to Māori. It required that both parties to a negotiation were able to identify their real interests. In addition, both parties must see more value in reaching an agreement than in failing to agree.

3) Where participants followed the model for analysing negotiations their workgroups were able to develop a negotiating strategy quickly and without major disagreement.

4) Where negotiations were not successful and did not result in an agreement it was sometimes difficult to convince both parties that they had failed in their objective, which was to reach agreement. It was not immediately obvious to people who were new arrivals at the wānanga that reaching agreement without disagreeing was a desirable outcome.

Analysing Māori Organisations

This event sets a context for exploration of some of the issues which have been raised during the wānanga about the performance of Trusts or Incorporations and other entities which have responsibility for significant assets. It is a discussion around the different purpose and leadership of two types of organisation which despite their differences might still be considered to be Māori organisations.

At one end of a continuum of Māori organisations there are customary Māori organisations – whānau, hapū and iwi. Their structure and authority has arisen from the need for whānau and hapū to have leadership, order and predictability as a necessity for survival. Organisations

which have this type of origin and reason for existence may be known as ropu tuku iho (traditional institutions with ancient origins). Their accountability to their members is described in Chapter Two above. They are not legal entities created under legislation.

At the other end of the continuum are organisations which, although owned by Māori and provide services to Māori, inherit their structure and authority from legislation. These organisations may fulfil a variety of useful purposes and might sometimes have within their leadership structure some of the same people who are the leaders of ropu tuku iho. However, the way they conduct themselves must conform to legal requirements and they may be called to account in a legal forum to answer for their activities (see Puketapu[1]).

Although there are numerous Māori organisations which would consider themselves to be somewhere between the two poles of this continuum it is helpful for understanding the characteristics of these different organisations to focus on the extreme examples. A Māori owned limited liability company delivering services to Māori was chosen as an appropriate example of a legislated organisation. These different organisations were analysed in terms of their purpose, the tasks they would need to complete in order to achieve their purpose, and the capabilities required of their leaders (Table 5.4).

The capabilities required of kaumatua and executives described above are a compilation drawn from discussions among participants, and are not intended to represent a comprehensive analysis of their roles. Comparing the role of the kaumatua with that of the chief executive officer of a service delivery company brought into focus for participants the different requirements of the two roles, and their relative importance in terms of their real interests and long term objectives. Some of the comments reflected on the selfless service expected of kaumatua who are typically available at any time where there are important rituals such as tangihanga or powhiri. Paradoxically, kaumatua would point out that it would be demeaning for them to ask for or accept more than out-of-pocket expenses, and that their mana would suffer should they become salaried in their positions and thereby accountable to a Board or a manager. Their accountability is to their whānau and hapū, with mutual responsibilities, although most kaumatua wryly pointed out that many whānau and hapū forget their duty to care for their physical needs.

Every wānanga recognised that the intellectual property of the whānau and hapū This exercise had the purpose of bringing to the attention of participants a means of identifying some of the consequences of delegating whānau and hapū responsibilities to legislated organisations. resided with a small and diminishing group of elders, the leaders of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Table 5.4   Analysis of Traditional and Legislated Māori Organisations

ROPU TUKU IHO	SERVICE DELIVERY ORGANISATION
Whānau, Hapū, Iwi	Trust, Incorporation, Company
PURPOSE	**PURPOSE**
Maintain for whānau, hapū and iwi • well being • identity • taonga • mana • trust and satisfaction	Deliver to shareholders and investors • survival • profit • growth • market advantage • legal compliance
Unbounded – makes its own rules **TASKS**	Bounded – operates within legislation **TASKS**
• rituals • spiritual guidance • dispute resolution • facilitation of hui • passing on knowledge • leadership of whānau, hapū	• production • delivery • planning • accounting • promotion • people management
CAPABILITIES	**CAPABILITIES**
• **Skills** – memory of karakia – perform waiata – guide hui to consensus – welcome manuhiri	• **Skills** – inter-personal relations – planning – recruitment – people management
• **Knowledge** – land boundaries – whakapapa – location of kai moana – history of the rohe	• **Knowledge** – products – processes – relevant legislation – financial reports
• **Experience** – attendance at many hui – done every job on Marae – familiar with local whānau – whānau administration	• **Experience** – up to 4 years' study – up to 10 years working – supervisory
• **Qualities** – unswervingly ethical – respected by community – patient and good humoured – live for the community	• **Qualities** – intelligence – honesty – diligence
Accountable to hui of whānau, hapū or iwi	Accountable to Board of Directors
Horizons encompass many generations	Horizons less than one generation

Where legislated organisations, such as Runanga, take over the tasks of ropu tuku iho the possibility of confusion is introduced. The appointed executive committee of the Runanga will not always consist of pakeke, and so will not always have the capabilities expected of kaumatua. Members of the executive committee may not be aware of any deficit in their skills, knowledge, experience and personal qualities and may do the best job they can, in good faith.

However, if the skill and knowledge of kaumatua is not available, or if those people who have the capability required to lead whänau and hapü are not expected to do so, then their skill and knowledge will not be sought or passed on to the next generation. It would take only one generation without access to kaumatua before the capabilities implied in this role would vanish. Participants spoke of current examples where this had occurred, and wänanga were held where there was no-one capable of undertaking a formal powhiri or conducting karakia.

Wänanga discussions also identified difficulties in relationships between the appointed representatives of legislated organisations, and at one wänanga this was well illustrated when a group of pakeke advised that they needed to leave the wänanga for a short time in order to attend the Annual General Meeting of a Trust which administered land in which they had significant interests. They wished to present some serious concerns. The group returned sooner than expected, and told the hui that the Board of the Trust had taken advantage of their absence and rushed through the whole agenda including presentation of financial reports within forty-five minutes. The hui had ended by the time these shareholders arrived.

This incident was the most vivid among examples of similar incidents cited by participants at other wänanga. There was a feeling among many participants that the appointed Boards, particularly for organisations such as Runanga and Mäori Trust Boards which are established under special legislation, often take great pains to reduce their accountability to stakeholders.

Examples were also cited by participants where Runanga or Trusts had passed resolutions or written into their constitutions that they held kaitiakitanga over matters of tikanga for their rohe. Because these organisations existed through legislation it was feared that the interpretation of tikanga for this rohe could be challenged in Court, and final power of decision could pass out of the hands of whänau, hapü and iwi.

Despite the many expressions of dissatisfaction with the way in which legislated organisations operate and communicate with their stakeholders the general opinion of participants was that the legal formality with respect to land title made them a better option than having communally owned assets registered in the name of individuals. Issues of succession and the ability of

individuals to dispose of the assets outweighed the identified disadvantages of Trusts and other legal entities.

Participants were also able to point to some of the benefits of Trusts and Incorporations in dealing with land issues. For example:

1) Security of land title for whānau members with interests in the land.
2) Difficulty of land sale without notification and consultation with owners.
3) Identification of benefits coming from lease or use of the land.
4) Ability to develop policies for equitable distribution of benefits.

Disadvantages of legislated organisations included the following:

1) Some appointees to governance positions appeared to believe that they were not accountable beyond the whānau which may have nominated them for their position.

2) Some appointees appeared to gain benefits out of proportion to their responsibilities.

3) A new social structure had developed parallel to the structure of whānau and hapū, with appointees to legislated organisations having powers of decision making with respect to assets. Trustees or appointees to these organisations do not defer to the authority of kaumatua.

4) The meetings at which the business of legislated organisations is conducted may distort the form of traditional hui and discard conventions such as allowing people freedom to speak, and deference to age and experience. Kaumatua appointed to governance positions may not be accorded the respect due to their experience and the mana of their position. Voting procedures may have the effect of reducing them to the same level as the newest and most inexperienced appointee. Where their opinions and advice is ignored there may be lessening of mana, to the point where the role of a kaumatua may be less influential than the governance role of appointees to legislated organisations.

5) Meetings may be 'chaired' rather than facilitated, and rules and procedures whether or not they are soundly based are used to advantage the interests of the chairperson and his/her supporters. Tactics such as conducting some business in te reo Māori, or occasionally not using appropriate Māori equivalents to explain difficult concepts, were cited as tactics to disadvantage some people and diminish their rights as stakeholders. The timing of meetings was noted as another way in which those with particular interests could be disadvantaged.

6) It was suggested that groups within a Board who share particular interests may cite tikanga Māori in support of their position, arguing tikanga in the face of professional advice or adequate consideration of the longer term consequences of the decision.

Confusion and disillusionment could be created where tikanga was not consistently used as the basis for decisions, but was used to gain an advantage over people who might be less confident in their tikanga.

7) Some participants who were members of legislated organisations spoke with feeling about the demands of being members of different organisations. They cited pressure of work as a difficulty in communicating with stakeholders, and also suggested that many stakeholders did not attend meetings and did not read the information which was provided to them. There was a feeling of injustice among appointees to executive committees when stakeholders complained about matters in which they had previously shown no interest.

Participants in the wänanga were enthusiastic about techniques which would allow them to analyse the workings of the legislated organisations and so gain a feeling of empowerment. Examples were raised in many wänanga which highlighted the dangers of relative ignorance in dealing with organisations, and particular instances were cited where professional advice would have been an advantage. While it was not the purpose of the wänanga to provide such advice it was considered part of the responsibilities of the wänanga to point out where advice might be sought and to suggest the type of issues which might be explored to reach greater understanding of a situation.

The research findings from analysing Mäori organisations were:

1) There was an inherent conflict between the structure and functions of ropu tuku iho (whänau, hapü and possibly iwi) and legislated organisations, which derived from the way in which the business of these organisations had been conducted, and legal requirements with which they must comply.

2) One consequence of the different objectives of ropu tuku iho and goods and services organisations was diminution of the influence and mana of leaders of ropu tuku iho (kaumatua) and a corresponding increase in the influence of leaders (governors and executives) of Trusts, Companies and other legislated organisations with responsibilities for collective or multiple-owned assets.

3) Another consequence was that people often felt excluded from the decision making processes of legislated organisations and a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust developed. Sometimes this feeling of exclusion was justified and sometimes it reflected inadequate effort on the part of stakeholders to become informed and support the work of appointees.

4) When the purpose, tasks and capabilities of ropu tuku iho and legislated organisations were analysed and discussed there was a greater appreciation for both, and a

realisation that the mana and the ongoing cultural survival of ropu tuku iho depends of the ongoing availability of kaumatua with the necessary capabilities.

5) There were dangers in exposing kaumatua to the decision making procedures of legislated organisations because of the levelling effect of voting as opposed to consensus. Where the opinion and advice of kaumatua was ignored or defeated there may have resulted an erosion of their mana which could adversely affect their other roles within ropu tuku iho.

6) Despite the apparent disadvantages associated with legislated organisations there was recognition of the advantages of having a legal entity which was subject to legal rules and requirements with respect to its powers and decision making procedures. There was greater certainty and protection for property title in such organisations.

7) Confusion and dysfunction resulted when there was no clear guideline for the influence of tikanga Māori within the governance processes of legislated organisations. Where tikanga was used as a tactic for the advantage of one group of appointees against the interests of others, the status of tikanga as a guide to behaviour was discredited, and distrust and dissatisfaction resulted.

8) Where matters affecting taonga tuku iho or the mana of whānau and hapü (for example their right to consider Resource Consent applications within their rohe) were placed within the jurisdiction of legislated organisations, then they could have been subject to review and decision by the Courts in their role as final arbiters of the processes and conduct of legislated organisations. The consequence would have been that matters of tikanga and mana could be determined by the Courts rather than by ropu tuku iho.

9) The increased influence of legislated organisations in the organisation and management of the affairs of hapü was matched by a diminution of the responsibilities of hapü with consequent erosion of their reason to exist. Their continuation beyond the present generations was guaranteed only by the presence of people with the capabilities to fulfil the essential role of Kaumatua and this was by no means certain for many hapü.

Meeting Procedures

The meeting procedures Māori organisations used to make decisions emerged from the research as a major source of dissatisfaction for shareholders. Further consideration of the differences between Māori and Pākehä decision making models shows where the protocols of tikanga and legislated structures can be in conflict.

The model of legislated organisations operating under tikanga Pākehä is illustrated in Figure 5.8. Resolutions to be debated are usually formulated before the meeting takes place and are

notified to members. The limited time available for the meeting, keeps speakers to the point of the resolution, and allows only minor changes in the resolution before voting takes place, at which point the resolution is either passed or defeated. Any public reaction to the resolution takes place after the meeting has passed the resolution, and considerable energy is required to change a resolution once it has been approved by a majority of those attending a meeting.

The Pākehā meeting process is not helpful for many Māori. It is not simply their lack of experience and familiarity with the legal processes, but is a much more fundamental dissatisfaction with a process which is antithetical to tikanga Māori. In particular, the 'majority rule' system of decision making is a threat to the mana of older people, particularly those of Rangatira or Kaumatua status. In a hui their views can be considered and revised with due respect, with the inclusive consensus as the end point.

Figure 5.8   Tikanga Pākehā Meeting Procedure

Resolution formulated by proposer	→	Meeting discusses resolution	→	Meeting votes on resolution	→	Public discussion follows
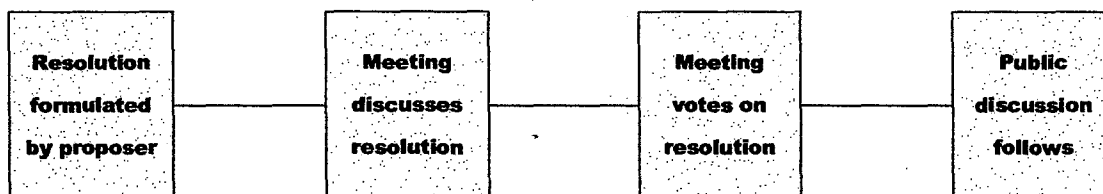
The progress of a hui (Figure 5.9) almost completely reverses the Pākehā model.

Figure 5.9   Tikanga Māori Hui Procedure

Idea or Proposal Floated	→	Hui called and established	→	Discussion until consensus	→	Resolution formulated by hui
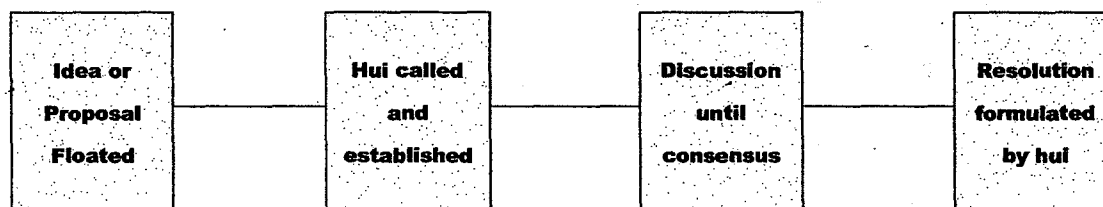
The general format of a hui is explained below:

1) A hui usually begins with an issue or an idea. The exception is a tangihanga or similar ritual, where the sequence of events has been developed over time into a format which deals with a host of variables in accordance with tradition.

2) People assemble and the hui begins with karakia, whakawhanaungatanga (unless those attending are well known to each other) and mihimihi. This format confirms that those attending have gathered as a whānau, with established ancestral links and a shared spiritual dimension which will safeguard the mana of everyone.

3) Someone with close connections with the venue of the meeting will open the discussion by voicing the issue or the idea, and then discussion will begin. There may be some hesitation until it becomes clear who wants to speak, and where seniority will place each speaker, early or late in the discussion, or somewhere in the middle.

4) As people speak themes will emerge, and people will indicate their agreement or disagreement, or ask questions, or tell a story, relate an incident, or even get off the topic until a senior person attending the hui brings things back to the point. This may take some time, because there is no time limit and people have the floor until they finish or go so far from the topic that it is appropriate to remind them of the purpose of the hui. By the end of this process people will have raised all the issues they can think of relating to the purpose of the hui. Some questions may remain to be answered, some resources may need to be confirmed, and everyone with something to say has had an opportunity to speak.

5) When it becomes clear that the discussion is near its end, a senior person will give a view of a consensus view which has developed. If there is strong opposition to this view then it will be voiced, or if there is strong support another senior person will speak in support. Once it becomes clear that the opinion leaders in the group are in agreement about a course of action then something resembling a resolution will be formulated. It will not be put to a vote, but will be tested within the hui and modified until it is accepted as a statement of consensus.

The reality for many Māori involved in the governance or management of assets is that there are issues with a process which has no time restrictions. One of the challenges of the research was to investigate methods of supporting the principles of the hui by introducing methods of ensuring that any issues participants thought relevant were included, but within a short time frame so that people would be encouraged to attend. It is suggested that many of the research events illustrated possible methods which might serve such a purpose.

Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Executives

This was the final research event for the wānanga and provided the opportunity for participants to collect their ideas and issues about the governance and management of their organisations. In discussing the capabilities, 'skill' was likened to being able to ride a bike; 'knowledge' was understanding why the bike and rider didn't fall over when in motion; 'experience' was like being able to ride with hands free of the handlebars; 'qualities' was like getting back on and trying again after falling over. The lists in Table 5.5 show the emphasis placed on knowledge of te reo Māori me ona tikanga alongside technical and professional knowledge gained through education.

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Table 5.5 Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Managers

Trustees and Directors	Managers
Skills Communications Negotiations Entrepreneurship Financial Leadership Research Contribute to decisions Networking Planning Good with staff Teamwork	**Skills** Communication Leadership Risk analysis Staff relationships Able to delegate Accounting Supervisory Motivational Monitors performance Up front with people Budgeting and forecasting Strategic planning Teamwork
Knowledge Spiritual values Good education Whakapapa Legal requirements Whänau history Te Reo Maori Land development Tikanga Maori Understand the role Meeting procedure Vision for whänau/hapü Values of organisation History of other iwi Impact of colonisation Te Tiriti o Waitangi Preserving taonga	**Knowledge** Asset management Financial systems Why businesses fail HR Management Administration procedures Maori values Legal environment Purchasing Production management Community awareness Vision and direction of organisation Environmental issues Tertiary education Product or services Money management Appropriate technical knowledge
Experience Facilitation Consultation Management (some) Consultation with Kaumatua Business background Lived on the whenua Involvement with whänau/hapü	**Experience.** Recognise people's strengths and weaknesses Face of organisation Conflict resolution Relationship building Reporting to shareholders Staff management

Qualities	Qualities
Committed to whānau & hapū	Whakapapa to whenua
Whakaiti (humility)	Value based actions
Sharing	Accountable
Honest and trustworthy	Positive
Treats everyone as equal	Decisive
Gets on with the work	Supports the kaupapa
Sticks to the kaupapa	Honest and trustworthy
Puts people first	Confident
Respect for tupuna	Values employees
Reliable	Fair
Patient	No conflicts of interest
Positive	Humour
Healthy	Prepared to take professional advice
Inspiring	Computer literate
Open minded	Loyal
Accountable	
Mana and status in community	
Approachable	
Supports consensus	
Attends meetings	
Willing to learn and adapt	
No conflict of interests	

It is helpful to compare participants' requirements of Trustees and Directors and Managers with the qualities identified as those of Rangatira of former times.

Best[2] refers to eight "openings of the heart" – 'e waru nga pu Manawa' that typified Maori leadership:

- Industrious in obtaining or cultivating food
- Good at settling disputes etc.
- Brave
- Good leader in war – an able General
- Expert at carving, tattooing, weaving
- Hospitable
- Clever at building a house, pa, canoe
- Knowledgeable about the boundaries of tribal land

And these qualities of Rangatira were identified by Johanssen[3]:

- Accomplishment in fighting
- Possessing the gift of victory (maia)
- Having a firm and fearless mind
- Being contemptuous of death
- Being magnanimous
- Living the life of the whole tribe
- Having a degree of reliability or honour that enables one to stand security for promises and agreements
- Liberality
- Being of few words

- Knowing how to manaaki (love and honour) people
- Kindness
- A certain reserve
- Being weighty in speech
- Being supple and steady in movement and dance

The research findings from analysing the capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Managers were:

1) Participants expected a great deal from their representatives in governance positions in their organisations, with personal qualities ranking at least as high as skills and knowledge.

2) Participants wanted real leadership from their representatives, and the list of desired accomplishments was very similar to the qualities identified by Best and Johansen as those of Rangatira.

3) Participants wanted to be involved in their organisations by being informed and consulted by their representatives at whänau and hapü level.

4) Participants were seeking peace of mind in requiring extremely high standards in the capabilities of both governors and managers of their organisations.

Conclusion

The action research method proved to be effective in engaging shareholders in understanding and taking ownership of the problem situation relating to Mäori land. The research findings were consistent throughout all locations. There were no 'outliers' or results that suggested significant variances on a regional basis or on the basis of urban and rural locations.

The results reveal that within the structure of the wänanga, participants were quickly able to understand and use a variety of simple analytical methods in order to produce valuable information based on their own thoughts and opinions. After two days they also recognised that all of the analytical methods operated in a similar way – by collecting 'issues' and then grouping them into related themes. Further manipulation of the information, such as prioritising or collapsing items to form a cohesive statement, was achieved with discussion but without significant dissension.

The analytical methods were all consensus building by nature, and led participants toward agreement without providing within the process the opportunity for individuals to take a position or to cut through the analysis with a 'solution' to the 'problem'. Neither of these terms featured in the language of the analysis. Statements, tables or charts summarising collective responses to research events were revisited the following day for verification or amendment.

A key feature of the method was that the information gathering phase was always conducted in silence, individual participants writing their thoughts on paper so that they could be considered collectively without identifying the author of any particular idea or issue. The focus was then placed on grouping and ranking issues and groups of issues – a technical matter which was difficult to transform into controversy. Participants realised the value of this method of gathering and sorting information into valuable statements of policy or preference. On many occasions individuals described their experience of practising some of the techniques in situations outside of the wānanga. Clearly the model was useful outside the context of the wānanga.

A particular value of this suite of analytical methods appears to have been that individuals who may have had personal difficulties with each other frequently found that they could work together within a structure or set of rules which eliminated personal issues from the situation. It was often commented that attending the wānanga was the first time, sometimes for years, that different individuals or whānau had been able to work together in the same room on the same issues and reach agreement without ever disagreeing.

For some participants the wānanga was the beginning of a healing process. A group from the same whānau in one of the early locations began a process of persuading their whanaunga to ask for the wānanga programme to be repeated expressly for them as a means of healing a very longstanding rift which prevented them from utilising their commonly owned land. A year later this whānau became the Case Study, which was reported in Chapter Six.

A high degree of acceptance of traditional Māori values and tikanga was revealed at each of the wānanga. Eleven statements which encapsulate these values and cultural imperatives were discussed at each wānanga. No amendments were subsequently proposed, suggesting that the statements may have wide relevance among Māori.

Each wānanga produced remarkably similar preferences for Māori organisations to conduct themselves in accordance with customary tikanga. A desire for greater transparency and better opportunities for shareholders to be involved in discussing and analysing plans and results was strong, and each wānanga distinguished clearly the capabilities and responsibilities of trustees/directors and executives. The skills, knowledge, experience and personal qualities prescribed for these positions combined those customarily associated with rangatira, together with the modern requirements for the governance and management of a successful business. Collectively, participants in the wānanga stated a clear preference for organisations which combine relevant values and rituals from past times with modern methods for the analysis and

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communication of plans and results. Collective decision making emerged as a strong preference.

These preferences confirm that a new approach to Māori organisations is required – one which includes many of the traditional relationships and tikanga which have survived from former times. The new approach must also recognise that modern times have introduced a number of factors which conflict with the traditional governance model. Some of these are:

- Time constraints on the duration of meetings;
- The need for resolutions to be unambiguous and in writing;
- The diversity of professional skills required to analyse and manage developments;
- The requirement that shareholders understand the language and concepts of organisations and business so that they can take responsibility for their assets;
- The need for communication strategies and accepted reporting procedures which mean that people feel included in the major decisions of their organisations.

The research findings produced lessons both for participants in the wānanga for their organisations. Table 5.6. contains a summary of the learning necessary to an approach to Māori organisations which will lead to better outcomes for shareholders. The approach is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Table 5.6   Learning Relevant To Māori Organisations

	Organisation Learning	Participant Learning
Hangaia Te Kaupapa	Shareholders expect better communication of plans and forecasts; superior financial management and work processes; whanaungatanga among shareholders; leaders should show the qualities of rangatira.	Organisations require – a clear purpose, defined roles and responsibilities, and an agreed process for making decisions and dealing with problems or issues which arise. Karakia, mihimihi and whakawhanaungatanga can create a safe place for exchanging information without fear or intimidation;
Values Survey	Shareholders expect high standards of honesty, commitment & energy as well as technical skill from the trustees and managers of their organisations. Relationships should enhance the mana of everyone involved. Wairuatanga remains important in relationships.	Traditional Māori values and tikanga are still important in guiding behaviour and decisions.

Situation Analysis	Māori organisations need to ensure that plans and policies are made known to shareholders; there needs to be evidence of good financial management and information systems.	There are 'expert systems' which are easy to use and can quickly help shareholders understand the strengths and weaknesses of their organisations.
Worst Case Scenario	Māori organisations need to show shareholders that proper audit processes are in place, and that management is working to a logical plan which does not risk assets.	Disagreements can be overcome by using a simple process which gets people to express their worst fears so that positive steps can be taken to avoid them occurring.
Kowhai Raparapa	The use of simple methods for building consensus results in shareholders feeling that they are involved and contributing to the plans of their organisation.	There is a 'user friendly' method of building consensus even on complex issues which avoids arguments while leading to clear statements of desired objectives and outcomes.
Action Planning	Achieving objectives requires a process of planning so that nothing is forgotten or left unresolved and everything happens in a logical sequence.	Māori have a tradition of planning complex events, e.g. tangihanga, based on understood principles and practices.
Difficult Situations	Identifying people's real interests by listening to their 'story' can lead to understanding why difficulties arise and how they can be avoided.	It is important to suspend blaming other people when difficulties arise, and instead identify their real interest, possibly through asking what their worst case scenario is.
Negotiation Strategies	Most of the work in negotiations takes place before the parties meet, and requires analysis of both parties' real interests. A formal analysis of the negotiation will ensure that alternative solutions have been assessed.	Where people share real interests it will be possible to reach agreement while reinforcing relationships. There is a simple model which helps in analysing negotiations.
Analysing Māori Organisations	The objectives of Māori business organisations can conflict with those of traditional groups such as whānau and hapū, and the way decisions are made can diminish the mana of kaumatua thereby putting whānau and hapū at risk.	The value of kaumatua in holding whānau together, and maintaining traditional knowledge and tikanga is put at risk when their mana is diminished by according greater mana to the leaders of Māori business organisations.
Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Executives	Shareholders of Māori organisations expect their leaders to display the skills, knowledge and personal qualities of rangatira,	Shareholders cannot expect their representatives and executives to combine the qualities of traditional rangatira with the skill

	while also having the technical knowledge and experience to lead the organisation to success.	and experience of business leaders, and must engage expertise when it is required, to plan and carry out complex developments.

The new approach to Māori organisations is to create an effective education programme which incorporates the learning which has emerged from the research. The education programme will modify the expectations of shareholders so that the job of representing whānau and hapū as trustees and directors is seen as requiring a high degree of skill and commitment, and the job of being a shareholder is seen as holding a responsibility to become educated and informed about the assets which have been inherited and which will in due course be passed on.

The proposed approach to Māori land organisations is different in some important respects to the Pākehā approach to business organisations as shown in Table 7.7.

Table 5.7   Comparison of Māori and Pākehā Approach to Business Organisations

	Proposed Māori Approach	**Current Legislated Approach**
External Factors	▪ One law for both Māori and Pākehā for ownership and use of traditional assets; ▪ Government to foster research into legal business structures which support Māori values and tikanga.	▪ Laws select some Māori land assets and limit Māori ownership; ▪ Government fosters research into 'mainstream' legal business structures and relationships.
Culture	▪ Based on customary values and tikanga, which are known and communicated;	▪ Based on legislation which prescribes rules for issues such as disclosure of financial information and the conduct of Trustees and Directors;
Vision and Leadership	▪ Clear mandate from shareholders to proceed with development of land, prior to formation of business plans; ▪ Appointment of trustees/directors by whānau groups on the basis of their whakapapa to those with original user-rights; ▪ Balance capabilities of rangatira with business capabilities .	▪ Formation of business prescribes initial business activities – subsequent development decided by Trustees/Directors; ▪ Appointment of trustees/directors on the basis of a majority of votes – shareholding may not be a requirement for appointment;

Structure and Delegation	■ Identification of experienced business people, with particular experience in complex business issues, to work with shareholders on a collaborative basis for the duration of the development phase of the business plan; ■ Decision making by consensus.	■ Trustees/directors are assumed to have business experience, and to appoint qualified managers. ■ Experts (consultants) advise rather than collaborate and be part of the decision making process; ■ Decision making by majority of votes.
Information and Control	■ Whānau representatives involved in communications to shareholders; ■ Hui-a-whānau using consensus building methods; ■ Information systems support wider access to important information.	■ Information confidential to directors until released by chief executive or chairman; ■ Shareholders may ask questions on official information at general meetings.
Reward and Recognition	■ Values such as manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga guide hiring, career development and security of employment; ■ Processes subject to discussion within organisation.	■ Employment legislation provides basis of relationships; ■ Hiring subject to 'transparent' processes to avoid favouritism but under authority of management.
Strategic Relationships	■ Long term perspective leads to generosity and fairness in all business relationships, including competitors.	■ Short term perspective leads to competitive stance; ■ Relationships based on duration of contract.
Transformation	■ Clear mandate from shareholders to proceed with development of land, prior to formation of business plans; ■ Business plans which refer to the relationship between business objectives and the cultural and social objectives of shareholders, indicating the areas where the land can contribute to the achievement of all objectives; ■ Organisation has responsibility to support marae and hapū; ■ Quality and environmental issues as important as financial return.	■ Formation of business prescribes initial business activities – subsequent development decided by Trustees/Directors; ■ Business assumes no responsibility for social or cultural objectives ■ Sponsorship is based on 'good neighbour' principle, with value returned to the organisation; ■ Legislation basis of compliance with environmental requirements.
Exchange and Wealth	■ People, particularly tamariki and mokopuna, are seen as a major asset to be developed; ■ Māori land is not available as a disposable security against debt; ■ Well-being is the main objective.	■ Assumes that shareholders are informed and have decided to invest on the basis of their knowledge and ability to analyse business risk; ■ Development of shareholder wealth is the main objective;

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		■ Land is a disposable asset which can be used as security against debt.
Performance Management	■ Wananga of shareholders to encourage understanding of the values, language and concepts of organisation and management; ■ consensus building techniques to analyse and plan development and performance; ■ focus on analysis of real interests in dealing with negotiations or disputes.	■ Annual plans are prepared by management for approval by trustees/directors; ■ Returns on investment, or results against planned achievements the basis of performance assessment; ■ Legislation and organisation policies formalise negotiations and dispute resolution.
End Results	■ Annual distribution of benefits by collective agreement rather than on the basis of individual shareholding.	■ Annual dividends are distributed to individual shareholders.

The practical consequences of this new approach are illustrated in Case Study described in Chapter Six.

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[1] Puketapu Brendon, 2000, *Māori Organisation and Contemporary Māori Development*, PhD Thesis, Massey University, New Zealand

[2] Best Elsdon, 1924, *The Māori As He Was*, NZ Government Printer (1954 impression)

[3] Johansen J P, 1954, *The Māori And His Religion In Its Non-ritualistic Aspects*, Copenhagen), Chap 7

Chapter Six — Case Study

Introduction

This chapter presents an extended case study that emerged from the research project. The case study involved the observation of a whānau-whānui[i] over three years, from the initial participation by members of the whānau in a research wānanga, to the point where the whānau had adopted a strategic plan, conducted a major hui-a-whānau on their home marae, and had begun implementation of the first planned business venture. The identity of the whānau and its location are not revealed.

Background To The Case Study

The participants at one of the early wānanga were from several nearby hapū, and while many participants had returned "home" from the towns and cities where they lived and worked, there were also a number who had always resided in the area.

One research event (Difficult Situations) related to the identification and resolution of inter-personal tensions which could affect the ability of land owners to work together in order to develop their economic resources. Participants in the wānanga were invited to provide an example of a difficulty or break-down in whānau or hapū relationships which was proving to be a barrier to the resolution of important issues.

A whānau group attending the wānanga offered their experience of claims to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal in respect of lands affecting their hapū, and several other hapū within the region. In this case some claimants had objected to the way in which the claim was being organised with respect to the boundaries of the land under claim. There were suggestions that the whakapapa of original land owners may have been altered so that particular whānau and hapū could be included in the claim and others could be excluded. The discussions had become highly emotional over time, and since both "sides" of the argument were represented in the wānanga they agreed to explain the situation and seek resolution.

Despite extensive analysis and discussion of the case the difficulties were not resolved during the course of the wānanga. Nevertheless, the discussion did assist the parties involved to recognise that there was a lack of clarity with respect to the people who were organising the claim, how they came to be the organisers, their responsibilities with respect to gaining

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[i] Whānau whānui – extended family.

authority to make representations to the Office of Treaty Settlements, and failure to keep the key stakeholders informed of developments.

Following this wānanga, "M" and "T", members of one of the whānau who had offered this example for discussion, asked if it would be possible for the facilitator to continue to work with their whānau land owners. Their purpose was not to make a further attempt to resolve the land claim dispute. Instead they wanted to develop their established whānau assets. The whānau had interests in a number of blocks of land, but there were three blocks in particular where the only owners were the descendents of three tupuna of the grandparents' generation of M and T. There was no dispute among their present day descendents regarding shareholding or boundaries of these three blocks.

The desire was expressed by M and T to bring the current owners of the land to an agreement on how it might be developed in order to generate sufficient income to meet basic maintenance costs as well as enough surplus to assist whānau members, particularly with the costs of providing education opportunities to tamariki and mokopuna. Participation of a critical number of whānau in a wānanga would be valuable for both the whānau and the researcher. It would allow the research questions to be examined through a current example.

Figure 6.1   Whānau Relationship
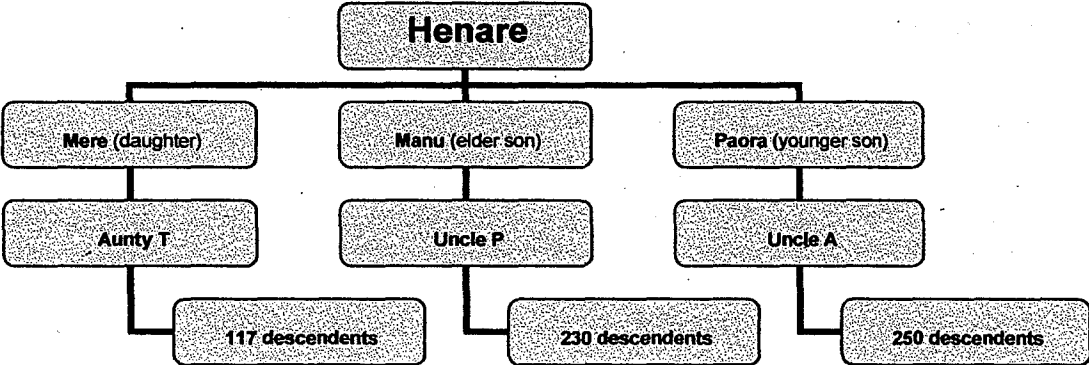
The Whānau

The whānau derives from the three children of the male tupuna, Henare, who had three children – one female and two male. Each of these three children themselves had several children and numerous grandchildren, only few of whom were still living on or near their ancestral land. Many of their descendants (currently some 600) had lost contact with each other since the two male descendants of Henare had left the area in search of employment.

Those who remained were mainly the children and grandchildren of Henare's daughter Mere, who was a powerful figure, very much the matriarch of her immediate family[ii]. Since her death in 1976 there had been less cohesion among her descendents, and some displeasure over the disposition of some land assets by (male) relatives who had assumed a superior role. Table 6.1 shows some statistics relating to Mere's line.

Table 6.1   Mere's Whānau Statistics

Of the 117 living descendents of Mere there are:		
60	51%	Female
57	49%	Male
12	10%	0 – 5 years of age
20	17%	6 – 10 years of age
13	11%	11 – 15 years of age
5	4%	16 – 20 years of age
39	32%	21 – 35 years of age
16	14%	36 – 49 years of age
14	12%	50 + years of age
34	29%	Live in Northland
70	60%	Live in Auckland
20	17%	Live in other parts of New Zealand
18	15%	Live in Australia
9	8%	Live in other countries
42	36%	Are employed
8	7%	Of the 34 whānaunga living in Northland are employed
74	63%	Considered they were in good health
9	8%	Considered they were in poor health
27	23%	Have medical insurance
34	29%	Have life insurance
15	13%	Said they had attended school for less than 4 years
15	13%	Said they had attended school for more than 5 years
5	4%	Gained School Certificate
25	21%	Indicated that they would be interested in further studies
105	90%	Said they wanted to learn more about their whakapapa, tikanga o te marae, me te reo Māori.

Henare's two sons had left their traditional home in search of employment, and their children have been largely unaware of that they had interests in whānau land in the far North.

The younger of the two brothers left the area in "the early 1930s", according to his son, "Uncle A", now living in the central North Island.

> The [elder] brother stayed running the farm, he was there for quite a while after [my] old man went away with his uncle. Uncle and him teamed up and worked for a fella called Smith and they worked in the bush, and then that was when I was born in 1938. So you can imagine when they came down here, it must been in the early 1930's[iii].

[ii] Interview notes: M and T, 8 July 2004
[iii] Interview with Uncle A, 11 November 2003

The elder brother left home some 20 years later. According to his son, "Uncle P":

> I remember landing down South in 1954/55 so I worked up North 18 months in the mill in the forestry. The old man and old lady left home in the late 50's early 60's, so they had been there for quite some time[iv].

Uncle P said that he left home to find a better way of life – the returns from farming were too little for the work involved. However, his wife said that he could no longer stand conditions at home where an abusive father made life miserable for everyone including their mother. Alcohol was at the root of their misery.

"Aunty T" was born in 1942, and left home at the age of 16 to live with relatives in Auckland and work as a kitchen hand in a boarding school. In her view:

> For work, that was the reason we left home was for work[v].

Several other members of the whānau were also interviewed, and their accounts provide a consistent history of the migration of many members away from their traditional home from about the time of the Great Depression (1935). The motivation was employment.

In recent years there had been an attempt to bring the owners together to develop the land, and a Trust in the name of the tupuna had been established in 1996 by the senior male descendent of Mere. However it had not been successful and when he died the Trust ceased to operate. The land has remained largely idle, but a few non-compliant family dwellings had been erected, and these have caused some dissension among other whānau members.

In the light of this dissension and the failure of the Trust to unite the whānau the descendents of Mere decided to mobilise their whānau and form their own Trust to deal with their shares in the land which came to them from Mere and her two brothers.

The proposers of the case study took a systematic approach to the matter, and started from the assumption that the first requirement was to ensure that every whānau member who wanted to take part in discussing the future of their assets needed a common level of understanding of the terms and concepts needed to explain options and consequences. They needed to be able to satisfy themselves of their understanding by being able to do their own analysis of their situation and arrive at agreements based on clear logic based on agreed objectives. Their efforts began with meetings of three or four members of the descendants of Mere, held at the homes of some of the senior members. Interest in the project grew slowly until the numbers were sufficient to warrant asking that a research wānanga be held just for their whānau.

[iv] Interview with Uncle P, 18 September 2003
[v] Interview with Theresa, 19 September 2003

During the course of these discussions Mere's whänau realised that because they shared the land with the descendents of the two brothers it would be preferable to include the other owners in the wänanga. It would be a big task for the instigators of the wänanga to locate and persuade a "quorum" of whänau members who could commit to developing a common purpose for the development of their land interests. The task of persuading whänau members to participate in the wänanga took over a year. The event was finally organised and the first hui of the wänanga took place on 19 – 21 April 2002.

The Land

There are four blocks of land:

Property I: Block A (just over 4 hectares) and Block B (nearly 6 hectares) have spectacular views out to sea over a white-sand beach. The blocks are scrub covered sloping land rising from 40m above sea level to approx 100m above. They are separated by two blocks of Maori land held by other owners from the same hapü.

The beach is a gentle curve of white sand beach facing the Pacific Ocean with a headland at either end. The land rises steadily to 100m above sea level, providing uninterrupted sea views from most locations. The beach and surrounds are sheltered from the south-east around to the north-west creating a micro-climate.

Property II: Block C (nearly 13 hectares) is surrounded by Department of Conservation managed land under a Treaty claim. It has restricted access, is covered with regenerative bush and features dramatic rock outcrops and steep inclines. There is no road access. The isolation of the property, along with the physical ruggedness of the block makes it generally unrealistic for land use types that require any form of significant development. In its current form, and without road access, the block appears suitable for tourist activities. The block is accessible at high tide if shallow-draft, small craft such as kayaks are used. A short walk across Department of Conservation land is required if a larger, motorised craft is used as a means of gaining access from the harbour. Existing walk tracks across Department of Conservation land are another means of access by foot.

Property III: Block D (about 26.5 hectares) is an undeveloped block of scrub covered land with a narrow road frontage. Power is on site. It has road access and is surrounded by farmland. The size of this block (26.4 hectares) suggests that cultivation-based land use is possible. The block has areas of mature bush, regenerating scrub and pasture. There appear to be a number of suitable building platforms that could be used to provide residential housing.

The land appears to have good economic potential, although there are some inherent difficulties. For example, Block D may need a change in the District Plan in order for a residential development to take place. A difficulty with the beach land is that the blocks owned by the descendants of H are not adjacent, and are interspersed with blocks owned by Māori who are not as closely related to the three children of H. Neither of these difficulties is insurmountable in terms of development, and will require the whānau to negotiate their way through. In the meantime some limited commercial activities are possible at both sites, and these activities may prove valuable in providing the whānau with experience and confidence in managing business activities.

The Whakapumau Te Mauri Wānanga

Hui 1: 19-21 April, 2002, Central North Island

Hui 2: 30 –31, May & 1-2 June, 2002, Far North.

Number Registered to attend: 46

The choice of the central North Island town was strategic in that it was a central point for the descendents who had migrated from their ancestral land. Many of the children and grandchildren of Henare's sons were born out of the region, and some had never visited their marae[vi]. Mere's whānau considered that it would have been emotionally as well as physically difficult for some of the whānau to return "home" to discuss land which many of them had never visited before[vii].

The hui was held at a marae and began with a Powhiri. The paepae included pakeke from the local marae who were not members of the whānau. For many of the members of the whānau this was the first Powhiri they had experienced. The impact of this formal opening to the hui was significant, and the presence of Kaumatua from Ngati Raukawa had particular impact on the whānau:

> It actually made them feel important – it made them feel that they were worthwhile... (M)

> They felt honoured by their presence – they didn't expect them. (T)

> They were honoured that they were being given the programme as a koha, and the calibre of the people who did it for them. They were intrigued by the whole concept of being given a programme and having Kaumatua come and awhi them. It wasn't only Iwi and Ngawini, it was Heemi as well. Heemi Te Peeti's presence was very important because it made my family feel rich. It made them feel that there was something going on that they were a part of that they didn't know about. (M)

[vi] Interview notes: M and T, 8 July 2004

[vii] Interview notes: Uncle P and N, 8 July 2004

I think Uncle Iwi brought the tikanga side that we weren't living. He brought a certain dignity to the whole scene. That was important for my family to see and my uncles to see because it gave them an idea of how their age group were meant to go. (M)

Iwikatea was the first role model [for the whänau]. 'So that's a Kaumatua! That's what he looks like, that's what he sounds like.' You know? (T)

It was very emotional for Uncle G – it was his first time [to speak on a marae] and in a way it's what brought him back home. By being able to speak for the whänau he had got back some of his self worth. 'I know who I am and this is my family and I know where I come from.' (T)

It's the first time I've seen my old man (Uncle A) get caught out on the Kaumatua role and the ringawera role. He got caught out that day because we wouldn't go onto the marae without him. He was trying to be the cook at the back and we were sitting on the paepae for half an hour, twenty minutes waiting for him and we wouldn't go on without him. I went back to the kitchen and said: 'Dad, we're waiting for you to come on. You're the Kaumatua of our whänau, you've got to come with us.' He said: 'No, no. You go ahead.' I said: 'If you don't come on I'm going home.' In the end he realised he had to, so he went out and did the right thing and we all went on. (N)

Being down South, I'm using it as an excuse. I been down there just on fifty years. My reo Mäori is only the memory I had when I left up North to go down South. That's my reo Mäori. To get up and korero on the marae and the Wharehui and that , I have no experience. And now I suddenly find myself in the position that I have to try. Coming from my own heart I just try to korero whatever korero comes out of my mouth. I suppose I'm trying to be able to learn a wee bit more as I go along. That's how I am at this point in time. (Uncle P)

Research Findings

1. Hangaia Te Kaupapa

Table 6.2 identifies the areas which the whänau wished to explore during the hui.

Table 6.2

1) **What do you expect from the hui?**
i.   How to progress forward
ii.   Learn how to relate and understand all the things we need to know about
iii.   How to develop our whenua
iv.   How to develop our whänau
v.   How to maintain our tikanga
vi.   Management development
vii.   Learn to be aware of negative and positive things that we could be exposed to in business
viii.   Show us how to communicate with senior managers and community leaders
2) **What do you expect from the facilitator?**
i.   Share his knowledge
ii.   Guidelines we agree with, understand and follow
iii.   Be humorous and honest

> **3) What can the facilitator expect from the whānau?**
>
>   i. Support
>   ii. Our views
>   iii. Be open and honest
>   iv. On time
>   v. Stay for the whole hui
>
> **4) How will we treat each other and make decisions?**
>
>   i. Show respect for each other
>   ii. Respecting the beliefs of others
>   iii. Aroha – awhi one another
>   iv. Tautoko – open and truthful
>   v. Kanohi ki te kanohi
>   vi. We will have an open mind to everything
>   vii. If anybody has anything to say then please stand up and say it
>   viii. We will make decisions by consensus

The process of eliciting this information was a significant departure from other hui where a facilitator had delivered "training" in some form. Many participants were familiar with facilitated hui, and had misgivings about what they would experience. Comments from two participants indicate the value of beginning the research process by encouraging participants to set the agenda. It is clear from these comments that as participants gained confidence that the problems and issues which were important to them would be addressed in a manner that assured individual safety they were able to relax and begin to own the issues and problems which would emerge as the topics were explored.

> "Before everybody got there they had their suspicions about what were our intentions because only about 10% knew one another. So we went through the process of creating the agenda and they were allowed to express what they were there for. I suppose for the whole day they had their reservations, but as we went through the processes they began to realise that you had handed control of the hui back to them. So when you did that and got down to sorting out how we would make decisions, that cleared away some reservations that they may have had about what the hui was about and how was it going to go." (M)

> I remember the first day of the programme in the marae there, I felt arrogance, I felt a bit of resistance to the programme from the whānau. So I purposely sat beside a couple of them to try and change that in a way, to give it a chance before we judge it and all this stuff. As the programme went through they made their own judgement to make changes themselves. They changed their minds, and not long afterwards, too. Their attitude during the day was a bit up and down but at night time and definitely the next day it had sort of all lifted. Probably because of the technique, the way it was facilitated, the way it was given over. We all understood it. We had the opportunities to challenge it, to say our view. That was the key thing rather than sitting there listening to someone. You know, listening to someone, and I've heard all that before. Our people can handle those views pretty fast. I saw the uplift of attitude in there. Very much so. (N)

2. Values Survey

The second process asked participants to complete a Values Survey. Figure 6.2 below illustrates the level of agreement between each of the eleven categories of value surveyed. A comparison with the survey including all participants from all research locations shows close correlation. The impact of this information on the whānau was marked. As summarised by one participant:

> Then we went into the values, filled out the questionnaire and looked at the summarisations. We got the results back and got into the summarisations of the values survey. We hadn't met one another, we didn't really know one another, and suddenly we were agreeing on things like integrity, honesty, to maintain harmony and balance, to be caring of the environment and what's around you. My family had seen so many contradictions in that area, so when the summarisations were displayed we all agreed. When we hadn't met one another and yet we agreed on a set of principles, I think that started to make us realise that we all may be the same – that we all may hold the same values. If that's the case there may be some hope yet. (N)

Figure 6.2   Values Survey – Case Study Wānanga

Support For Core Values

Hui
Whakarite Mana
Manaakitanga
Kaitiakitanga
Whakawhanaungatanga
Utu
Kaumatuatanga
Wairuatanga
Whakapapa
Mana
Tikanga

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
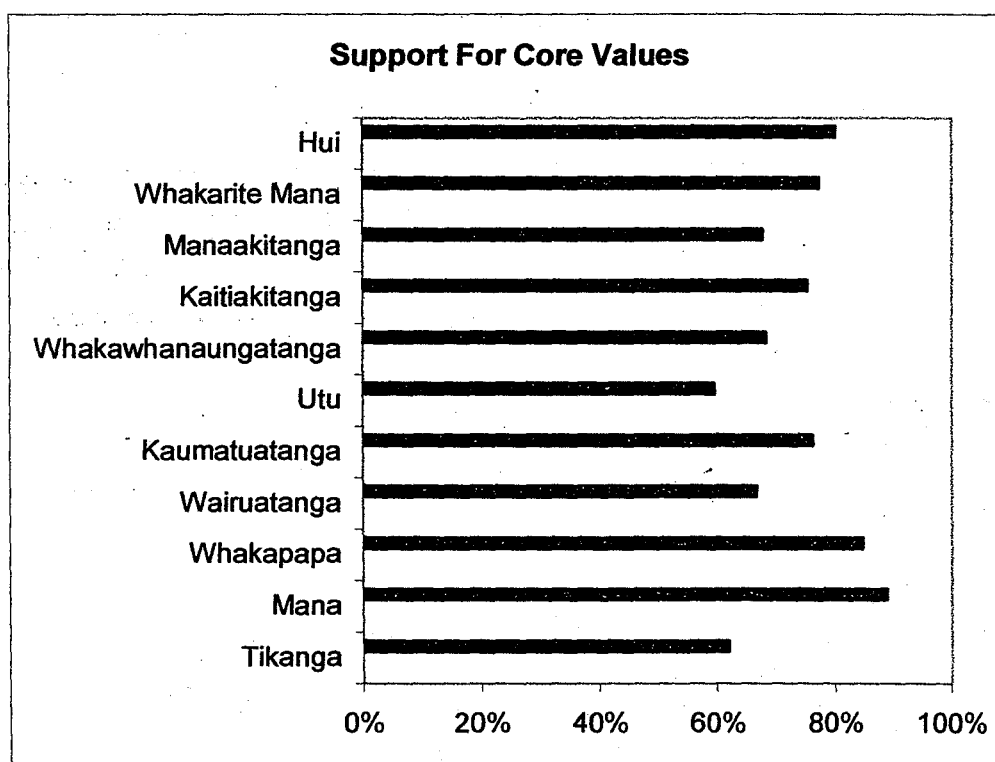
Figure 6.3 Values Survey – Combining Results For All Wānanga

Support For Core Values

Hui | Whakarite Mana | Manaakitanga | Kaitiakitanga | Whakawhanaungatanga | Utu | Kaumatuatanga | Wairuatanga | Whakapapa | Mana | Tikanga

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
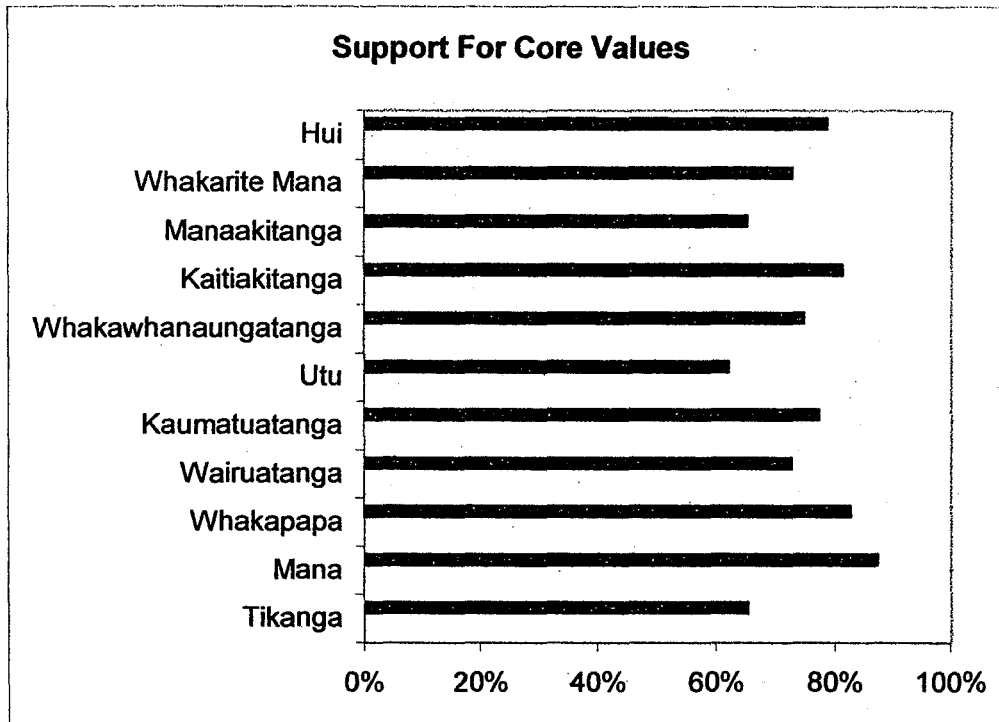
3. Situation Analysis

The whānau had experienced disappointment with respect to their earlier attempts to develop their land through the formation of a Trust. Their experience with other organisations also helped participants to recognise the negative symptoms which typically signal failure within organisations to meet their objectives and/or satisfy their stakeholders. The responses are summarised in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Situation Analysis – Critical Issues

PURPOSE AND DIRECTION
(How the organisation creates and communicates its vision, goals, objectives and priorities including leadership behaviour of key people.)
1. We want our Trustees/Directors to provide Leadership i. So that our organisation is actively lead and administered; ii. To utilize strong outside advisers-board members to help us gain perspective and to give us expert input as needed: iii. So that we select and hire the right people; iv. So that we have contact with everyone involved in the Trusts activities including any employees, suppliers and especially Beneficiaries.
2. We want Balance in our Trust's and any Company's philosophy and orientation so we: i. Balance the goals of the Trust with the goals of its individual beneficiaries and stakeholders; ii. Balance individual goals with long term and short term goals in our plans.

3. Our Trust needs excellent plans and planning, so that:
   i. The direction of our Trust is exciting and meaningful to all our beneficiaries and stakeholders;
   ii. We meet regularly to assess and redefine our purpose and direction;
   iii. We set goals that we can achieve;
   iv. We have an emergency plan for fire, food, quakes etc that covers prevention, damage control, record preservation and emergency operations;
   v. We take steps to legally protect our land interests commercial initiatives and intellectual copyrights;
   vi. We identify external trends and threats to our plans soon enough to take appropriate action;
   vii. We acknowledge our strengths and strive to be recognized for our achievements.

4. We want excellent communication of plans and priorities so that:
   i. Our Trust's growth and development plans are understood and accepted;

   ii. Our long-range plans are well coordinated with annual plans and budgets.

STRUCTURE AND DELEGATION
(The structure of our organisation, (who reports to whom) the assignment of roles, responsibilities and authority and any functions that are not being filled.)

1. Responsibilities clear, so that:
   i. The Jobs of Trustees and Directors and any employees clearly defined;
   ii. Individual responsibilities for monitoring and achieving all our objectives are clearly established.

2. We want to establish a schedule of delegations so that:
   i. Decision-making is delegated;
   ii. People are given authority consistent with their responsibilities;
   iii. We are not dependant on one or two key members for our success;
   iv. People are held accountable for their actions and performance;
   v. We move forward together.

3. We want total involvement, so that:
   i. Other points of view are always considered before a decision is made;
   ii. Trustees and beneficiaries are all involved in the planning and decision making process.

INFORMATION & CONTROL
(Systems or processes used to provide information or to control our organisation (including budgets), management meetings, processes for solving problems and internal communications.)

1. We want good control mechanisms, so that:
   i. We have effective and audited controls over cash, material, equipment and records;
   ii. We have annual budgets which we believe;
   iii. We fully support our people to achieve the goals we set.

2. We want effective hui, so that:
    i. We have high participation in meetings;
    ii. People leave hui knowing what decisions have been made;
    iii. We have productive meetings;
    iv. Trustees have adequate guidance.

3. We want excellent communications, so that:
    i. When results don't meet plans we do take corrective action;
    ii. Beneficiaries are encouraged to share problems, concerns and opinions;
    iii. We have good lateral communications (between Trustees and Beneficiaries).

TRANSFORMATION

(Facilities, equipment, processes, procedures and raw materials used by our organisation to transform inputs into outputs. Includes operations, production, manufacturing and related research and development, engineering, and also clerical support.)

1. We want strong research and development, so that:
    i. We make adequate investments in research and development;
    ii. We regularly invest in projects with long term benefits to the Whānau;
    iii. We have adequate training programs.

PEOPLE

(How we will plan for and manage our people, including pay, benefits, skill requirements, career planning, training and staffing.)

2. We want effective evaluation and control of performance in order to:
    i. Move realistic expectations and standards of performance with negative consequences for poor performance;
    ii. Be able to remove and replace people when it is necessary;
    iii. Regularly evaluate the performance of people in positions of responsibility.

3. We want strong training for whānau members, trustees/directors and representatives:
    i. So that we have a good orientation program and there is proper induction, training and support for our important jobs.

4. We want a people development program, so that:
    i. We have a plan and program for developing our next generation of Kaitiaki (Managers);
    ii. Our people can identify their own development paths;
    iii. Any Job openings are advised to our beneficiaries before they are advertised elsewhere;
    iv. All whānau members have opportunities to develop their skill and abilities.

MONEY

(How our organisation plans for, accounts and manages its money.)

1. We want Strong financial management, systems so that:
    i. We have a competent and proactive outsider to critique our financial reports and check for errors, cover-ups and embezzlement;

ii. We have a healthy debt to equity ratio;

iii. We have adequate sources of capital;

2. We want legal compliance, so that:

    i. Our trust meetings and minutes satisfy legal requirements;

    ii. We are in compliance with all government and local regulations.

4. Worst Case Scenario

(Absolutely unacceptable outcomes: the whānau definitely doesn't want the following things to happen.) The worst case scenario is converted into a set of positive (although conservative) objectives by developing a statement of the obverse of the worst case.

Figure 6.4 Worst Case Scenario

Worst Case	Desired Outcome
a. Destruction of our land - losing the land because of poor management	a. Secure the land through good management
b. Everybody goes their own way and divides the assets - we sell land for income	b. Everyone stays together and no assets divided - work the land for income
c. Rip offs within the business - run off with the money - bankruptcy	c. No rip off's in business - don't allow bankruptcy
d. The government takes it all	d. The whānau gets it all
e. Losing our reo, whakapapa and tikanga	e. Keep our reo, whakapapa and tikanga
f. Breaking promises to our people - losing the trust of the people	f. Gain the trust of the people - don't promise – DO IT
g. No unity -families disbanded and unity broken - our tamariki don't know who they are and our families don't meet often enough	g. More family and whānau hui. Encourage family involvement, acknowledgement of each family member, support and unity
h. Young ones don't do anything with the land now and lose it	h. Encourage the young ones to do something positive with the land
i. Health problems and issues	i. Follow my own advice and stay healthy

The results produced during the research project convinced members of the whānau that they shared the same concerns and fears for the future of their land assets. The positive statements which came from the research project have been presented to hui of the wider whānau as a set of guiding principles which, despite the rather cryptic language, are clear and compelling. The whānau has also adopted the worst case scenario process as a means of making progress where objectives may not be clear and people may be hesitant to act.

5. Kowhai Raparapa

Having practised the technique of brainstorming under conditions of silence, participants in their workshop groups examined the issues around "Keeping Our Reo and Tikanga". The objectives listed in Table 6.5 came from the different workshops into which the whānau organised itself, and so there may be some overlap or duplication of intentions.

Table 6.5   Developing Objectives

Key Statement: Show them the way

- By going home to kaumatua and kuia to learn tikanga and te reo
- So that we maintain our family ancestors whangai lines
- So our children's children have this knowledge
- Because our unique tikanga and reo are the key to deeper understanding of te ao Maori
- By identifying our fluent speakers to awhi our akonga
- So that we maintain the treasures of our forefathers
- And korero te reo i nga wa katoa

Key Statement: We want to maintain the mana of our ancestors

- We want to have a kaumatua influence
- Research our whānau history
- So we maintain our cultural uniqueness
- So that we maintain our ancestors whangai lines
- Because they are the keys to the spiritual essence within us
- So that we retain the lines of knowledge
- Following traditions and spiritual protocol
- So our children's children have this knowledge

Key Statement: Live our reo and tikanga to the fullest

- By printing and distributing our whakapapa to our whānau
- And by having more whānau hui
- So our children's children have this knowledge
- Because the more you use te reo the better you become
- By attending reo classes
- And korero te reo I nga wa katoa
- So that we maintain our cultural uniqueness

Key Statement: Encourage your whānau to start learning

- So that we maintain the treasures of our forefathers
- By going home to kaumatua and kuia to learn tikanga and te reo
- So we can retain our identity
- Because our unique reo and tikanga are the keys to deeper understanding of te ao Maori
- So that we maintain our ancestors whangai lines
- Because they are the keys to the spiritual essence within us
- By following traditions and spiritual protocol
- So that we maintain our cultural uniqueness
- By being committed to it ourselves as well as future generations
- So that we retain the line of knowledge
- By being aware of negative and positive things involving our whānau

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- So that we can help and guide each other
- Research of our whānau history
- By printing and distributing our whakapapa to our whānau
- With more kaumatua influence
- And by having more whānau hui
- So our children's children have this knowledge

Subsequent to the wānanga the whānau have been involved in a number of hui-a-hapū which have re-litigated much travelled territory relating to the poor state of the marae and the roles and responsibilities of various Trusts and Committees who appear from marae minutes and discussions at hui to have overlapping responsibilities and confused accountabilities. It is notable that members of the whānau have been able to maintain a strong and coherent line of logic based on their own assessment of their needs and aspirations, as detailed above. The attitude of the whānau comes across during these hui as polite but determined to pursue the course they have set for themselves. Refusing to take part in the heated arguments which have been a feature of past hui, the whānau made it clear that if necessary they would go their own way in pursuit of their objectives and that they would not tolerate breaches of tikanga which threatened their new direction.

6. Action Planning

The whānau deferred work on a detailed action plan for the use of their land until after the wānanga had concluded in order for further discussions to take place. It was decided, however, to organise a hui-a-whānau during the Christmas period at their marae in the Far North. An organiser for the hui-a-whānau was appointed and a programme and budget for the event was formulated. (Note: The hui-a whānau was held over the Christmas period 2003, focusing on completing as far as possible the whakapapa of the whānau, particularly the current generations.

7. Difficult Situations

The whānau chose as a case study an issue relating to participation in a land claim. The claim was being conducted by a Charitable Trust formed for the purpose by some members of the hapū. The whānau had not joined this action on the grounds that some of the whakapapa and some of the land boundaries included by the Trust were not accurate. The suggestion was that historical information had been misrepresented to include whānau who should not have been included, and to exclude others who should have been included.

The hui resolved to empower one of the pakeke (Uncle P) to try and negotiate a change in the stance of the Trust, or at least to ensure that its members were aware that the whānau considered that the Trust was not properly representative of the claimed land. It identified its real interests as maintaining unity within the hapū, but not at the expense of altering the whakapapa records for the sake of convenience.

The use of the 'difficult situations' analysis arose during the hui-a-whānau over the 2003 Christmas period, at a time when the researcher was present. During an informal discussion, two of the families who had always lived near their marae became involved in a heated exchange when one of the families accused the other of neglecting the whenua. This accusation initiated an exchange of heated insults, and ended only when one of the families walked out of the wharekai, shouting insults back at the other family. It was suggested that this exchange was typical of the sorts of arguments that had been a feature of hui-a-marae in the past, and they usually resulted in continuing bad blood for months and years, with refusal to cooperate in the development of the marae.

On this occasion some of the whānau who lived away from the marae analysed the situation as revealing both the real interests and the fears of those who had been struggling to maintain the whenua and the marae for many years. They suggested that those living locally might reasonably have mixed feelings about a large group of relatively unknown relatives who had suddenly taken an interest in the marae after years where they had demonstrated little interest. It was pointed out that the iwi kainga would naturally be fearful for their own future, and also of the possibility of being accused of having done things poorly or even illegally. It was suggested that the concerns of the iwi kainga had erupted in an attack on the others, rather than displaying their fears to visiting relatives.

This analysis was accepted by others, and during the informal mihimihi following the evening meal and after the aggrieved members had returned, the matter was addressed directly by Uncle P. He stressed that nothing was worth breaking the whānau apart, and that nothing would be done to dispossess those who had lived on the land, maintaining the presence of the whānau over the years. He thanked them profusely for their kaitiakitanga, and gave an undertaking that the iwi kainga must be happy that they were no worse off as a result of developing the land, otherwise it would be postponed until all concerns were addressed and resolved. This reassurance prompted speeches from the iwi kainga in support of proposals to develop the land.

8. Negotiation Strategies

A case study utilised for the analysis of negotiations provided a basis for participants in the research programme to analyse a real situation relating to their land involving the erection and rental of some batches on the land by one member of the whānau without the knowledge or permission of others who lived away from the area. The dispute which arose during the case study could not be resolved between the participants during the course of the negotiation process. Instead the participants in this dispute took up the debate after the evening meal and finally resolved it through analysis and discussion at 2 am the following morning.

A critical part of the analysis was the identification of the position of each of the participants, (no whānau member should have an advantage not available to others) followed by the identification of their real interests (utilising the land for the benefit of all the whānau). At the heart of the dispute was the question of whether the family who had erected the batches had used any of the returns from rent to contribute to rates and other costs relating to the land.

9. Analysing Māori Organisations

The participants undertook a "stock take" of the skills, knowledge and experience which they identified as necessary to maintain their identity as a whānau. They realised that no single person had a complete understanding of the history of the whānau, and that there was some urgency to arrange hui and opportunities to expose younger generations to their whakapapa and the stories of their elders.

> We needed to sort ourselves our, as whānau, as rangatahi, as kaumatua, that stuff, and get our job description roles properly. (N)

> And the Aunties, speaking at night. Some of the things they said I never heard of – thirty or forty years ago stuff. Stories from the family. Uncles were saying: 'Oh. I didn't know that.' So it was all miscommunication. The outcome of that to me was that all of these things that they held against one another is all about miscommunication: 'Oh, I thought you meant...' But all the time it was there, the respectful thing. They just didn't understand it...and too proud. (N)

> It has been pointed out to me that because I am the oldest of the whānau, of our whānau, that's the point. And of course all the korero is going there. I told them: 'All the big important people who come onto our marae, how am I going to get up and korero in front of those people?' They said: 'You don't have to do the korero. There's always somebody there to do the korero for you on your behalf.' I find that very helpful, and put it this way, I have to try and learn and I have to become the role. I struggle to try. (P)

Subsequent to the research project the whānau held a hui-a-whānau at their marae during the Christmas period in 2003. Some forty-five whānau attended the hui at some time, and there were visitors from other whānau, including the researcher's family and a visitor from Israel. A

wero, then a formal Powhiri inside the wharetupuna were part of the welcoming ceremony. Pakeke later noted that it was the first wero which the marae had seen for at least forty years. The story is still being told how the Israeli guest was shaking in his boots as the taua approached.

> What I saw when the whānau came onto the marae was a real sense of pride and knowing who they were and that was their home. Their intentions to the place were genuine and it was going to be good for everyone. They could come home and talk about their whakapapa, and most of the whānau that came home, they could see themselves and their cousins on the same sheet of paper. It was fun because one person would know this part of the family and the brother or sister would know another part. We all just took a pen and filled out bits and pieces that we knew. We had three tables and Mere's table was the only one that could identify everyone. We knew where everyone was, we knew their children. Whereas the other two lines had big gaps. There were four or five siblings unidentified, they didn't know where they were. So their next mission was to find out: 'this one will know – we'll ring that one'. (T)

> Before we came together , what brought us back together was the land, but now it's actually changed around. It's actually family. (M)

10. Capabilities Of Trustees, Directors and Executives

Participants listed the most important competencies of people who had governance and management responsibilities with respect to their communally owned assets. The competences were identified as skill, knowledge, experience and personal attributes relevant to the tasks. Table 6.6 contains the ideals to which the whānau aspires.

Table 6.6   Capabilities of Trustees, Directors and Executives

Skill   • Ability to negotiate our business interest and make a profit   • Good organisational skills   • Good communication skills   • Good financial skills   • Able to share information and keep in touch with the whānau   • Good public relations skills   • Listening skills and patience   • Research skills   • Able to identify issues and solve them   • Ability in facilitating large groups
Knowledge   • History and stories of our people   • Willing to learn the reo, tikanga and whakapapa   • Be familiar with lore and law   • Good documentation knowledge   • Learn the reo, tikanga and whakapapa   • Must know whānau whakapapa   • A good business knowledge   • Able to read financial statements and understand them

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Experience
• Used to consultation with kaumatua and kuia • Able to demonstrate the knowledge of past wisdom • Experience in business planning • A certain amount of management experience • Experience as a team leader with responsibility • Experience in presenting plans and data

Personal Attributes
• Commitment to whānau and hapū • Stick to the kaupapa • Must stay within the guidelines that the whānau have set • Be able to get down and do the work –don't talk about it • Demonstrate humbleness in transactions with hapū and whānau • Honesty is most important • Treating everyone as an equal • To be patient to hear other peoples views • Putting the people first when making decisions • To have respect for our tupuna and kaumatua and respect their wishes • Must be reliable to turn up to hui and turn up to work • Show humanity when dealing with people • To be reliable and trustworthy • To have respect for our tupuna and kaumatua and respect their wishes

Further information was sought from the whānau regarding a preferred process for the appointment of Trustees and Directors of organisations which will manage whānau assets. It was clear from the responses form workshops within the research project that a rather formal approach was preferred. The main points of the preferred process are represented in Table 6.7:

Table 6.7 Appointment of Trustees and Directors

• Lots of publicity about the meeting which will appoint Trustees or Directors • Families should look at candidates from within their whānau • Applicants or nominees should be prepared to justify their competence to do the job • Applicants or nominees should be knowledgeable in whakapapa as well as in organisations • The hui to discuss and make appointments must be held on the marae

Information was also forthcoming on the format for Trustees and Directors to report to stakeholders, what should be reported, and how often reports should be expected. Again, a formal process was preferred, summarised in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Reporting To Shareholders

- Written reports are required, to be sent to all shareholders
- Hui-a-whānau are required occasionally, so that the young people get information and learn
- There was a preference for fairly full reports of what has transpired at formal meetings
- Financial reports, progress reports on land development
- Important decisions coming up should be advised well in advance
- Some participants called for monthly reports, but most wanted information every three months, with an Annual General Meeting of the organisation

The Development Plan

The preparation of a more detailed strategic plan was carried out by the roopu timata (steering Committee) within a month of the wānanga being completed. They were assisted by some experienced consultants (mostly Pākehā who offered their services without payment) who were able to provide a quick "reality check" with respect to a long list of possible uses of the land. The willingness of the consultants to visit the land and offer their opinion lifted the confidence of the roopu timata[viii]. The development plan quickly took shape and is shown (in condensed form) in Table 6.9

Table 6.9 Introduction of Strategic Plan

This Plan is produced as a presentation document for an on behalf of the Whānau Trust and its beneficiaries who have identified lands for economic development.

Reason for the Plan
To inform our owners and shareholders that there are options which may allow us to better utilise and manage our collective land resources and assets, which will enable us to sustain a better lifestyle in a rural setting. We also wish to provide a forum so that whānau could discuss further any matters which they wish to raise.

Our Purpose
To promote and facilitate the use and administration of the land to best advantage, to ensure retention of the land by the owners, make provision for any special needs of an owner, to represent the owners in all matters relating to the land and enjoyment of the facilities associated therewith.

For the proposed developments
(a)   Develop specific proposals for the available land resources
(b)   Utilise strong outside advisers/board members to help us gain perspective and to give us expert input as needed

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[viii] Field Notes: 6 September 2003

The priorities for the development of these resources are:
(a) Identify the legal processes for the establishment pf Papakainga housing adjacent to our marae
(b) Assess and develop specific proposals for Agriculture/Horticulture/Forestry on the land blocks
(c) Develop specific proposals for whānau/commercial housing where applicable

Our Objectives (where we see ourselves in five years' time)
(a) Whānau lands being utilised for a positive return to the whānau, which is in line with their dreams and aspirations
(b) To have access to and the mandate to include any surrounding lands in our developments
(c) Whānau members are employed at every level of our business including management
(d) For the whānau to have a sustainable lifestyle on their whenua
(e) Our children/mokopuna to have the resources and access to the very best education

Key people/organisations to assist us
(a) Consultancy in development and management,
(b) In terms of mandate and consultation, our whānau,hapū owners/shareholders and beneficiaries
(c) In terms of knowledge of the land, leadership, traditional usages of our land resources, our Kaumatua and elders of the whānau

(d) In terms of specific business sectors, legal advisor, a safe financial system, plant and machinery expertise, scientific advisers, and networks within the potential industries identified for the developments
(e) Our whānau and hapū members

Our major targets we are aiming at
(a) Develop a feasibility study on each one of the possible development ideas as identified by the whānau (Horticulture, Agriculture. Forestry and Papakainga)
(b) Utilise the land through proposed developments for the betterment of the whānau and the wider community
(c) Provide housing – Papakainga
(d) Whānau and hapū living back on their turangawaewae where they are self sufficient

Our aim is to have whānau members return to Whangaroa were there will be Papakainga housing, employment (through the utilisation of whānau lands) and excellent education opportunities for all of the whānau.

We will develop a strong foothold on the local, national and international market scene in order to this we plan to secure our potential customers that will be identified in the feasibility study, before we launch into any specific developments.

We will develop key marketing strategies with other or similar ventures in the region, to gain information and management experience. Our chief target group will involve the surrounding districts.

> **Our major achievements to date:**
> We have just taken part in a research project which was facilitated by Colin Knox. We believe that if we undertake this type of economic development from the point of view of a co-operative or collective development we will be in a better position when our land interests are combined, so that we could operate a number of potential ventures on our properties and would be both managed and governed by ourselves. We would seek further education and management opportunities in response to the types of industry we want established on our land.

The strategic analysis which was developed by the whānau is included in Table 6.10

Figure 6.10   Strategic Analysis Format

We need to know what kind of community we are trying to build for ourselves. **Who is the 'we' we are planning for?**	(a) Our whānau? (first priority) (b) Our hapū? (will they help or hold us up?) (c) The marae and the whānau around it?
What do we hope will be different in the way we live, work and behave toward each other and to the outside community in 10 years time? **Identify five things which we hope will be different.**	(a) Better education and opportunities for tamariki (b) Better health for whānau (c) Housing (not just near the marae) (d) More jobs for whānau (e) Utilise resources for our benefit
hat are the things that we have today which we would like to see still happening in 10 years time? **List five things we would like to see preserved.**	(a) The whānau still having hui (b) Retaining the land (c) Retaining our tikanga (culture and te reo) (d) Whānaungatanga (aroha for elders and tamariki) (e) Contact and friendship with our advisers

What are our priorities among the following possible outcomes for us? There may be other outcomes we would like to list as well. **Note:** **Everything follows education and skill development so this is the highest priority.**		
	Jobs for whānau	
	More income	
	Business ownership	
	Services to whānau	
	Stronger culturally	
	Better public image	
	Less dependence	
	More education	1=
	Skills development	1=
	Better health	
	Ownership of our whenua	

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Thinking about relationships with other people and organisations, how do we relate to the following:	Poorly	Well	Don't
Police	X		
Schools			X
Te Puni Kokiri		X	
Labour Dept (CEG)		X	
Housing NZ (varies by location)	X	X	
WINZ	X		
District Council		X	
Päkehä community		X	
General Public		X	
Doctors & hospitals	X		
Dept of Conservation		X	

Thinking about relationships within our Trust, do we have or need any of the following things?	Have	Need	Don't need
A written constitution plus who can belong (may be separate document)		X	
Legal contracts between whänau	X		
A set term for Chair		X	
Set term for Manager		Yearly review	
Set term for Trustees		X	
Different governance structure for our business ventures		X	
Clear roles for Trustees	X		
Clear roles for Managers		X	

Looking at our assets, how do we rate our present situation?	High	Med	Low
Accessible capital			X
Loan possibilities	X		
Grant possibilities		X	
Good location	X		
Natural resources	X		
Education levels			X
Artistic or craft abilities		X	
Knowledge of the land		X	
Entertainment skills		X	
Trading history			X
Enthusiasm	X		
Available labour			X
Willingness to employ outsiders	X		
Willingness to enter partnerships	X		

During the course of discussions the roopu timata made the important decision that they would welcome a Joint Venture with people who were able to bring important resources, including

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expertise and finance. Critical to this decision was a willingness to see some of the land leased for a period in excess of twenty years in order to increase the viability of a Joint Venture. As Uncle P explained:

> I'm not worried about tying our land up in a lease for thirty years so long as it cannot be sold. In fact I see it like putting the land in the bank, waiting for a time when we are ready to do it on our own. Right now we need partners to help us with our business.[ix]

Subsequent to the research project the Trust gained the assistance of Te Puni Kokiri to prepare a feasibility study for the development of their lands. The study included a business plan indicating which projects should have priority, and a projection of financial results.

The feasibility study had the effect of showing whānau what the possibilities were, and what priorities had been selected by the Trust Board for implementation. The whānau is able to see where particular projects are scheduled for commencement, and the steps which will be necessary to achieve them. For example, while Papakainga housing is a favourite among many of the whānau there are many questions and many steps in the process of implementation. Expectations are managed by the provision of information which has been researched and is convincing.

At the time of writing, the first new business project, a modest tourism venture, had commenced. The following extract from the Feasibility Study (Table 6.11) explains the nature of this venture:

Figure 6.11   Tourism Business

Wilderness Treks
The wilderness resources immediately accessible and in the near vicinity provide a clear opportunity for outdoor activities that are becoming increasingly sought after by the inbound tourist market. The land is set amongst Department of Conservation managed lands and offers dramatic landscapes and natural vistas within close proximity of established accommodation and tourism facilities. Access to this block is limited, which increases the opportunity for guided treks. The wilderness trek type of tourism product is recognised as providing a low-cost entry point to the tourism industry, particularly for owners with access to either offshore or on-shore natural habitats with limited access.

[ix] Field Notes: 6 September 2003

Establishing linkages to existing tourism providers with a similar view on caring for and protecting the natural resources offers a simple way for the Trust to become involved within the industry. Such operators include bird and wildlife tours (both on and off shore) and eco-tours.

Cultural activities
An increase in tourist activity will grow the potential for a culture based tourism product. Such activities will require a stable and reliable work force of adequately trained and experienced whānau. Cultural activities could include festivities, taiaha demonstrations, weaving, kapahaka and marae stays. The need for adequate numbers of the whānau to be both available and capable of entertaining tourists means that this activity requires a vibrant and stable hapū more so than any of the other options.

Land-based marine activities (marine life excursions, sea-kayaking etc.)
The abundance of natural, water-based resources provides an opportunity for land-based sea excursions centred on observing marine life (either on or underwater). Such activities might complement the wilderness trek type of product mentioned above. Establishing linkages with existing tour operators and offering unique aspects (historical, cultural) will provide a low cost means of expanding any tourism activities.

The initial tourism venture is being pursued by one member of the whānau who has prepared a proposal for the Trust. The Trust has accepted that it should remain as kaitiaki of the land, and receive funds from rents, royalties and dividends rather than entering directly into business ventures. The Trust is unable to sell the land but has the ability to enter into land leases for a sufficient period so that the lease has value as debt security. The Trust acknowledges that the development of a business requires that an individual has the incentive of profiting personally from the risk and effort involved[x].

The organisation of this business is based on a model adopted by the roopu timata (Figure 6.4):

Figure 6.4 Business Ownership Model

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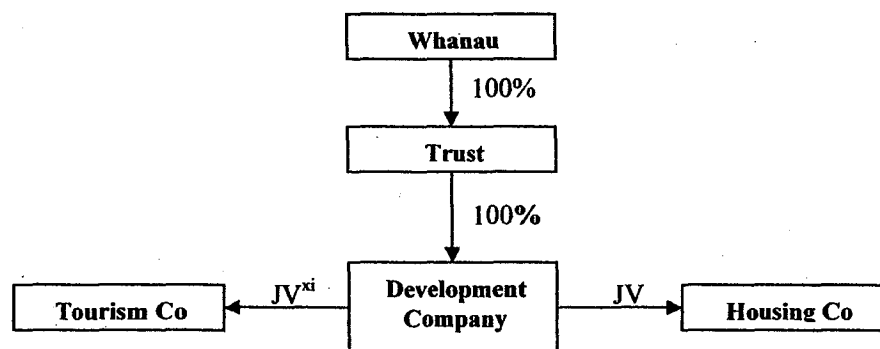
[x] Field Notes: 6 September 2003
[xi] JV – Joint Venture

Conclusion

At the time of writing the whānau has also entered into an agreement with a government agency to develop housing for the whānau on Property III. It is proposed to conduct an education programme for whānau who wish to invest in the housing development so that they are aware of the commitments and financial consequences of a decision to participate. The development is seen by the whānau as a means of ensuring that the any development of their land is in accordance with their desire to have it remain as a taonga for tamariki and mokopuna. Their vision is that their whenua will inspire the whānau to re-introduce Māori as the language of hui, and be a source of motivation for the strengthening of their whānaungatanga.

The whānau is convinced that without the wānanga and the new approach to Māori organisations, they would not have been able to realise their long-held dreams and aspirations for their land.

Chapter Seven – Discussion And Conclusions

Introduction

The history of the ingress of Päkehä, first as traders, then missionaries and settlers, is one of displacement of mana Mäori by European culture, knowledge systems, and institutions. The conversion of Mäori to Christianity was not rapid or smooth, but the power of the European atua became evident and in Mäori terms, difficult to dispute. Advanced technology, in particular the musket, reflected the power of the European atua. Perhaps even more convincing were diseases which halved the Mäori population while having little effect on Päkehä. As the influence of the missionaries waxed, that of rangatira and tohunga waned. People could acquire mana by becoming literate in Mäori and English, and violence and war among hapü was discouraged as the whänau of the church embraced all hapü and its atua was worshiped as the supreme ariki.

What has been an unending process of change for both Mäori and Päkehä has resulted in Mäori suffering a major decline of culture and tikanga in almost every aspect of society:

- The role of ariki and rangatira in the carrying out of sacred ritual to ensure the well being of the people was considerably reduced as the influence of the European faiths dominated all religious ceremonies and ritual occasions, and individuals made their own intercession with their deities.
- User-rights to property were no longer a matter for hapü to decide.
- The influence of the whänau in regulating the behaviour of whanaunga was largely replaced by the State, beginning with the compulsory education of children in 'mainstream' thinking and social organisation.
- As an increasingly secular social institution the State separated itself from any spiritual dimension to its actions, and denied the relevance of tikanga in establishing agencies for the provision of services to Mäori.
- In comparison with former times almost nothing was left of the collective decision making which had held whänau, hapü and iwi in a stable relationship for hundreds of years.
- The actions of the Mäori Land Court fragmented the ownership of land. The best of it was alienated and much of the remainder was burdened by a large number of shareholders who had succeeded a parent but did not necessarily have other interests in the land.
- The organisation model under which most Mäori land was administered came from legislation, much of which was antithetical to tikanga.

The result of these changes in Mäori social institutions has been mainly poor outcomes for the owners of Mäori land. Te Puni Kokiri[1] reports that in 2002 there were an estimated 1.9 million

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"multiple individual interests" and that this number was increasing through succession by 185,000 each year. Many Māori were employed on Māori owned farms as labour, but relatively few were trained as managers. In 2002 Te Puni Kokiri[2] reported a dearth of good governance and management experience among Māori farm owners.

The shareholders in Māori land are unlike those in most enterprises, in that their ownership comes from inheritance rather than a considered decision to invest. Their purpose is more likely to be one of stewardship rather than financial return because the dilution of their interest means that they are likely to derive little or no income from their asset, even if it is developed. Their shareholding is often an important link to whakapapa, which makes improbable their sale of shares, which hold more emotional than economic value.

For Māori, development implies 'sustainable' development, which can mean different things in different contexts. In the context of Māori land the following description produced by researchers for the James Henare Māori Research Centre[3] is valuable:

> Sustainable development as a goal fosters policies and practices that support living standards which increase the productive base which includes natural, human and social, cultural, and economic resources and leaves future generations better off in terms of prospects and diminished risks. It manages all these assets in order to increase long term health, wealth and well being. Occasionally tough measures have to be exercised to preserve and promote such longevities.

The thesis adopts this view of economic development with respect to Māori land.

Chapter Seven explores the two hypotheses which identify current problems with Māori land development and suggest how they might be resolved. It then reviews the action research method of eliciting information about the problems from shareholders and beneficiaries, and working with them to convert their knowledge and experience into some proposals to improve the situation.

Based on a review of Māori culture and social institutions both before and after European settlement and colonisation of New Zealand, and utilising the research findings from eighteen action research wānanga, Chapter Seven brings together the elements of a new approach to Māori organisations. This new approach advocates an education programme for shareholders, incorporating traditional core values and tikanga and including modern analytical and consensus building techniques. The approach was applied in an extended case study, and its contribution to Māori organisations is assessed. Limitations of the new approach are identified, and further research is suggested.

The Research Question

The research question posited in Chapter One asks:

> What approach to organisational development will be most likely to ensure best outcomes for the owners of Māori land?

Two hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis was:

> Where Māori organisations fail to observe the important values and protocols of tikanga Māori they become dysfunctional and debilitated in that they fail to meet critical objectives. Where tikanga is restored, then Māori organisations will become functional and robust.

It was necessary to identify core values and tikanga which have been integral to the functioning of traditional Māori society and remain relevant today. Given the comprehensive changes to the way Māori society operates in New Zealand, these core values and tikanga needed to be re-formulated to relate directly to Māori organisations. The question remained whether it was possible to introduce core values and tikanga into an organisation which was dysfunctional and debilitated, and to observe the consequences of doing so in terms of changes within the organisation.

The second hypothesis was:

> There are real barriers to the development of rural Maori land:

External barriers	▪ Location, size, suitability for agriculture and horticulture; ▪ Lack of capital, current indebtedness;
Internal barriers	▪ Inappropriate governance structure for development activities; ▪ Lack of skill, knowledge and experience in land use or management; ▪ Lack of trust and satisfaction of owners with each other;

> and there is a method which will allow Māori land owners to overcome these problems.

This second hypothesis requires the identification of the major barriers to the development of rural Māori land, and strategies to overcome them.

External barriers are not within the ability of Māori land owners to address directly because they do not have power to make any adjustment. It was therefore necessary to identify remedies which government and other agencies have considered might remove external barriers to developing Māori land blocks.

It was also necessary to identify the internal barriers to development, which relate mainly to governance issues and the capabilities of shareholders, and to identify strategies which would address shareholder dissatisfaction. An important aspect of the research was to observe how these strategies could assist land owners who had not succeeded in attempts to develop their land blocks.

The Research Approach

Chapter Two reviewed hapü prior to colonisation in their 'corporate' role – as organisations attempting to achieve particular objectives. The framework for the review was Faust's Situation Analysis, which was chosen because it focused on the structures and functions of Mäori society and was therefore helpful in comparing customary Mäori practices with modern organisational practices. The review gave perspectives from a range of researchers and revealed core values and tikanga which promoted stability and well being among whänau and hapü, and resulted in a generally successful society.

The same analytical framework was utilised in Chapter Three to review the impact which contact with European traders, missionaries, and subsequently colonists had on hapü. The views of researchers who described the new order introduced after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 revealed the degree to which tikanga has been diminished, and the degree to which hapü have been superseded by organisations based on British law. Reports of the disruption of Mäori society and the alienation of Mäori land since the signing of the Treaty provided background to some of the difficulties Mäori land owners now face in achieving a sustainable level of economic development.

The action research methodology described in Chapter Four involved 685 participants in discussions about their attitudes and observations relating to Mäori organisations with which they are involved as shareholders and beneficiaries. Working mainly in groups of 6 – 8 people, participants in research wänanga used a range of non-numeric methods to elicit and analyse information relating to the functioning of their organisations. The use of work groups to produce suggestions to be considered by the wänanga reflected a traditional, collective approach to these tasks.

Most of the methods selected for the research wänanga were familiar non-numeric analytical tools. They were selected over possible alternatives because they share an approach which builds consensus. Participants in the wänanga found them easy to use and supportive of whänau and hapü relationships. The use of analytical methods was found to be helpful in eliciting

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information and assisting participants to discuss problems and strategies to achieve better outcomes. Participants expressed comfort in using the methods, and considered that this approach supported the ability of those with particular expertise and those with greater experience to guide discussion within their work group and within the wänanga. Participants were also able to gauge the usefulness of these methods in understanding and adjusting the performance of their organisations.

The common feature of these methods was that as a first step they required each participant to reflect on his or her concerns, individually and in silence, and formulate them succinctly in writing so that they could be collated with similar concerns expressed by other participants in a work group. Silence was important in ensuring that a common practice of allowing others to carry the burden of understanding and explaining was eliminated. Each participant was required to make an effort to identify and express any concerns and issues. Where there is no speaking there can be no arguing, and by grouping and prioritising issues a consensus can emerge around the most important issues.

The consensus which emerged as a coherent expression of people's concerns had been agreed by work groups following discussion. The internal consistency, logic and clarity of the expression could then be tested by presenting it to other work groups, who would agree with it or suggest modifications to improve its clarity. During this process participants become confident in the language being used to explain and analyse the subject matter, and could use it in other situations to describe and evaluate situations or proposals.

Chapter Five reported the research findings from the wänanga and concluded with an approach to developing Mäori organisations which recognised the need for shareholders to become familiar with the concepts and language of business and organisations so that they could take a greater part in making decisions on the development of their assets. The research addressed the governance phase of the business process – the phase in which shareholders are most involved in establishing and reviewing development options. In short – the research directly addressed the two hypotheses which suggested that (a) a revival of tikanga, and (b) educating shareholders to accept a consensus building rather than a majority vote approach to governance, would produce best outcomes for shareholders.

Chapter Six reports the case study, which applied the analytical and consensus building methods from the wänanga as a basis of developing social, cultural and land resources.

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Hypothesis One

Prior to the coming of European traders toward the end of the eighteenth century, Māori society was well ordered and had adopted a cycle of activities which minimised threats to the seasonal harvest cycle or to the abundance of fauna and flora for food, implements and weapons, clothing and decorations. The land was settled, whānau, hapū and iwi occupying ancestral homelands and undertaking journeys into neighbouring areas to hunt, fish and trade. There was an established order, a sense of rhythm, and an accommodation of regular skirmishes and wars between traditional enemies over land, women, and real or supposed insults. Everyone in the whānau and hapū had a role and their collective work contributed to the well being of the family group. Tikanga ruled, and while the guidance of rangatira and kaumatua was often compelling, decision making by consensus was the norm.

Tikanga Māori provided a complete explanation of the natural and the supernatural worlds, the powers that created and sustained them, and the relationships between mankind and everything else in the universe, living and non-living, real and surreal. There was no separation between taha wairua (the spiritual world) and taha tinana (the physical world). The religion of the Māori allowed mitigation and negotiation with the many gods in order to gain protection or advantage in relation to the elements, the harvest, the cycle of birth, growth and death, and most importantly, in battle with competing hapū. Responsibility for conducting rituals to appease the gods and bring favour to a cause was the responsibility of ariki and rangatira, passed to them through their mana tupuna which was derived from their close whakapapa links to the eponymous ancestor of the hapū or iwi.

Comprehensive world views and systems of knowledge furnished explanations that gave purpose and meaning to natural and man-made phenomena. Mauri, mana and tapu were essentially reflections of a knowledge base that integrated spiritual, environmental and human domains. Similarly, within this indigenous world view, balance and harmony in the universe was maintained through the interplay of physical and spiritual elements, sometimes with spectacular consequences seen in storms, fires, earthquakes, sickness and in great feats of courage or treachery. All phenomena had physical and spiritual aspects, integrated and inseparable, but subject to mitigation and influence through ritual and incantation.

Mana was the force which empowered the activities of mankind. The power and influence of a person combined elements which were passed down from parents and ancestors as well as elements which could be acquired. Mana could be enhanced or diminished through actions which demonstrated the favour or disfavour of the atua. The maintenance or enhancement of mana was the most important achievement of mankind, and its loss or diminution was an event which had both physical and spiritual consequences.

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While colonisation had a very significant effect on mana Māori, in particular on mana atua and mana whenua, it failed to eliminate the crucible of mana – mana tangata. Mana tangata embraced the personal qualities and family values which bound whānau and informed the actions of individuals. The songs, stories, historical events and sacred places which supported tikanga Māori were anchored in the whakapapa of particular tupuna. They were the vehicle by which the values which underlie tikanga were conveyed through the generations as a source of motivation and inspiration.

Chapter Two identified eleven core values or tikanga which are also important to legislated Māori organisations (incorporated societies, trusts, Māori incorporations, companies). Chapter Four describes a survey of participants in the research wānanga which included sixty statements relating to the values. Each of the sixty statements contributed to one of the values within tikanga, and the results of the survey were reported in Chapter Five. The values were not proposed as the most important values or cultural imperatives of tikanga in all its aspects, but were statements which combined a number of examples of behaviour relevant to Māori business organisations. The eleven core values or tikanga were:

1. Tikanga
The custom lore of tikanga is of fundamental importance and provides the basis of all important decisions and personal lifestyle choices. It remains valuable as a guiding principle and a source of wisdom.

2. Mana
A person gains authority through displaying the qualities of a rangatira including integrity, generosity, bravery, humility, respect, commitment to the community, using facts and honest information as well as legends and stories to make a case, relay a message or explain things in a way which binds people together, facilitating rather than commanding.

3. Whakapapa
A common ancestry provides a platform for celebrating jointly held property, shared sites, common histories, and similar understandings of the material world.

4. Wairuatanga
The spiritual world is an important part of reality which is integral to day to day activities and necessary for successful endeavours.

5. Kaumatuatanga
Kaumatua play a crucial role in keeping families and the community together, and offer both guidance and advice, though the role has become more difficult as people look to Kaumatua for guidance in the world of business as well as in their traditional leadership role.

6. Utu
Maintaining balance and harmony through "give and take", reciprocal obligations, honesty in all things, the punishment of wrong doing and the exchange of gifts are essential practices which increase the welfare of the community and balance other economic interests.

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7.   *Kaitiakitanga*

People who work in Maori owned businesses should acknowledge the mauri of the resources they work with, preferring the best materials and practices rather than the cheapest, ensuring safety at all stages of production, pursuing quality over price.

8.   *Whakawhanaungatanga*

Family bonds take priority over all other considerations in deciding who to employ or what action to take, ensuring the continuity of employment and providing opportunities for career development.

9.   *Manaakitanga*

A Maori owned business supports the social objectives of the Maori community through contribution of money, people and facilities, treating its employees as well as any partners or competitors fairly and generously in all respects.

10.   *Whakarite Mana*

A contract is a statement of intention to form a lasting relationship and the elements of the contract are open to review as circumstances change. The objective is to provide long term satisfaction for both parties rather than relying on "the   letter of the law" to cement an understanding.

11.   *Hui*

Full and active participation in decision making is important.

Figure 7.1   Results of Values Survey

Support For Core Values

(Horizontal bar chart showing support percentages for: Hui, Whakarite Mana, Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga, Whakawhanaungatanga, Utu, Kaumatuatanga, Wairuatanga, Whakapapa, Mana, Tikanga — with axis from 0% to 100%.)
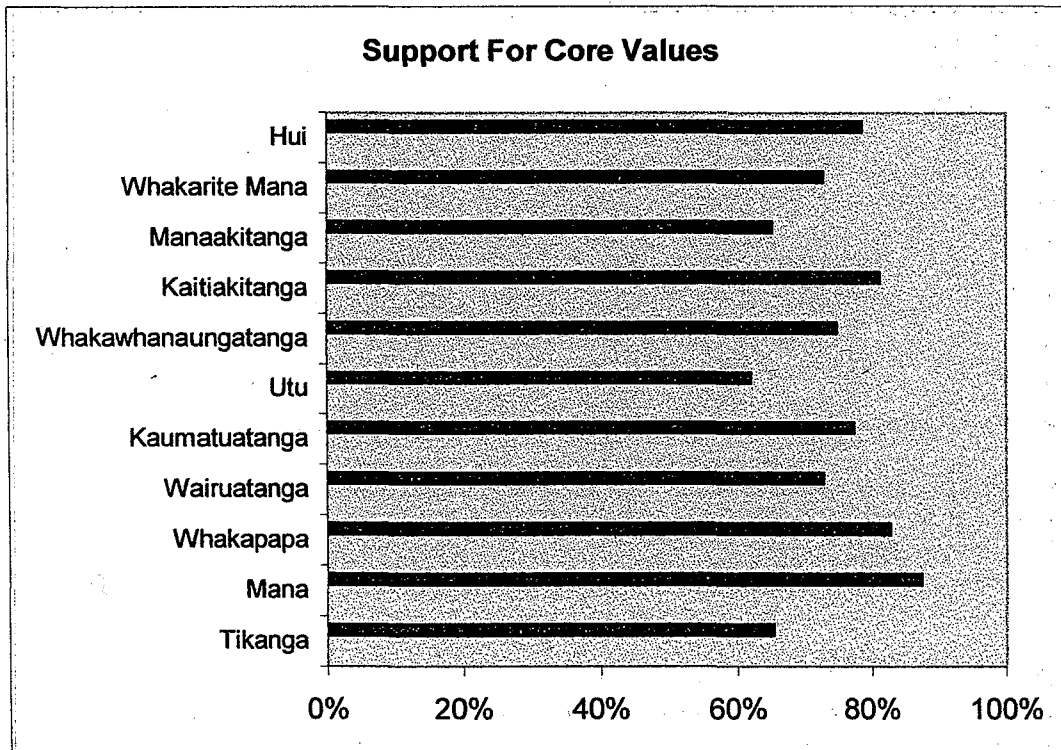
The survey results for all wānanga (Figure 7.1) show wide support among participants for traditional values and tikanga. The survey brought home to people that in a fundamental way they remain closely connected to each other. Participants were able to identify that the way in which whānau are required to behave in order to survive in the current circumstances had not destroyed the touchstones of their culture. Recognition of shared values took place early in each wānanga, and gave participants confidence that concerns about the management and governance of their assets could be overcome by dialogue. Other research findings support the centrality of these eleven values. For example 'hangaia te kaupapa' the setting of the agenda for the hui, produced a number of value statements.

Table 7.1 Hangaia Te Kaupapa

Participant Response	Core Value or Tikanga
The most significant issue on the minds of participants in the wānanga was the leadership of the organisations which hold and manage their assets, and the policies which would take them forward. This was followed by issues related to improvements in the way their organisations were administered.	Mana
Participants placed knowledge and experience above other requirements when considering their expectations of the person who would facilitate and lead the wānanga, closely followed by leadership qualities which would foster and protect the open and honest exchange of valuable information.	Kaumatuatanga, mana
Participants identified as very important their willingness to participate energetically in the wānanga, and their commitment to assist each other while gaining valuable knowledge and skill which could be shared with their whānau.	Whakawhanaungatanga, hui
In identifying how they would conduct themselves and how they wished the wānanga to be conducted, participants placed a very strong emphasis on creating good relationships among each other – arohatanga and manaakitanga.	Manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga
Some participants did not have readily at hand the vocabulary commonly used to discuss organisations, but their requirements and their opinions were clearly stated.	Hui
Participants needed only some key rituals to initiate a level of confidence and trust which allowed the sharing of deeply held beliefs and feelings.	Wairuatanga, whakawhanaungatanga
Participants strongly preferred consensus decision making after discussion had taken place, and would allow decisions to be changed only by the same method.	Hui

Research done by other Māori organisations shows that they embrace similar values and tikanga. For example, a list of values for Māori-centred tourism in Canterbury was derived from a survey carried out by Lincoln University[4] (Table 7.2). The Canterbury survey identifies a number of common values, and some principles have also been identified which may be specific to tourism or retail businesses, and directed at the relationship between Māori providers and customers.

Table 7.2   Māori-centred Tourism in Canterbury – Values

Value	Expression
Wairuatanga	Expressing the spiritual element in the product
Whanaungatanga	Fostering a whānau work environment Contribution to Māori development Networking with Māori
Nga Matatini Māori	Belonging to traditional and/or non-traditional Māori organisations Representing the diversity of Māori culture Acknowledging that Māori tourism development is tribally and regionally specific Allowing for differences of Māori tourism development strategy
Kaitiakitanga	Carrying out responsibilities of Kaitiakitanga Acknowledging close affinity to the environment in the product
Manaakitanga	Sharing of knowledge and beliefs Being hospitable to tourists
Tino Rangatiratanga	Control over the decision making Control over commercial development Asserting a treaty partnership
Kotahitanga	Establishing cooperative/strategic relationships with other Māori in tourism
Tuhono	Integrating the different values
Porotu	Addressing Māori and non-Māori accountabilities and responsibilities
Puawaitanga	Using the values as measures of the performance of the business

Te Puni Kokiri suggests the following with respect to Māori organisations[5]:

> Māori organisations may also have a Māori dimension in procedure such as the use of Te Reo, mihi, karakia, koha, hospitality for manuhiri, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, consensus decision-making and regular consultation hui. These elements should support the general principles of good governance. It can be important to have people with expertise in tikanga and kawa on the board.

Comparison can also be made with the ethical issues relevant to non-Māori organisations. It would be expected that many Māori values will have a universal quality and could be observed in other cultures. There would be little prospect for a cooperative relationship between Māori and European organisations if there was not significant common ground.

The United States Department of Commerce[6] recommends the list in Table 7.3 as a voluntary code for American companies operating internationally. The code is expressed in minimalist terms – the sentiment being 'this is the least which should be observed'.

Table 7.3   US Department Of Commerce Code Of Ethics

US Department of Commerce Recommendation	Equivalent Tikanga
Provision of a safe and healthy workplace.	Kaitiakitanga, Manaakitanga
Fair employment practices, including avoidance of child and forced labor and avoidance of discrimination based on race, gender, national origin, or religious beliefs; and respect for the right of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively.	Manaakitanga, Whakawhanaungatanga
Responsible environmental protection and environmental practices.	Kaitiakitanga
Compliance with U.S. and local laws promoting good business practices, including laws prohibiting illicit payments and ensuring fair competition.	Whakarite mana, Manaakitanga
Maintenance, through leadership of all levels, of a corporate culture that respects free expression consistent with legitimate business concerns, and does not condone political coercion in the workplace; that encourages good corporate citizenship and makes a positive contribution to the communities in which the company operates; and where ethical conduct is recognized, valued, and exemplified by all employees.	Mana, Utu, Manaakitanga,

Another comparison can be seen in a list of moral or ethical issues for European organisations which Kujala[7] has compiled. Eight groups of shareholders are named, and ethical issues relating to them shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Ethical Shareholder Relationships

Ethical Issues In Business	Equivalent Tikanga
Customers Advertising, information, product safety, packaging, pricing, customer satisfaction	Kaitiakitanga, Manaakitanga

Employees Right to just wage, right to privacy, right to participate, right to organise, hiring policies, firing policies, discrimination, working conditions, stability, security, developing possibilities, honesty and education	Manaakitanga, Mana
Competitors Fair play, honourable competitive methods, denigration, price cutting, foreign competition, cooperation, tacit agreements, bribery, consistency and stability, healthy marketing practices	Manaakitanga , Whakarite mana, kaitiakitanga
Owners Dividends, reporting and retained earnings, adequate information	Mana, Hui
Suppliers and Dealers Fair business practices, bidding, interests of consumers, paying the bills, cooperation, honesty,	Manaakitanga, Utu, Whakarite mana
Community and Government Compliance with laws, cooperation, tax base, good citizenship, behaving with integrity	Whakarite mana, Mana
Financiers Cooperation, long term relationships, returns, risk evaluation, information,	Whakarite mana, Manaakitanga, Hui
Environment Pollution, interest in health and survival of fauna and flora, extinction of species, protecting the environment	Kaitiakitanga

A point of difference between Māori and non-Māori business ethics is that non-Māori business groups do not include Wairuatanga in a list of values. This illustrates the relative importance of wairuatanga in Māori society.

Another defining point is the absence of values similar to whakawhanaungatanga among non-Māori organisations. The particular responsibility which Māori feel for people to whom they are linked by whakapapa is sometimes dismissed as nepotism. The positive aspects of preferring family members for appointment to positions within whānau enterprises are significant. Access to the people who are leaders within the shareholder group is simpler for whanaunga, but needs to be earned by ongoing contribution to the organisation. It can be also assumed that whanaunga will care for the shareholders and their representatives who act as trustees. Māori would consider an emotional connection to an organisation to be beneficial.

Whakapapa links are not sufficient on their own, however, and appointments of family members may carry the disadvantages associated with nepotism if an appointee does not have the necessary capabilities. It is important to an organisation that appointments of whanaunga are at

least contestable by other whanaunga, and damage can ensue if appointments are made under authority derived from a position held under tikanga Pākehā, and then justified in terms of tikanga Māori. Using tikanga Pākehā to achieve a desired outcome and then reverting to tikanga Māori to justify it is dangerous and corrosive of Māori values.

In summary, Māori values and tikanga remain relevant to Māori organisations. Their presence indicates harmony and whanaungatanga, while their absence gives rise to issues over the leadership, philosophy and direction of many Māori organisations. In particular, participants indicated a desire for more information and greater involvement in the decisions being made at meetings, in other words, more hui where they could feel free to discuss issues face to face, confident that the strength of their family bonds would allow and withstand robust discussion.

Hypothesis Two

In seeking evidence that barriers to land development can be overcome it is relevant to consider the history of Māori involvement in agriculture and trade, which suggests that Māori are naturally innovative and progressive. In order to service European demand for food and timber prior to 1840, Māori pooled resources to purchase capital items such steel, ploughs, flour mills and even barges and ships to create and move their produce. Distribution of benefits was in accordance with tikanga, where the greatest contributors to the harvest reaped the greatest benefit. Tikanga Māori favours courage and achievement and therefore tends to support rather than suppress economic development.

Almost since the signing of the Treaty in 1840 Māori have been actively discouraged by Pākehā from engaging in enterprise, beginning with legislation to seize arable land, some of it under cultivation, and turn it over to settlers to farm. Supplying oysters to the lucrative Auckland market was banned by legislation in 1867. Māori were forced out of the sizeable grey mullet trade in 1877 when the law deemed their traditional nets unsuitable. The State then advanced loan money to Pākehā fishermen to improve their boats and their nets. It is ironic that it is now lamented that there are too few Māori managers, directors and entrepreneurs, while in the past successful Māori ventures were halted or limited by legislation, often so that the market could be usurped by Pākehā businesses.

Governance processes have long been compromised in respect of Māori land. For example, since Ngata introduced Māori land schemes in the 1930s the governance of much Māori land was in the hands of government agencies, Pākehā lease holders or large organisations such as forestry companies, depriving Māori the experience of managing and developing their

resources. Government policies toward Māori have been paternalistic, and have fostered the view that, left to themselves, Māori will fail in the commercial world. This view of Māori capability has created a climate of negative expectation which affects Māori self confidence while poisoning the environment for Māori enterprise.

There is now a move to encourage Māori back into business, and to develop Māori land. However, in its 1998 report to the Māori Economic Development Commission the Māori Multiple Owned Land Development Committee[8] identified a number of factors which impact on Māori land development. Many of these were factors outside the immediate control or influence of Māori, and related to the information and services provided by government agencies.

In addition to these medium to long term issues, the Committee commented on the need to enhance management capability and the need for education and training in the capabilities required for the economic development of land. It also commented on the need to develop security arrangements alternative to mortgages in order to minimise the loss of Maori land while meeting the requirements of lenders.

External Barriers

Some external barriers place considerable restrictions on the viability of Māori land. For example:

<u>Quality Of Māori Land Blocks</u>

Māori land development has been problematic since the 'use it or lose it' policies of the settler government in the 1860s. The barriers to economic development included the size and location of land blocks and their suitability for agriculture, horticulture or forestry. Te Puni Kokiri[9] reports that of 1.5 million hectares of Māori land, 95% of which is in the North Island, some 600,000 hectares (40%) are underdeveloped. However, only 0.4% of Māori land is classed as prime, having virtually no limitations to arable use. A further 2.7% is good land with slight limitations to arable use and 5.7% has moderate limitations to arable use, restricting the crops that can be grown. The remaining 91.2% of Māori land is severely limited, with 13.3% classed as having severe limitations or hazards for any agricultural use[10].

Fifty percent of Māori land (25% of all land blocks) is vested in Ahu Whenua Trusts, while 20% of Māori land (64% of all land blocks) has no formalised administrative structure and is owned by whānau or hapū. The Māori Trustee controls 9% of all Māori land.

Many of the land blocks are relatively small, as Table 7.5[11] shows.

Table 7.5 Average Land Block Area

	Total Māori Land (ha)	No. of Land Blocks	Ave. ha Per Block
Tai Tokerau	139,873	4,889	29
Maniapoto	143,388	3,594	40
Waiariki	4256,595	5,074	84
Tairawhiti	310,631	5,320	48
Takitimu	88,608	1,254	71
Aotea	334,207	3,710	90
Te Wai Pounamu	71,769	1,795	40

This suggests that shareholders must be prepared to be innovative and to enter into ventures outside agriculture and horticulture in order to gain financial returns from land. Within the primary sector there are numerous options including forestry, cropping, horticulture, dairy farming, beef fattening, deer farming, specialist organic or herbal crops, the use of land for nature or cultural tourism, aquaculture, energy production, viticulture and grazing.

For some shareholders whose interests are mainly outside farming the best option may be to lease the property to another party who is prepared to invest in appropriate opportunities, and possibly enter in a joint venture so that financial returns are maximised and skills and knowledge relating to the development can be acquired 'on the job'.

Funding Land Development
a) Inability To Raise Funds
A report by the Māori Development Commission[12] in May 2000 identified that the inability to raise funds was a barrier to the development of Māori land, and indicated that some institutions are reluctant to advance funds to Māori:

> "while it failed to establish any proof of discrimination against Māori business by the mainstream banking system a great deal of anecdotal evidence suggests institutional racism does exist".

The Commission also indicated that when it comes to land, Māori are not prepared or able to offer it as a security against debt finance, and have no great understanding of equity financing. It suggested that higher levels of complexity surrounding collectively owned assets are an impediment to Māori business development. However, a report by the NZ Institute of Economic Research held that collective ownership need not be a problem[13]. The report

considered that existing financial institutions fail to accept that Māori values can be reconciled with economic success.

There have been initiatives by successive governments to encourage Māori enterprise through the provision of funding. Most of the initiatives have had limited success, for a number of reasons – some attributed to government-backed funding institutions not taking a more proactive role in exploring possible development opportunities for Māori land.

Funding institutions which select Māori as a special market are often a funder of 'last resort' after an approach to a mainstream source has failed. Inexperienced players will inevitably encounter difficulties, and their inexperience would be seen as additional risk by a lending institution.

Even for existing Māori businesses, including farms, funding criteria may still be difficult to meet, a consequence that often leads to Māori businesses being under-capitalised, or dependent on securities provided by family, such as the family house. What financial institutions require of businesses which seek funds is well understood, and is in contrast to the development schemes of the 1930s to 1950s where the objectives were the creation of small farming units rather than carefully planned, viable and sustainable developments.

b) Unpaid Local Authority Taxes

Unpaid local authority land taxes have been a source of indebtedness on Māori land, and in recent years many local authorities have acknowledged the difficulties in collecting rates on marginal land blocks. An example of a realistic response is that of the Far North District Council, which has established criteria for multiple owned Māori land to be relieved of paying rates for a period of time. Historical indebtedness has been a disincentive to land development, and the prospect of rates relief with the ability to negotiate future terms of payment addresses a significant barrier.

c) Location

Location can sometimes be a significant barrier to development. Many properties are distant from markets and additional costs may inhibit entry to business opportunities. Greater innovation may be needed to identify higher income developments, for example by focusing on high value crops such as medicinal herbs.

d) Legal Structures

The legal structures required to ensure that risk-taking business operations can develop on Māori land are likely to be more expensive than 'off the shelf' company structures available which assume that there are no issues regarding disposal of assets. Government has a role in assisting in the facilitation of legal processes to assist Māori wishing to develop land, just as it facilitates legal processes in the 'mainstream' business sector with research, consultation and legislative reform.

e) History Of Poor Performance

Many Māori land owners were left with poorly performing assets by land boards which assumed control of a large number of multiple owned blocks under the Native Land Amendment Act 1928 and the Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929. Proceeding without adequate plans, on units which were often too small to withstand adverse economic conditions, and with a governance model which excluded land owners from any substantial influence, many small farms struggled to earn sufficient to support both farm costs and farmer. The fragmented land interests and indifferent financial and operational planning left many Māori inheriting a poor, sometimes irrevocable situation. Many blocks of land, too small to be viable on their own, have been left to revert to natural cover, or have been abandoned.

Internal Barriers

The internal barriers were identified as poor governance processes, together with inadequate governance and management skills to meet the requirements of difficult land developments, and a lack of trust and satisfaction among shareholders. A new approach to Māori organisations which is aligned with traditional values and tikanga can ameliorate these barriers by increasing the knowledge and confidence of shareholders, addressing issues of governance processes and thereby increasing shareholder satisfaction with the organisation. Figure 7.2 depicts a business process which begins with an education programme for shareholders, and proceeds through a sequence of logical steps which include governance and operations activities.

The purposes of the education programme are:
- To expose shareholders to each other during the important steps of discovering their deeply held values, concerns and aspirations. The discovery that these fundamental views are shared is a healing process for whānau and hapū.
- To demonstrate some robust methods for consensus building and decision making.
- To bring understanding and familiarity with concepts and vocabulary necessary to discuss organisational concerns and performance.
- To allow leaders to emerge by demonstrating their capability and contribution.

- To allow the expression of social and cultural development which shareholders wish to have accompany economic development.

Figure 7.2 Values Based Approach to Organisational Development

Aspirations & Ideas

Shareholder Education

Owners' Mandate

Strategic Plan

Governance Processes

GOVERNANCE PHASE

OPERATIONS PHASE

Organisation Design

Information Systems

Organisational Learning

Production & Delivery

Performance Management
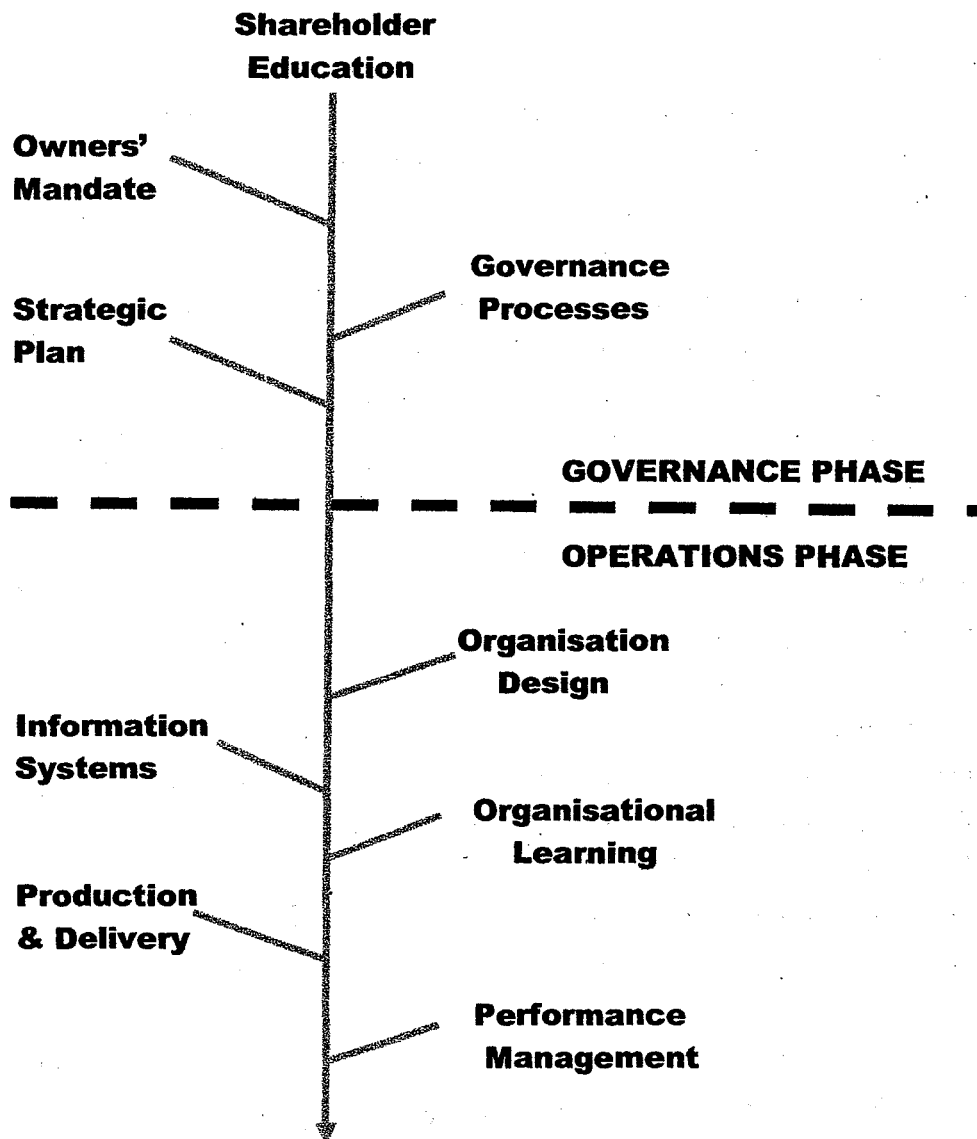
Results & Achievements

Shareholder Education

The education programme provides a context for the other three elements of the governance phase of the business process to be addressed. Shareholders require a forum where objectives,

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plans and budgets can be discussed, but for the discussion to be empowering to shareholders they must be able to understand and assess all information relevant to the discussion.

Owners' Mandate

The complexity of multiple ownership, as difficult as it might be with many shareholders living remotely or unknown to the trustees managing the land, needs to be acknowledged and addressed. A mandate is required from the shareholders of Māori land or other assets before a major development is undertaken. The granting of a mandate may not be an easy process, particularly in situations where land has not been managed on a commercial basis. Gaining owners' mandate for a development is facilitated by the 'hangaia te kaupapa' process to set the agenda and allow issues to be identified well in advance of any decision.

There is a high risk of a development failing when owners are not satisfied with their level of involvement and their understanding of plans and objectives. If they have not given a specific mandate land development the consequences can be dramatic, as the following example shows[14].

A "new" farm manager had been appointed by some of the Trustees of a property which had been allowed to run down for over twenty five years. None of the farm buildings was usable, most of the fences needed repair, the races were no longer definable, and neighbours were allowing their stock to take advantage of their neighbour's abundant feed without payment. The new farm manager had been successful in another occupation and was keen to make improvements to the property. He had begun work on repairing fences, and had finally achieved success in persuading neighbours to respect their purpose.

When the desirability of gaining a mandate from shareholders to continue the development was discussed with him, the manager was sceptical of what he perceived would be a lengthy and unrewarding process of consultation. He considered that his appointment by the Trustees was sufficient mandate to carry on with the development, and in a legal sense he was probably correct. Several months later there was sufficient pressure on the Trustees from shareholders to result in the termination of this new manager's appointment. The shareholders did not know what was being planned, and stopped the development rather than allow it to continue.

When gaining a mandate from the shareholders was ignored in favour of getting on with the operations some shareholders demonstrated their disapproval in the strongest possible way.

Governance Processes

This implies a formal process with respect to specifying information needs and appropriate reporting to shareholders. It also requires hui where significant issues are discussed in a context which is culturally comfortable, and conducive to making decisions after everyone has had the opportunity to contribute.

The 'situation analysis' of Māori organisations showed that 80% of participants identified critical problems with the leadership of their organisations, including planning and communicating with shareholders. Fifty-four percent of all work groups in the research wānanga had the perception that their organisations were not close enough to their shareholders in terms of providing information and allowing feedback at appropriate times.

When considering preferences for the capabilities (the skills, knowledge, experience and personal qualities) of their representatives in governance positions, participants expected personal qualities to rank at least as highly as skills and knowledge. The list of desired accomplishments for the leaders of organisations was very ambitious, as evidenced in the summary shown in Table 7.6:

Table 7.6 Capabilities of Organisation Leaders

Skills	Knowledge	Experience	Qualities
Communications Negotiations Entrepreneurial Financial and business Leadership Research Contribution to decisions Networking Planning Good with staff Teamwork	Spiritual values Good education Whakapapa Legal requirements Whānau history Te Reo Maori Land development Tikanga Maori Understand the role Meeting procedures Vision for whānau Values of organisation History of other iwi Impact of colonisation Te Tiriti o Waitangi Preserving taonga	Facilitation Problem solving Consultation Management (some) Consultation with Kaumatua Document reading Business background Lived on the whenua Involvement with whānau/hapū	Commitment to whānau & hapū Whakaiti Sharing Honest and trustworthy Treats everyone as equal Gets on with the work Sticks to the kaupapa Puts people first Respect for tupuna Reliable Patient Whakapapa to whenua Value based actions

The capabilities of trustees and directors raises a dilemma for many Māori organisations, particularly where commercial considerations may be important. The role of kaumatua whose experience and knowledge of matters such as whakapapa and the history of whānau and hapū

relationships is vital to the mana of the whänau and on the marae. It can also be important in respect of the governance of Mäori land development, which has cultural as well as economic importance. The appointment of trustees or directors with different capabilities is therefore important to meet these different objectives for Mäori land.

Meeting procedures can alleviate the dilemma of trustees or directors losing mana if consensus rather than a majority vote is the process for making decisions. Chapter Five describes a meeting procedure which combines the openness as well as the ritual of a hui, with modern methods for shareholders' to analyse their real interests and build consensus.

Strategic Planning

Strategic planning begins with a situation analysis so that any issues critical to the performance of an organisation are revealed. The 'kowhai raparapa' method of setting objectives provides shareholders as well as trustees with a collective means of reaching agreement on the stages of a development. Where particular professional or business advice is required it can be included among the factors on which recommendations for a particular course of action are based.

Methods for analysing difficult situations, and for preparation for negotiations are skills which are readily available to shareholders, as noted in Chapter Five. The identification of real interests, and the suspension of blaming and of defending positions, has been demonstrated to result in agreement being reached in situations where bitter disagreement has prevailed, sometimes for years.

Rather than take the approach that shareholders and their representatives must do the best they could by applying their individual resources and their current knowledge and experience, it must be acknowledged that professional input is often required. The marginal quality of much Mäori land, and the relatively small land blocks available for development, suggests that considerable ingenuity, and experience in a range of commercial activities, needs to be applied. The research findings as well as the literature suggest that few development blocks will have the necessary leadership and expertise within the group of interested and committed shareholders. It is therefore logical to seek the level of expertise which can provide a proper assessment of the commercial opportunities for the land. It is not advisable to 'make do' with what is available locally through a government agency unless the person recommended as an adviser has a track record of successful development in the type of land in question.

In order to achieve the best outcomes from their land shareholders may be wise to identify experienced business people prepared to act in a collaborative role for the duration of the

development phase. Recognising the complexity and inter-connectedness of some of the barriers to developing Māori land suggests that access to experience and expertise in dealing with similarly complex business and organisational issues may be necessary to make progress.

None of the values or tikanga which will guide a Māori organisation suggests a 'soft' attitude to employees or to the requirements of business: utu is about calling people to account for their actions, and making adjustments to behaviour where required. The values suggest a balanced approach which acknowledges the contribution of every relationship in which the organisation is involved.

The Case Study

The new approach to developing a Māori organisation was applied in the case study described in Chapter Six. It reported the way in which a particular whānau wanted to approach the development of its land blocks. The case study commenced when some members of the whānau engaged others in bringing the whole whānau together to plan for the future of their Māori land holdings. Over the period of a year sufficient support was developed among whānau to encourage the instigators to invite members to a hui to discuss an action research wānanga which might result in an Owners' Mandate to develop the land. The proposers of the development chose this course so that shareholders would have access to tools and techniques which would be helpful in evaluating and discussing the proposal.

While the time delay of a year between the concept and the beginning of the wānanga might seem discouraging, in the light of all the years and events that had gone into the fragmentation of the whānau and the neglect of the land, a year might also be seen as a remarkably short period in which to bring a large group of whānau members to the point of agreeing to meet in order to consider the possibilities of developing an asset. For many the land was little more than a concept, a place that they had seldom (if ever) visited but which linked them to an ancestral home.

The wānanga identified appropriate people to exercise a governance role with respect to the development proposal. Initially a group was appointed to investigate proposals for development. This group consisted of two representatives from each of the three lines of descent from their common ancestor, and was given sufficient authority to be able to indicate with a high degree of probability whether or not a particular project was likely to be approved by shareholders.

The members of the group were to retain a role as Trustees of the land with governance responsibilities so far as the use and safety of the asset was concerned. A different entity was envisaged to operate any business on the land, and Trustees could have some limited representation on the Board of the business entity structured for efficiency and accountability.

The Owners' Mandate was considered to be given when the development project was presented to shareholders, along with a business case showing how the development would meet the objectives of everyone concerned in it. There was no major opposition to the development proceeding. A governance structure was established with explicit instructions regarding the use and safety of the asset. A clear mechanism for the distribution of any benefits which might accrue to the owners as a result of the development was also agreed, with the children and grandchildren of those whanaunga who had contributed most to the development among the first to be eligible. Decisions on distribution of benefits would be recommended to a hui of shareholders for their support.

Appropriate governance arrangements for the Board of Trustees was confirmed by a hui of shareholders. This was seen as important in fostering a feeling of ownership among shareholders, and involvement in the development project. Shareholders had selected people in whom they had confidence and were prepared to support. However, technical and business skills were also identified as critical, and those selected to represent their whänau were encouraged to gain the desired skills and experience. Those appointed acknowledged that they would require more education to meet their own specifications for the position of trustee.

The first important task for the new trustees was to develop a strategic plan for the organisation and present it to shareholders. Real opportunities for consultation needed to be provided to shareholders so that there was no doubt in the mind of anyone involved as to:
- what was intended to be undertaken;
- who would do it;
- what the likely costs and benefits to the shareholder community would be;
- specifically who would benefit and how they would receive their benefit; and
- how information would continue to be provided to shareholders so that they could maintain ultimate control of the asset with respect to its use or disposal.

With the support of shareholders the trustees appointed a project manager from among the whänau, and well experienced project consultants to identify the most promising properties and their alternative uses. The project consultants led the research and selection of alternative uses of whänau property and the project manager communicated their findings to the trustees. They

explained the decision process to a hui of shareholders, who were able to raise issues and identify other possibilities for further investigation.

The governance processes adopted by the shareholders included provisions that decisions of the trustees were to taken in a formal meeting, and not as a result of casual conversations. This implied that a record of attendance at meetings of trustees would be important, and that a proper record of meetings needed to be kept and confirmed at subsequent meetings. While this might have seemed to be paying too much respect to the formalities of a process which was clearly not a customary Māori process, the observance of formalities in these aspects of meeting procedure was seen as important for the following reasons:

1) The absence of a stable and enduring leadership structure based on mana tupuna was a reality, and the whānau could point to land being lost through bad decisions being taken by people who had too little understanding or concern for future generations;

2) The trustees each represented a constituency of shareholders, and it was important that shareholders were able to verify that their representative was present and took part in important decisions;

3) Although the trustees recommendations were based on analysis and verifiable information they also needed to be supported by evidence of fair and robust decision processes;

4) It could be important to future generations that there was a record of decisions which had been taken, and the information and authority on which they were based.

The strategic planning processes included the preparation of a budget for the evaluation phase of the development programme, to be approved by the shareholders. The preparation and approval of a budget provided evidence that the trustees were applying common sense to the task, and also provided an opportunity for questions to be asked regarding funds to be spent. Approval of the budget by the shareholders was evidence that care had been taken by the trustees to open up the evaluation process to shareholders at an early stage. This resulted in shareholder confidence that the outcomes of the evaluation would meet their agreed objectives. If discussion and approval of a budget by the shareholder group had not been obtained then suspicion and frustration as trustees carried out their work could have built to the point of threatening the continuation of the project. This had been the experience of the whānau in the past.

While the trustees were developing their business plan for the land, another group of shareholders was working on a social and cultural development plan. This was to be integrated with economic development so that funding requirements could be coordinated without

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detriment to either project. Social and cultural development was important to shareholders, who had indicated that economic development without an education programme for whänau would not be approved. Progress with land development would be facilitated if all shareholders could see their priorities being addressed.

The whänau's approach to Mäori land development acknowledged the risks involved and shareholders' lack of experience to undertake the development. Shareholders adopted the attitude that they would not reject any possibility out of hand, would not refuse to listen to advice because of its source, and would accept help when it was offered. They sought experienced advice from among the Päkehä business community and reached an agreement with an external advisor for continuing support for three to five years. Shareholders were clear that they required more than impartial advice, they required business leadership to fill a temporary capability deficit within their whänau.

The whänau was fortunate to attract businessmen whose experience included different forms of farming as well as other businesses, whose knowledge of local and international markets was very substantial, and who saw the invitation to participate in a feasibility study of the land as their personal contribution to a worthwhile project. On their advice the whänau began to think of some of the property as future accommodation and other non-farming possibilities. The possibility of equity partners for this type of development was raised, and accepted with the condition that the whänau would not risk alienation of the land in making its contribution to the project.

The case study records the success of the whänau in forming strategic plans and appointing people to carry on with the development of their land. It includes incidents which prior to the education programme would most likely have seen the plans discarded and the whänau scattered once again. Instead, the whänau is proceeding with its plans to gain income from the land while at the same time increasing its cultural value through the instigation of wänanga to improve shareholders' knowledge of their whakapapa and the use of te reo Maori. Shareholders believe that the new approach has been the reason for their ability to succeed in their development, after previous generations had tried and failed.

Practical Limitations To Implementing The New Approach
There may be aspects of this particular approach to organisational development which could limit its usefulness to shareholders. Some possibilities are discussed below:

Appeal to Shareholders

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Māori have been inundated with courses and programmes aimed at most of the barriers to Māori land development which have been identified. However interesting they might be at the time, courses need to be put into practice within a few months if they are to encourage the changes intended. This proposed approach is most likely to be attractive when a development is being considered, and the education programme can flow directly into the governance phase of an organisation's sequence of activities.

User Friendliness

The question arises whether the methods demonstrated during the wānanga are dependent on a skilled facilitator being available, or whether they are simple and robust enough for shareholders of Māori land to implement without assistance. Some of the analytical and consensus building techniques have been shown to have applicability in a number of every day situations, which suggests that their use in the facilitation of business hui could become familiar and remain useful. An example which provides support for the 'do it yourself' possibilities of the techniques comes from a particular wānanga where overlapping land claims were put on the agenda for discussion.

For some years there had been discussion among a dozen claimant groups regarding the unification of their claim in order to improve their position with respect to an early hearing by the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal. During the wānanga work groups had used kowhai raparapa to identify arguments both for and against the unification. The result was an appreciation that there were powerful arguments both 'for' and 'against'.

At a subsequent hui where there was no facilitator present the claimant groups took each of the arguments against unifying the claim and using their new techniques from the wānanga they were able to identify how they could resolve each of the issues to the satisfaction of all parties. The claim was unified and the claimant groups were able to advance their hearing date, with the strength of their combined research and funding to support their case.

A further example which demonstrates the utility of the research techniques in the hands of shareholders also comes from the case study and is described in Chapter Six. An elder who had always lived in close proximity to the marae had traded insults with another local family on an occasion when the whānau had gathered for a cultural hui. The disruption of the hui-a-whānau looked certain until some of those present suggested that the situation should be viewed from the perspective of the real interests of all parties involved.

Analysing the dispute as a 'difficult situation', the whänau made a judgement that there was underlying concern among the local families at what would happen as a result of the new interest in the land being shown by the whänau whanui. Would the 'newcomers' expect to build on the land, or take a senior place on the marae? How would they regard the obvious neglect and inactivity of those who had remained at home? Instead of levelling their concerns at visiting whänau the local families showed their anxiety by attacking each other.

This possibility was addressed during the evening following karakia, and assurances by the visitors regarding the need to reach agreement with the local families on any development saw the issue resolved amicably.

These examples indicate that non-numeric analytical techniques may provide opportunities to resolve a number of different organisational issues through their contribution to hui. Further research into the application of the analytical models discussed in this thesis, or alternative models which might achieve comparable results, could refine and possibly simplify the way in which such models might be utilised to facilitate hui.

The Duration Of The Shareholder Education Wänanga

The research wänanga was conducted over six days, in two hui of three days each. Without the disciplines of a research methodology the duration of a wänanga for the purpose of demonstrating the consensus building techniques of the structured discussion could be reduced to three days. There will be some shareholders who will consider that any longer training programme would not represent the best use of their time.

Some aspects of governance, such as strategic planning, often take place with the assistance of a facilitator, and a hui for this purpose is not unusual. The introduction of the consensus building techniques could take place in this context. While the techniques are not difficult, neither are they instinctive, and require demonstration before they can be used with confidence. The new approach to organisations will be most effective when a group of shareholders agree to conduct an education wänanga in order to consider an economic and social development programme.

Educational Prerequisites

The experience of the research wänanga is that whänau groups attend, with sometimes three generations from the same whänau in a work group. While some members of the group will be able to apply the methods more rapidly than others there will be a growing understanding among the whänau of the way in which the methods can be applied in order to identify values, address concerns and identify issues which are relevant to a particular discussion.

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Because the techniques are non-numerical they do not carry a 'too hard' signal which can deter some people from participating. The research wānanga were often praised by participants who suggested that they left school convinced that they were unteachable, and that they now had confidence in their ability to understand matters which they had previously considered out of their range. This reflection was often delivered with emotion.

Conclusions

Action Research Method

Action research is a method well suited to the investigation of Māori land holdings, and provides an approach to developing organisations which can produce better outcomes for shareholders. Wānanga provided an environment for the research which was familiar to participants, and generated expectations that they would be among people with whom they could safely share their personal thoughts and feelings, without fear of being criticised or intimidated.

The non-numeric analytical methods which were used by work groups to consider issues related to Māori organisations and businesses required little explanation or demonstration. The consistency of responses with respect to each of the processes described in Chapter Four and quantified in Chapter Five was very high, and suggests that the conclusions produced by participants in the wānanga were a reliable indication of opinion in relation to Māori land. Sufficient urban locations which exhibited similar results to the rural locations suggests that the responses may have relevance for other Māori organisations.

Values

The identification of traditional values and tikanga have been demonstrated to foster harmony and understanding among whānau who have been isolated from each other and who have become suspicious and distrustful over many years. The use of consensus building methods and the identification of real interests hastens mutually beneficial agreements, an outcome which could have benefits for hapū who have issues and disputes which have become intractable. The requirement that development plans receive a specific mandate to proceed from shareholders is a critical aspect of this approach, because the evidence is that shareholders may halt the progress of developments which proceed without such a mandate.

The values or cultural imperatives which were surveyed did not purport to represent the most important values or imperatives within tikanga Māori. Concepts were assembled from a variety

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of sources and language applicable to organisations was chosen, although the statements often reflect the language used by authors who had written about Māori values and tikanga. The importance of the eleven values and tikanga statements lies in their acceptance by all research wānanga as reflecting the understanding of participants. Their wide acceptance as useful statements supports their validity.

Consensus Building Hui

Participants' analysis of Māori organisations from different perspectives showed that the way organisations conducted their affairs was generally not in alignment with Māori values and cultural imperatives. Serious concerns were also revealed about the degree to which shareholders and stakeholders in Māori organisations were kept informed about their organisations. Participants indicated dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunities to participate in decisions affecting the development of their organisations.

Chapter Two describes Māori culture as it was prior to settlement by Europeans, and Chapter Three indicates how events since the mid eighteenth century have destroyed much of the structure of the old culture and replaced it with Pākehā social institutions and policies which Māori find unjust and oppressive. Attempts to assimilate Pākehā decision making processes into Māori organisations have not been successful, particularly with respect to rural Māori land trusts. The research findings support the view that neither the Pākehā meeting structure nor the format of the traditional hui produce outcomes which shareholders and stakeholders find satisfactory.

An approach is proposed which seeks to reinstate the hui as an important forum in Māori organisations, but in a modified form to include processes which allow shareholders to be well informed and able to participate in important decisions. The case study supports the research findings in suggesting that the introduction of a structured discussion based on consensus building analytical methods to deal with the business issues of a Māori organisation will be successful. This success rests on the usefulness of the methods in enabling shareholders to build consensus by identifying their real interests and prioritising issues of concern.

Removing The Barriers

Māori land has numerous barriers to development, and among the most important is the distrust and dissatisfaction which shareholders have for each other. For any organisation this is a huge barrier to success, and in the case of Māori organisations has contributed to a lack of economic development. Other barriers relate to the complexity of multiple ownership, the relatively small size of land blocks, and their mainly marginal quality.

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A lack of management skills and experience in developing successful businesses is also a barrier to developing Māori land. The quality of the statements of objectives which result from a hui will depend on the capabilities of those attending. Reaching agreement on common objectives in respect to any issue is not a guarantee that the most effective outcomes will result. The disciplines of action planning, budgeting, investment analysis and other aspects which may require the advice of experts are all required in order to produce a realistic strategic plan.

The barriers to development are inter-locking; the presence of some barriers, such as shareholder distrust and dissatisfaction with each other and with the organisation, contribute directly to the presence of other barriers, such as poor leadership and poor management skills. These factors contribute directly to the difficulty Māori land trusts have experienced in gaining development funding.

Addressing any one of the barriers on its own is not likely to be successful, because of the nature and impact of the other barriers to development. A critical mass of barriers needs to be addressed at the same time so that the remaining barriers become less important and easier to overcome at a later time. Logically, the first group of barriers to address relates to relationships among shareholders, and the governance and decision making procedures which bear directly on those relationships.

The new approach addresses both of these issues through the reinstatement of collective decision making, which allows deeply held values and tikanga to influence the way an organisation is governed and managed. Key to this approach is the education of shareholders in the language and concepts of organisations and business, and in the methods of non-numeric consensus-building methods. While there may be some reluctance among shareholders to commit the time required to attend a wānanga where these techniques can be demonstrated and used, those who have become familiar with the techniques have shown that they are robust and effective.

The conclusion of this thesis is that an approach which is aligned with traditional Māori values and tikanga, and which supports hui as important to organisational development, offers realistic opportunities for consensus around land utilisation and development. This approach includes a number of non-numeric analytical methods which can be readily taught and applied systematically to facilitate collective decision making.

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Statements of Values and Cultural Imperatives with Contributing Behaviours

1. **Tikanga**
   The custom <u>lore</u> of tikanga is of fundamental importance and provides the basis of all important decisions and personal lifestyle choices. It remains valuable as a guiding principle and a source of wisdom.

1. The principles of tikanga and the rules of kawa are all the law that Maori need and should be required to observe.

8. Tradition is intended to guide, not bind. Decision making must be based on the practical needs of survival.

10. Maori be ready to adopt new ways, so long as it does not diminish the fundamental principles of Maoritanga.

23. The law of the Pakeha has taken the place of tikanga and kawa for all practical purposes.

27. Rules are rules, kawa is kawa, and we must stick to what has been handed down without deviating.

29. The old ideas of culture and Maoritanga are of limited value in the new global society, where we must compete with everyone else in the business world.

59. Maori organisations must give precedence to the law of the land rather than tikanga.

2. **Mana**
   A person should gain authority through displaying the qualities of a rangatira including integrity, generosity, bravery, humility, respect, commitment to the community, using facts and honest information as well as legends and stories to make a case, relay a message or explain things in a way which binds people together, facilitating rather than commanding.

4. A person should gain authority through showing integrity, generosity, bravery, humility, respect, commitment to the community, and oratory skills.

6. The ability to recall stories and legends in order to make a case, relay a message or explain the nature of the world is an essential skill for a leader.

11. The most important leadership skill is the ability to bind people together in harmony.

19. The role of managers in Maori businesses is to facilitate the activities of the workforce, rather than deciding what everyone should be doing at anytime.

24. A person's identity and status depends on what job she/he has and how successful she/he is at it

26. Getting your facts right and presenting them logically is the basic leadership skill.

36. Negotiation skills are important so that we are able to hold our position and win the things we believe are to our best advantage.

3. **Whakapapa**
   A common ancestry provides a platform for celebrating jointly held property, shared sites, common histories, and similar understandings of the material world.

3. It is vital to relate to your whakapapa which means that you are connected to all Maori through some kinship link.

7. Everything comes from our ancestors — land rights, status, authority, knowledge, ability, courage. We reflect our ancestry.

15. The marae is the "first home" of every Maori and should be cherished even above the family home.

18. It is important that all members of a Hapu have some knowledge of its uniqueness through korero, waiata, reo, kaitiaki.

34. Ownership of Maori businesses should be defined by shareholding, and only the shareholders have rights which should be considered.

4. **Wairuatanga**
   The spiritual world is an important part of reality which is integral to day to day activities and necessary for successful endeavours.

9. The spiritual world is an important part of reality which must be accommodated on a day to day basis.

28. The spiritual world has its place, but business has its own rules which must be followed to the exclusion of other considerations if it to succeed.

5. **Kaumatuatanga**
   Kaumatua play a crucial role in keeping families and the community together, and offer both guidance and advice, though the role has become more difficult as people look to Kaumatua for guidance in the world of business as well as in their traditional leadership role.

12. Rangatira and Kaumatua continue to play a crucial role in keeping families and the community together.

17. These days Kaumatua must know as much about business as they do about traditional knowledge.

2

31.   Kaumatua are now only responsible for the paepae and not for advising whanau about social matters.

6.   **Utu**
      Maintaining balance and harmony through "give and take", reciprocal obligations, honesty in all things, the punishment of wrong doing and the exchange of gifts are still essential practises which increase the welfare of the community and balance other economic interests.

5.   Maintaining balance and harmony through 'give and take', reciprocal obligations, the punishment of wrong doing, the exchange of gifts, are still essential practices.

22.   Maori organisations should conduct business with non-Maori businesses only when there is   no Maori business available.

43.   Any information put out by a Maori organisation / business for the purposes of advertising   or publicity should be strictly accurate and avoid overstatement.

57.   It is fair enough for Maori organisations/businesses to get together to limit the entry of non-   Maori competitors.

58.   Most of the money earned by Maori organisations/businesses must be allocated to owners rather than accumulated by the organisation.

7.   **Kaitiakitanga**
      People who work in Maori owned businesses should acknowledge the mauri of the resources they work with, preferring the best materials and practices rather than the cheapest, ensuring safety at all stages of production, pursuing quality even over price.

20.   People who work in Maori owned businesses should acknowledge the mauri of the resources they work with.

40.   Care must be taken in these days of the free market to use the cheapest materials and processes that will do the job.

45.   Maori organisations/businesses producing goods or providing services must ensure that the products or services are safe for those receiving them

46.   The impression a product or service makes is more important than its quality.

52.   Employees of Maori organisations/businesses must have the same right as anyone else to   organise as a Union.

60.   Maori organisations/businesses must pay special attention to the environmental effects of their activities even if it costs more

8. Whakawhanaungatanga
Family bonds take priority over all other considerations in deciding who to employ or what action to take, ensuring the continuity of employment and providing opportunities for career development.

2. Family bonds should be given priority over all other considerations in deciding what action to take.

21. Maori businesses should train future employees on the "apprentice" system so that its staff come from within the whanau/hapu

25. Everyone must operate as an individual these days. Relationships outside your close family are not relevant.

30. These days every person must set their own goals and standards, and then go all out to be personally successful.

41. If it is less costly to hire trained people from outside than to train local people then hiring is the only option a Maori business should consider.

54. Managers of Maori organisations/businesses have a responsibility to ensure the continuity of employment, and to provide opportunities for career development.

9. Manaakitanga
A Maori owned business supports the social objectives of the Maori community through contribution of money, people and facilities, treating its employees as well as any partners or competitors fairly and generously in all respects.

16. A Maori owned business should support the social objectives of the Maori community through contribution of money, people and facilities.

37. Maori owned businesses should focus on making money rather than on the life of the community.

38. Employees of Maori owned businesses should expect no "special" days off for cultural or family purposes.

50. Privacy relating to personal information is a right of all employees of Maori organisations/businesses.

42. Managers are there to make sure that everyone knows what they are meant to be doing, and that they do it correctly.

49. Employees of Maori organisations/businesses should be paid a rate for their work comparable to other employees.

55. Employees of Maori organisations have a right to be trained so that they are able to make a greater contribution.

33. Doing things for the good of the community is all very well, but nothing is as important as having money in the bank.

47. The prices charged by Maori organisations/businesses for products and services must allow a fair margin but must not be the highest the market will stand.

10. Whakarite Mana
A contract is a statement of intention to form a lasting relationship and the elements of the contract should be open to review as circumstances change. The objective is to provide long term satisfaction for both parties rather than relying on "the letter of the law" to cement understanding.

13. A contract is a statement of an intention to form a long lasting relationship, and the elements of the contract should be open to review as circumstances change.

32. When people enter into a legal agreement such as a contract they should be prepared to carry it out to the letter, regardless of the circumstances.

48. In dealing with customers or stakeholders Maori organisations/businesses must aim to provide   long term satisfaction for both parties .

56. Maori organisations/businesses must observe the rules of fair play in relations with competitors, whether Maori or not

11. Hui
Full and active participation in decision making is important.

14. Everything which affects the community should be discussed at as many meetings as is necessary to reach a consensus.

35. Decisions should be made by duly elected community representatives in order to avoid wasting time on side issues and in repetition.

39. If people want to know what is going on they should attend meetings or go on the committees which make the decisions.

44. Any information to which people with an interest in a Maori organisation/business are entitled must be honest and should be available as soon as possible in a readily accessible   format.

51. Everyone working in a Maori organisational business must be able to participate in important decisions which will affect them.

53. Policies for hiring and firing employees of Maori organisations/businesses must be agreed by everyone, not just management.

Survey of Values

Each of the statements below captures a value held by a section of society. Some of the statements relate to Maori values and some are more widely held. None of the statements is presented as "right" and there is no particular pattern of responses which is better or worse than any other.

There are 60 statements, and while many of them involve very important issues it is your reaction to them rather than your deeply considered opinion which is most relevant to this survey. Your score should be based on how you feel about each statement. You will have the opportunity to discuss the combined results of the survey as a group, and comment on what statements are most important.

Thank you for participating. The survey should take no more than one hour to complete. The information you provide is essential to the work you will be doing during the rest of the hui.

Please place the number which represents your opinion in the box alongside the statement. Score as follows:
1 = strongly agree; 2 = mostly agree; 3 = mostly disagree; 4 strongly disagree

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1. The principles of tikanga and the rules of kawa are all the law that Maori need and should be required to observe. ☐

2. Family bonds should be given priority over all other considerations in deciding what action to take. ☐

3. It is vital to relate to your whakapapa which means that you are connected to all Maori through some kinship link. ☐

4. A person should gain authority through showing integrity, generosity, bravery, humility, respect, commitment to the community, and oratory skills. ☐

5. Maintaining balance and harmony through 'give and take', reciprocal obligations, the punishment of wrong doing, the exchange of gifts, are still essential practices. ☐

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7. Everything comes from our ancestors — land rights, status, authority, knowledge, ability, courage. We reflect our ancestry. ☐

8. Tradition is intended to guide, not bind. Decision making must be based on the practical needs of survival. ☐

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10. Maori be ready to adopt new ways, so long as it does not diminish the fundamental principles of Maoritanga. ☐

11. The most important leadership skill is the ability to bind people together in harmony. ☐

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18. It is important that all members of a Hapu have some knowledge of its uniqueness through korero, waiata, reo, kaitiaki.

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40. Care must be taken in these days of the free market to use the cheapest materials and processes that will do the job. ☐

41. If it is less costly to hire trained people from outside than to train local people then hiring is the only option a Maori business should consider. ☐

42. Managers are there to make sure that everyone knows what they are meant to be doing, and that they do it correctly. ☐

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Appendix 3

Situation Analysis Symptoms

Symptom

1. The demand for our products and services has strong ups and downs.
2. The size of our market is not growing.
3. Changes happening outside our company pose a serious threat to us.
4. Our industry is not growing.
5. Our parent company does not understand and/or manage our organisation well.
6. There are no significant barriers to entering our industry.
7. Creativity is not encouraged.
8. Key managers are not willing to support change.
9. When employees disagree with a boss they may be penalised.
10. Backstabbing.
11. Our managers and employees are not highly committed to the success of the business.
12. We are reactive rather than proactive.
13. Our organisation is not characterised by good team work.
14. Mutual respect among the people in our company is too low.
15. Too many managers, not enough action.
16. We do not adapt to changing situations.
17. We accept mediocrity.
18. We do not readily accept new ideas and methods.
19. We reward getting along more than producing results.
20. Departmental or divisional parochialism.
21. We are not optimistic.
22. Too much focus on past results.
23. Not enough of our people have the courage to follow their convictions.
24. We spend too much time fighting one another.
25. We are driven more by the past than by the future.
26. We don't challenge our people.
27. Key people have difficulty engaging in productive conflict.
28. Most of our people are not stretching to do their best.
29. Backbiting.
30. We don't stretch ourselves to achieve goals.
31. Too much we-they.
32. Risk taking is not encouraged.
33. Too many excuses.
34. key executives don't sufficiently respect one another.
35. Too much unproductive conflict.
36. Insufficient teamwork in top management.
37. We have too much fire fighting.
38. Too many administrators, not enough producers.
39. We are short-term oriented.
40. Too many rules.
41. Changes and improvements are not implemented swiftly and productively.
42. The people who lead around here rarely ask for constructive criticism to improve their leadership.
43. We don't discuss the difficult issues.
44. Too many scapegoats.
45. We are not results oriented.
46. People are not encouraged to try new things, even if they make mistakes.
47. Internal problems are not resolved in a frank and open manner.
48. Some problems remain unsolved because we are "too nice" to address them directly
49. Sound reasoning is not rewarded if it leads to unpopular decisions.
50. We are doing too many different things.
51. Our long range plan is not well coordinated with annual plans and budgets.
52. We set goals we cant achieve.
53. Key managers do not agree that we are heading in the right direction.
54. Everything is a priority.

55. Our company is not actively led; it is just managed.
56. We do not properly balance growth and profit goals.
57. Major decisions are not guided by a formal decision process.
58. We are involved in a business we know too little about.
59. Goals are unclear.
60. We have not made maximum use of patents, copyrights, trademark protection and non-compete agreements to protect our business.
61. We do not balance long-term and short-term goals and plans.
62. We don't have strong outside advisors/board members to help us gain perspective and give expert input as needed.
63. Growth rather than profit oriented.
64. We do not have a clearly defined long-range plan.
65. We don't have a competitive edge which clearly distinguishes us from our competitors.
66. We don't have an emergency plan for fire, flood, quake etc, which covers prevention, damage control, record preservation and emergency operations.
67. We do not have good downward communication of goals, directions, decisions and/or plans.
68. Acquisitions and divestments are made with inadequate strategic, market, financial and personnel analysis.
69. The chief executive has too little contact with employees, suppliers and customers.
70. We don't identify significant external trends soon enough.
71. We do not balance individual and company goals.
72. Our corporate growth and development plans are not well understood or accepted.
73. Management is not in control of the organisation.
74. The direction of our organisation is not exciting or meaningful to some key people.
75. We do not focus our resources (people, time, money and equipment) to produce the best results.
76. Top management is split on where to go and what risks to take.
77. We do not regularly assess and redefine our purpose and direction.
78. Our chief executive does not lead by example and/or does not actively promote our mission and philosophy.
79. Decision making is not delegated.
80. We are very dependent for our success on one or two key employees.
81. People are not held accountable for their actions and performance.
82. Top management too ambiguous on what it wants from subordinates.
83. Individual responsibilities for monitoring and achieving all our objectives are not clearly defined.
84. We do not have the right balance of centralisation and decentralisation.
85. Other points of view are not always considered before a decision is made.
86. Jobs are not clearly defined.
87. We have too many layers of management top to bottom.
88. People are not given authority consistent with their responsibility.
89. Organised around people, not functions.
90. One person show.
91. There is a poor balance between different parts of our business (e.g. technical vs marketing; sales vs. production).
92. Organisational structure is not right for our mission.
93. We get too much unnecessary information.
94. We do not regularly create new products, businesses and/or profit centres.
95. Too many unproductive meetings.
96. We do not fully support our people to achieve the goals we set.
97. We don't have effective and audited controls over cash, materials, equipment and records.
98. We do not have good upward communication of ideas, suggestions or concerns.
99. We have low participation in meetings.
100. We rarely find out how satisfied our employees are and take appropriate action.
101. Management information is not accurate and/or timely.
102. Our management information does not help us to decide what to do.
103. We do not get enough information to make decisions.
104. We do not have annual budgets which we believe.
105. Too much management by committee.
106. All ideas must come from the top.
107. We do not regularly improve the way we do things.

108. We rarely measure and report on all key result area, even the ones which are hard to measure such as customer service.
109. Our departments show little innovation.
110. When results don't meet plans we do not necessarily take corrective action.
111. People leave management meetings not knowing what decisions were made.
112. We don't have a systematic way to stimulate, screen and sanction employee innovations to such areas as cost, quality and service.
113. We do not have good lateral communication (between departments and divisions).
114. Employees are not encouraged to voice problems, concerns and opinions.
115. We do not have a good, systematic way to identify and solve problems at all levels of the organisation.
116. We do not regularly measure actual versus planned performance.
117. Incentives do not encourage people to do what is important.
118. We do not acknowledge our people's achievements in a timely and public way.
119. Our pay, benefit and incentive systems do not motivate our people and help us retain the best.
120. incentives are not in sync with company goals.
121. The receptionist is not trained in understanding customer needs and providing service.
122. We don't have clear definitions of customer defined quality ad service.
123. We are slow to respond to market needs.
124. Outdated products or programmes.
125. We have too many products, services or outlets.
126. We do not have a good flow of new ideas for improving our products and services.
127. We rely on a few key customers.
128. We are not satisfied with our corporate image and identity.
129. We are not correctly positioned in our market.
130. We do not regularly identify unprofitable products, services and outlets and take appropriate action.
131. Our sales people do not have adequate incentives to sell more.
132. Our product line is too narrow.
133. Our sales force does not actively seek and bring in desirable new accounts.
134. Our employees do not know how their performance affects quality and customer service.
135. Inadequate customer service orientation.
136. We are operations/production rather than market oriented.
137. We do not understand our competitors, their strategies, strengths, weaknesses or relation to us.
138. We have a poorly understood and accepted penetration plan.
139. We rarely update how we segment our markets.
140. Our prices are too high.
141. We don't have an effective way to set prices.
142. Our prices are wrong for our markets.
143. We do not have a well trained sales force.
144. Our means of distribution are not satisfactory.
145. We don't worry enough about our competition.
146. We do not understand our customers or markets well.
147. We do not regularly assess opportunities and threats in our markets.
148. We rarely gather competitive intelligence and make use of it.
149. We don't solicit our customers for feedback and ideas on how to improve.
150. Sales quotas are not well understood and accepted.
151. We do not have good sales and support materials.
152. We do not have an active and productive sales force.
153. The sales effort is not actively and/or effectively managed.
154. We do not adequately promote our business, products/services.
155. We have inadequate office automation and equipment.
156. All subcontractor relationships are not designed to avoid a tax liability to the business.
157. Inventory is not maintained at proper levels.
158. We have inadequate inventory controls.
159. we do not have modern, up-to-date equipment.
160. Our suppliers don't always give us what we need when we need it.
161. We do not have good security for our people, plant, equipment and/or products.
162. The loss of a key supplier would hurt us.
163. Outdated technology.

164. Our margins are often eroded by changes and delays to orders.
165. We do not make adequate investments in R & D.
166. We do not have adequate safety and accident protection, training programmes and/or policies.
167. We rarely know our usable inventory at the end of each month.
168. Too many systems.
169. Growing too fast for our facility.
170. We have too many losses of product, equipment or materials.
171. We don't have the computer hardware and software needed to run the organisation well.
172. Our office procedures are not effective and/or efficient.
173. We do not have good preventive maintenance.
174. We waste materials in our manufacturing process.
175. Inadequate quality control.
176. Systems started but we don't follow them.
177. We don't have policies and procedures which help everyone accomplish their objectives.
178. We don't follow systems and policies.
179. We do not have adequate facilities.
180. Our work flow is inefficient.
181. We accept poor quality.
182. I have suspicions about employee theft.
183. We do not regularly invest in projects with long-term benefits to the company.
184. Our people are not well matched to their jobs.
185. We throw people at jobs without proper introduction/training.
186. We have unsatisfactory employees who we carry because we are unwilling or unable to address their firing.
187. Inadequate salary administration.
188. We do not have the needed management and supervisory skills in all positions.
189. We are not prepared to remove and replace people when it is necessary.
190. We are growing too fast for the quality of management we have.
191. We hire tomorrow those needed yesterday.
192. We have inadequate training for supervisors and managers.
193. We do not have a good new employee orientation programme.
194. Our personnel forms, procedures and handbooks have not been checked for compliance with applicable personnel laws.
195. We have unrealistic standards for reward and/or punishment.
196. Performance reviews do not help our people do a better job.
197. We do not regularly evaluate the performance of our people.
198. Our people do not identified career paths.
199. Not all employees have opportunities to develop their skills and abilities.
200. We do not have a plan for developing our next generation of managers.
201. We are not good at selecting and hiring the right people.
202. Job openings are not posted internally before they are advertised.
203. We don't have programmes to reduce Accident Compensation claims.
204. Management is spread too thin.
205. We do not have a strong, complementary management team.
206. There are no negative consequences for poor performance.
207. Employees are spread too thin.
208. Too much deadwood.
209. We are not in compliance with all relevant statutes and regulations.
210. We have an unhealthy debt to equity ratio.
211. We have inadequate sources of capital.
212. We do not regularly review and control the aging of our accounts receivable.
213. We do not have a competent and proactive outsider critique our financial reports and check for errors, cover-ups and embezzlements.
214. We have inadequate access to cash and credit for both normal needs and emergencies.
215. We don't monitor and control critical cost areas.
216. We are not current in all principal and interest payments and all tax payments.
217. Monthly financial reports don't include: income statement, balance sheet and Payables and Receivables aging.
218. Our billing procedures are inadequate.
219. We do not have accurate cash flow projections.
220. Expenses are not under control.

221. Our employees do not know how their performance affects costs.
222. We don't have corporate meetings and minutes to satisfy legal requirements.
223. We are not in compliance with all provisions of our loan agreements and contracts.
224. Our accounting procedures are inflexible.
225. Monthly financial reports are not accurate and complete the 7th day after the month closes.
226. We have an inadequate cash management system.
227. We have inadequate credit policies and controls.
228. We do not keep track of bills and pay them on time.
229. We are losing profitability.
230. We regularly shoot ourselves in the foot.
231. Top management morale is low.
232. We are not growing faster than our competitors.
233. Our employees and managers are not all healthy, well and accident free.
234. Overtime occurs too often.
235. Low productivity.
236. Our community is not always pleased with our business.
237. Inventory turns have not improved over the last few years.
238. Our performance is not predictable.
239. Key people often work nights and weekends.
240. Middle management morale is low.
241. Absenteeism and sick time is too high.
242. Important things fall through the cracks.
243. Too many projects started that fail.
244. Our most difficult customers are often dissatisfied.
245. Insufficient cash.
246. We don't have a healthy gross margin that is stable or increasing year to year.
247. We are cash heavy.
248. The owners of our business are not satisfied.
249. High turnover of employees.
250. Our products/services don't always meet our customer's needs.
251. We generally don't meet or exceed our goals.
252. Our competitors are gaining sales faster than we are.
253. Too much employee burnout.
254. We are losing market share.
255. Our market share is unsatisfactory.
256. Too many customer complaints.
257. High turnover of managers.
258. Low morale among our people
259. We are not sufficiently profitable to support investment in our future.
260. People are suffering too much stress.
261. Our organisation is not under control so we are often surprised by its performance.
262. We are not growing.
263. We are not adequately capitalising on our competitive advantage.
264. Our business is not performing at the industry's standards.