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**MĀORI ORGANISATION
AND
CONTEMPORARY MĀORI DEVELOPMENT**

Strengthening the Conceptual Plait

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Abstract

This thesis is primarily a study of organisational approaches used by Māori to achieve their development goals and aspirations. One focus is the impact of development ideas and practices, largely driven by international and national influence, upon Māori. Another focus is the role of the state in the direction and implementation of Māori development with particular emphasis on the impact of the structural adjustment programme. As a consequence, the relationships between Māori and the state, Māori and Māori, and Māori with others are critically examined.

The thesis canvasses a number of disciplines including Māori history, ecology, sociology, anthropology, environmental studies, management, and development studies. Engaging with this broad spectrum of ideas and actions and using literature based, empirical and participatory research tools, three themes are explored. They are:

- (i) The theme of 'development' which examines international and national perspectives of development in order to identify the merits of shifting the praxis of Māori development;
- (ii) The theme of 'organisation' which explores local and wider perspectives of organisational theory and practice in order to identify the implications for Māori organisations;

(iii) The theme of 'relationship' which investigates a wide range of perspectives about the dynamic relationships between Māori themselves and with others, and the opportunities to reaffirm and build new relationships.

The thesis concludes with an analysis of current thought and action before presenting five major conclusions. In essence and simply stated, if Māori self-determination is the destination then the journey is best guided by a Māori centred approach to development and organisational arrangements that are cognisant of the contemporary circumstances, in particular the relationship dynamics, that challenge Māori and the life choices they make.

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After studying part time for five years, I can only conclude that those around me must have scratched their heads at my often distant and deep thoughts (not always transparent) that have distracted my attention from other things, like mowing the lawns. But as always when all best plans are laid down you can count on a higher order to intervene. In this case, the arrival of a baby daughter, Atarea Nisga'a Hine-Porutu, who decided that the male element in the household should be reminded about the wonders of life and the gifts it brings without concern for doctoral studies or such like. To my new director of life studies, her mother and sister, two brothers, her sister-in-law and two nephews, thank you.

There are many people whom I wish to acknowledge however, the mention of names raises the possibility for personalisation and distraction from the purpose of the thesis. More important, many participants contributed with the understanding that no references would be made to them directly. While I cannot mention them all, I can sincerely thank them for their candid and often provocative views. Without the fullness of their perspectives the analysis would have been less robust and rounded.

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Since 1982, I have been involved with tribal development. With guidance from various quarters, my immediate future was somewhat designed though not without some rough patches. Indeed, bearing witness to the shifts in tribal attitudes and behaviours has sharpened my intuition and skills. Along the way, education, employment and training, social services, youth support, land claims and marae development were key areas of interest.

In 1992, I became directly involved with Maori development as a public servant whilst still participating with a number of tribal and non-tribal groups and activities. My interests extended to tribal strategy and management, Maori land and economic development, and hapu capacity building. To the people who have contributed positively to my personal development - thank you. Moreover, the completion of this thesis is about fulfilling an obligation to a number of tribal elders and mentors, many of whom have passed on while the wisdom that comes with age descends on others. For reasons that only they will understand I thank them all for their patience and persistence, and look forward to supporting future endeavours.

He kaupapa kotahi he ara whakamua

A shared vision is a pathway forward

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Introduction

E te pataka kei whea tō tatau kia taea ngā kai o tōu puku ?¹

This thesis is about Māori organisation in contemporary Māori development. This study is not a history about Māori organisation or Māori development; instead, it is about the contemporary circumstances of Māori and the organisations they operate in order to achieve their development goals and aspirations. However, references will be made to the historical relationships between Māori and the Crown, given that the Māori-Crown partnership has implications for Māori development. Nonetheless, a more important concern is the future relationships between Māori and their choice of organisations. Māori organisations are entrusted with development goals and aspirations of Māori communities. In response to change, minor adjustments if not major reforms have occurred. As Māori communities and associated organisations continually adjust to external influences, Māori development ideas and practices, and organisational approaches are being reexamined.

An important dynamic is the changing patterns of relationships between Māori and the State, Māori and Māori, and Māori and others. The problematic is found in the dilemmas confronted by Māori organisations when responding to the expectations of the State, Māori and others.

This is often illustrated by differing views about how Māori communities should organise themselves to achieve their development goals and aspirations. A key question is how do Māori communities look after and progress what is important to them when changes occur, albeit external or otherwise?

A critical issue is that development expectations of Māori communities are not always clear, nor is it always possible for Māori organisations to respond appropriately in every case. Likewise, various organisational models and practices may not always meet the expectations of all Māori, the State and others.

Indeed, Māori are seeking to be clearer about Māori development ideas, practices and goals. Equally, Māori are examining the current organisational approaches being adopted to achieve this. The key question here is what development ideas and practices, and organisational approaches will respond to the changing patterns of relationships between Māori and Māori, Māori and the State, and Māori and others?

Drawing on these elements the thesis presents an analysis of Māori organisational approaches in contemporary Māori development. The study cannot be readily located in one discipline or the other and may seem awkwardly placed. Yet, it contributes to both development and organisational theory and practice but it is also grounded in the body of knowledge derived from Māori values, philosophies, and aspirations. It

¹ This Whanganui tribal statement seeks the doorway to the storehouse of knowledge in order to access what is inside. What follows in the introduction is an explanation about the doorway to the thesis.

draws on Māori knowledge and perspectives with a genuine regard for systems of knowledge and research procedures that offset the state of working relationships, inter-personal dynamics and political temperament of individual Māori and Māori collectives. It calls for an acknowledgement of the various perspectives that are shared by individual Māori and their preferred Māori collectives. In other words, Māori knowledge and understanding are important features of the study.

The study can be described in two parts. Chapters 1-4 explore the dimensions of development and organisational theory and practice with a commentary about international, national and Māori perspectives. Western worldviews are treated as a potential complement to Māori points of view though the study treads cautiously here. Seemingly, Māori initiatives, which appear contradictory to democratic principles and understanding or contrary to tikanga Māori, tend to accentuate the tension between pragmatism and idealism. Consequently, a Māori centred approach to development is offered to better understand these circumstances.

Chapters 5-8 focus on situations confronted by Māori organisations that are involved in Māori development. International perspectives about the theory of organisation contribute to a framework for understanding the nature of Māori organisations. Thereafter, the contexts and circumstances of various Māori organisations, including Trusts set up by Māori, Trust Boards and Māori claimant organisations are examined. The contemporary features of Māori organisations are highlighted through examples

of tribal and non-tribal Māori institutions, Māori organisational culture and Māori developmental capacity.

In this thesis, the links between organisation, development theory and practice, and Māori cultural principles is found in Māori endeavour. Rather than a complete separation of the disciplines, a connection is made between development outcomes and the organisational arrangements most likely to advance them. Although Western worldviews have been used in this study to critically examine Māori perspectives, a framework for development and organisation comes as much from Māori initiative that in turn has its origins in Māori conventions and philosophy. If culture and greater autonomy are central to successful development² then tribal and non-tribal Māori will themselves guide the process and outcomes for Māori development and the choice of organisations for this purpose. Democratic principles are significant in alternative development ideas and practices but they should not detract from the importance of quality principles being derived from the ideas and practices of Māori communities, their institutions, values and ideologies. While Māori, like other indigenous peoples, are not completely satisfied that western models of development will achieve their goals and aspirations there is nonetheless a healthy curiosity for international knowledge and understanding about development and organisation.

² See 'Nation-Building: Creating a Place for Business' in *Reinvestment: Community Affairs Department*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Winter 1997. See also Hassan Zaoual, (1997), 'The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa', in Majid Rahnema; Victoria Bawtree, (eds.), (1997), *The Post-Development Reader*, Zed Books, London, pp. 30-39.

The Indigenous Experience

Although peoples who identify as indigenous are located throughout the world, and represent diverse cultures and ethnicities, they share a sense of priority in time. They recognise inter-generational obligations to transfer cultural responsibilities, knowledge and understandings. And, they have experiences of being conquered or marginalised, or dispossessed or excluded or discriminated against by a dominant society.³

Many of the theories about indigenous disadvantage and under-development⁴ are founded on worldviews that are generated by observers and external experts. While theoretical models can be produced, the worldviews of indigenous peoples are not unconditionally accessible to the uninitiated.

With consent, the researcher may access customs, beliefs, institutions and people dynamics grounded in a sense of belonging and interconnected relationships. They represent an accumulation and sharing of knowledge and understanding acquired through insights, learning and endeavour. It can be explained as a process of cultural evolution.⁵

³ Paul Havemann, (ed.), (1999), *Indigenous Peoples Rights in Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 1.

⁴ See Ministry of Maori Development (1997) *Maori Economic Development - Identifying Causes of Disadvantage and Strategies for Accelerating Maori Economic Development - Draft Only*, Wellington, pp. 18-19.

⁵ Linda Clarkson, Vern Morrisette and Gabriel Regallet, (1997), 'Our Responsibility to the Seventh Generation', in Majid Rahnema ; Victoria Bawtree, (eds.), (1997), *The Post-Development Reader*, Zed Books, London, pp. 40-50.

With insights about the Ojibway people and the similarities to the creation story of other indigenous peoples, Clarkson, Morrisette and Regallet (1997) illustrate this when they point out that social interaction and experience provide a contextual framework for passing knowledge and understanding from one generation to another. Attitudes toward life and death, the inter-relationships of all-living things, and social responsibility are reflected in the institutions and systems of indigenous peoples.

Zaoual (1997), an economist, provides another example based on studies in Africa. He argues that contrary to the Western model or way of seeing things, the paradigm that emerges from the cosmogonies of the African site would seem to be characterised more by relations between human beings than by utilitarian, individual, economic functions. His work suggests that the economy is not primarily an economic problem but a cultural one.⁶

Consequently, development is considered to have a culture that is not readily transferable to other cultural groups. In his own words;

The utilitarian and productivist paradigm of development is like a telescope through which the West sees only itself, when it thinks it sees the Third World. It cannot do otherwise because it is an instrument made to measure itself and no one else. Inevitably there is confusion because it is an instrument made to measure itself and no one else.⁷

⁶ Hassan Zaoual, (1997), 'The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa', in Majid Rahnema; Victoria Bawtree, (eds.), (1997), *The Post-Development Reader*, Zed Books, London, pp. 30-39.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 38.

Through his work, Zaoual (1997) refers to the importance of understanding the culture of the indigenous community and the implications that a culture of development may have upon them. What is significant here is that Zaoual's research is focused on the unsaid aspects of a culture, the ways of thinking that belong to a culture and the ways of behaving within a culture.⁸ The approach challenges Western standards that relegate indigenous worldviews to romantic acknowledgements of a bygone age.

Indigenous development reflects a growing trend, driven by indigenous peoples, to critically examine western-based development paradigms and reaffirm the value of indigenous ideas and practices. In practice it means that western concepts and methods are not relied on but are considered, at best, alongside the knowledge and understandings of indigenous communities.

Brohman (1996) refers to this as the indigenisation of development.⁹ He states that indigenisation rejects any attempt to organise people according to ethnocentric 'universal' models and prescribed standards. Instead, openness to difference is encouraged as a basis for learning about other peoples and their cultures. The purpose is to better understand local knowledge and cultural practices as a basis for redefining development approaches. Furthermore, it also provides a basis for critical analysis of western-based development views for indigenous peoples.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 30-39.

Nonetheless, indigenous communities are mindful of the consequences when sharing their worldviews with people who may not respect the underlying cultural responsibilities. The general pattern in the western world has been to eventually disconnect the relationship between knowledge and understanding, and cultural responsibilities. The result is usually the reconstitution of indigenous knowledge and understanding to western standards and intentions.

In comparison, indigenisation acknowledges the role of so-called traditional social relations, values and structures. Rather than being sidelined, indigenous institutions and practices are re examined for opportunities to align development initiatives to the contexts and circumstances of the group.

The 'outsider' professional may be uncomfortable with development and organisational ideas and practices that may appear to be, at least on the surface, contradictory. The comfort zone is stretched even further when the systems of knowledge and research techniques differ from accepted scientific method.¹⁰

Perhaps the most profound insight to indigenisation is the clear intention of all indigenous peoples to achieve greater levels of autonomy. While the substance and form are not always visible to external parties there is nonetheless a shift in thinking and practice. This is illustrated by movement away from an unquestioning acceptance

⁹ John Brohman, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, p. 337.

of western influence toward a shift in the balance of power and control. In reality, it would mean adjustments to the relationships shared by national institutions of wider society with indigenous peoples so that indigenous government, indigenous corporate institutions and other organisations may emerge.

Research by Cornell and Kalt (1990), for instance, compared development paths among several Native American tribes and found that the greatest benefits come from tribal control of the development process.¹¹ Similarly, from research studies of development and technology transfer projects for African communities, Zaoual (1997) concluded that western-based processes may unwittingly marginalise the systems and processes of the indigenous group. In Hassan Zaoual's words;

It has always been important for Western science to look at things from the outside, even if it is an empty shell when seen from the inside. This is the limitation of the science of economics, which refuses to take into account the subjectivity of the people under scrutiny. It is the same analytical rigidity that is found in those approaches to informal dynamics that are triggered by the interactions between transposed development and African sites.¹²

Writers such as Cornell and Kalt (1990; 1995) and Zaoual (1997) imply that successful indigenous development is influenced by the relationship dynamics between external stakeholders and indigenous communities. Implicitly, indigenous peoples expect control of the development process. For this to happen, the re-

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 339.

¹¹ Comment on Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt's research in Ministry of Maori Development, (1997), *Maori Economic Development - Identifying Causes of Disadvantage and Strategies for Accelerating Maori Economic Development - Draft Only*, Wellington, p. 58.

vitalisation of local institutions, networks, traditions, values, processes and relationships is an essential requirement.

Supportive of the sentiment, Cornell and Kalt (1995) concluded from their comparative study of Native American tribes that stable and appropriate institutions and structures of governance are essential for successful development. Ultimately, indigenous peoples are advised to critically examine political, social and economic priorities against tribal values, principles and relationships.

Cornell and Kalt's (1998) key proposition seems to be that successful development for indigenous peoples is predicated on achieving self-determination. Virtually, it would mean political reform through a process of legitimation by sovereign nations to enable indigenous peoples to govern their own affairs. For example, self-government models have been adopted by the Canadian federal government and American senate as a means of codifying and limiting the rights of indigenous peoples.¹³ The process usually includes political trade-offs but in general the package comprises a bundle of resources and localised government for the indigenous group.

For indigenous peoples of America and Canada it means control of tribal affairs within a geographic area based on legally binding agreements about the extent and

¹² Hassan Zaoual, (1997), 'The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa', in Majid Rahnema ; Victoria Bawtree, (eds.), (1997), *The Post-Development Reader*, Zed Books, London, p. 38.

¹³ Information obtained from interviews with government officials and indigenous groups in Canada and America during research visits in 1996 and 1998.

nature of such authority. In all cases, however, national sovereignty and federal jurisdiction remain ultimately intact. This does not prevent tribal control of tribal affairs but it certainly limits what it means. Nevertheless, Cornell and Kalt (1998) would argue that a tribe is more likely to be successful if the governing institutions reflect the cultural standards of the tribal community.¹⁴

In summary, if relevant governing institutions and organisations for public and private sector activities are to emerge then indigenous peoples should lead indigenous development. Business organisational models cannot provide for the full extent of the indigenous development agenda though corporate bodies are used extensively by indigenous peoples. Corporatisation is not completely dismissed. But indigenous communities voice a caution about the potential for development priorities and processes to be unduly disconnected from indigenous structures and cultural responsibilities.¹⁵

The link between indigenous development and indigenous organisation is not only grounded in discussions about corporate governance and management. On the contrary, the development ideas and practices, and organisational approaches that positively respond to the changing patterns of relationships between indigenous

¹⁴ See the discussion about 'cultural match' by Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt, (1998), 'Sovereignty and Nation-building: The Development Challenge', in *Indian Country Today in American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, November 1998.

¹⁵ See Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples, (1997), *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainability: Cases and Actions*, International Books, The Netherlands.

peoples and sovereign states, indigenous peoples themselves and indigenous peoples with other parties mould it.

A key feature of indigenous development is self-determination. It is politically charged with implications for the nature and extent of future relationships between indigenous peoples and national sovereignty, with government, between and within indigenous communities, and in wider society. Clearly, there are strong views attributable to both development researchers and indigenous communities who believe the future patterns of relationships for indigenous peoples at the local, national and international levels are somewhat contingent on whether or not they play leading roles in the development process.

Defining Māori Development

Development theory and practice has moved beyond strict economic models. Largely the result of critique from various quarters, there is a broader spectrum of research communities involved in development research and practice throughout the world. Accordingly, the theory and practice of development is more discursive and representative of various disciplines including sociology, ecology, and the discourse of indigenous peoples.

There also exists a variety of competing development perspectives founded on ideological and other differences yet a number of common features are recognisable.

This situation is characterised by disagreement among development thinkers and practitioners as well as disagreement among communities.¹⁶ Consequently, what is meant by development has come to mean different things to different people grounded in interpretations of different contexts and circumstances.

Although 'development' theory and practice attracts critical appraisal from a range of disciplines, they all share an assumption that humans are active participants in 'development'. With insights from the world of microscopic interaction and natural phenomena, the human species is better understood to be part of a bigger picture. Indeed, humans continue to demonstrate an insatiable need to do more today than what was done yesterday. But whether all human activity can be treated as positive development in relation to all other living things remains questionable. At the very least, people are inter-connected to the livelihood of other living things.

In the human context, development has come to mean the advancement of the human condition though not necessarily for all to enjoy equally nor for that matter, to be at the expense of others. While most people seek to improve their position, they nonetheless live with and within socio-economic conditions that are not entirely controlled by them. In other words, people may enjoy a level of control over their lives but they cannot avoid the intrusion of external forces. Clearly, people interact

¹⁶ See Sachs (1992), Brohman (1996) and Rist (1997) for critical appraisals of development research, theories and practices.

with each other, organise to achieve goals, compete for scarce resources, contest for autonomy, and collaborate when necessary.

It follows that a diversity of interaction between people exists on more than one level. Consequently, development is not restricted either by definition or practice to only one paradigm, context or set of circumstances. Rather, there is an acknowledgement of variability that moves away from universalism as the only legitimate basis for understanding development and its complexities. Furthermore, there is clearly a rethink amongst theorists and practitioners about the scope for choice in development.¹⁷ The wide ranging observations and analyses of development contribute to better understanding of the concept and provide informed critique to move beyond the impasse and promote new directions.¹⁸ In this sense, it is counter-productive to treat development levels, ideologies, strategies and actions, as if they each exist in a vacuum. On the contrary, every variation should be considered within the scope of broader perspectives.

For Māori, the debate exposes a dedication to cultural affirmation, a political quest for self-determination, a resounding dissatisfaction with the disparities between Māori and non-Māori, and a demand for organisational options that make sense to the needs of contemporary Māori society. One of the most crucial issues is the organisational

¹⁷ David Booth (ed.), (1994), *Rethinking Social Development: Theory, Research and Practice*, Longman House, England, p. 7.

¹⁸ Frans J. Schuurman (ed.), (1996), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, Zed Books, London, p. 1.

variations that exist in Māori communities. For various reasons, there are demands on Māori organisations to interact in ways that demonstrate inclusion while not being primarily driven by government ideals and expectations. Yet, a pragmatic approach is also evident among organisations that attempt to make the best of what is perceived to be possible 'on the day'. Consequently, Māori development is best understood by reflecting on the interaction between Māori and Māori, and Māori and others - including the Crown and the state.

Defining Māori Organisation

Māori organisation is often used to describe both the structures and processes, which give shape to Māori collectives that, are established for common purposes. Māori may not initiate the act of organisation in every case. However, individual and collective Māori arrangements would have been involved with decision making processes despite uncontrollable external and internal forces. While the New Zealand democracy is founded on principles that promote the 'freedom' of organisation and development, Māori are confronted with a variety of dilemmas even though they are able to organise themselves.

Without reference to a particular context, an organisation can be simply described as any unified consolidated group of elements. The notion of unity is somewhat problematic, as 'organisation' does not necessarily imply harmony in the sense of complementary existence. On the contrary, the unifying elements of an organisation

may precipitate chaos rather than order. It raises the potential for organisations to exist as a consequence of chaos and order rather than being necessarily the exclusive design of, or the pre-eminent response to, one or the other. Further, rather than organisations being established simply for their own sake, organisational goals and projected outcomes provide for a more legitimate developmental nexus.

In this study, the term 'tribal organisation' is used to define organisations that are constructed and operated by iwi, hapū and whānau within tribal contexts. Although cooperative principles are fundamental to tribal philosophy, the influence of the individual, particularly in leadership roles, is recognised in this study to be a significant feature. For example, genealogical connections and personal interaction with iwi, hapū and whānau, and tribal affairs are particularly relevant. While the tribal territory is usually perceived as *the* organisational environment, the mobility of tribal members does affect tribal behaviour and how the tribe decides to organise its affairs. Consequently, tribal groups may have organisational arrangements that extend beyond strict tribal boundaries. Access and participation is restricted to descendants though some tribal groups do not regard genealogy to be a sufficient criterion when tribal members want to access tribal domains.¹⁹

In comparison, the term 'non-tribal organisation' refers to organisations that are constructed and operated by Māori who behave as a community of interest for

¹⁹ Refers to physical tribal estate as well as tribal knowledge, language and philosophies.

common purposes. Tribal connections are never rejected and participation is not contingent on such connections. Consequently, self-identification as Māori is sufficient. Amongst the most well known non-tribal organisations are the urban Māori authorities, the Māori Councils and the Māori Women's Welfare League, all of which are located throughout the country. Access to, and participation in, these organisations is potentially open to all Māori regardless of tribal affiliation or lack thereof.

On the other hand, the definition is blurred when Maori establish a non-tribal organisation such as a private business or social service provider but do not portray it as a Maori organisation per se. Instead, it is recognised as a private or public sector organisation albeit operated by Māori, and sometimes for Māori. For various reasons, including business networking and self-identification, Māori who own and operate private enterprises may decide whether or not to have the enterprises branded as Māori organisations. In any event, these organisations are still owned and operated by people who are descendants of Māori. Given that Māori enjoy the option to be recognised as either a Māori or mainstream organisation it is probably more accurate to acknowledge that both descriptions are relevant but remain largely dependant on the perceptions of the Māori involved and of the people around them. It reflects a condition which is essentially contingent on context and circumstances and must ultimately depend on the mission and perceived advantages of 'recognition' as a Māori or mainstream organisation.

Apart from tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations there are also non-Māori organisations that include and involve Māori at all levels from governance to executive management to general membership. Non-Māori organisations are not founded on ethnicity or confined to tribal genealogy. Access and participation is determined by rules of membership which enable any person, unless there is a justifiable reason otherwise, to enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of membership. Māori participation within the Rotary Club, the Forest and Bird Society, suburban sports clubs, and local theatre are good examples. Being Māori is not a prerequisite for participation within these organisations. This study does not examine non-Māori organisations; instead, Māori organisations, tribal and non-tribal, are the primary focus. In this respect, it is perhaps germane to sketch that focus in the following chapter outline.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One [Development and Determination] introduces the notion of development by providing an historical analysis of international development trends and practices since the 1950-60s. A broader perspective of development theory and practice is discussed with particular attention given to the purpose and implications of such different approaches. This overview provides an international frame of reference for development and its application. Moreover, the impact of top-down models is presented in a set of concluding statements about the impact of contemporary 'development' per se. No attempt is made to segment every minute aspect. Rather, a general but focused account of international perspectives about development provides a backdrop for introducing the complexities surrounding Māori development.

Chapter Two [Contemporary Māori Development] provides an analysis of development trends and practices in the New Zealand context though the post-1984 period is emphasised. Attention is given to the purposes and implications of development approaches for Māori. The influence of international and national power brokers, including the New Zealand Government, is reported. But, more important, the critical features of the Māori development debate are unpacked in order to analyse the overall impact of Māori development, particularly since the Hui Taumata held in 1984. Accordingly, issues such as the Treaty partnership, structural adjustment and Māori, Māori social organisation and government outcomes for Māori are discussed. In addition, the impact of government development approaches for Māori are

presented to highlight the perverse effects which followed the economic restructuring of the 1980s. One of the key issues in this chapter is about the relevance of the donor-donee model for Māori development.

Chapter Three [Alternative Ideas, Models and Frameworks] introduces alternative ideas, models and frameworks for development. The research perspective adopted for this study recognises the potential to reflect upon a wide range of perspectives and to consider their individual and collective merits for contemporary Māori development. Having reached the conclusion that a Māori conceptual framework is desirable, a search for design elements is undertaken. As a consequence, the discourse of international communities is embraced to give explanatory power to the meanings of contemporary development for Māori.

Chapter Four [In Search of a Māori Development Framework] proposes a Māori centred approach to development. Reinforcing the thesis approach, discussions will centre on; a shift in conceptualising Māori development, the changing nature of Māori organisation, the Treaty contribution, and the connection between Māori development and self-determination. Furthermore, development dilemmas and propositions are demystified to better understand the responsiveness of both Māori and the government to Māori development themes.

Chapter Five [Research Baseline for Māori Organisations] presents the research baseline. An examination of research design, the theory of organisation and various

perspectives on Māori organisation provides a foundation for analysing the data gathered from interviews and document searches. With these insights, a developmental framework is produced which aids in the understanding of Māori organisations.

Chapter Six [Research Results and the Wider Context] reports the findings derived from interviews, questionnaires and document searches. One hundred Trusts were systematically examined and sixty-eight reports about Maori Trust Boards and other organisations were analysed. As well, interviews with key players in a wide range of Māori organisations were conducted so as to complement published and unpublished data.

Chapter Seven [Māori Organisation in the Twenty-First Century] presents a wider perspective of the developmental framework. There is an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of Māori organisations in formulating sound policies and in implementing best practices. It draws on the aforementioned research results in order to present best practice statements that support a Māori centred approach to development. More important, the three major themes of the study are merged: Māori organisation, contemporary Māori development and the role of the Crown. This also identifies the characteristics, threats, opportunities, relationships, purposes and expectations of Māori organisations. In other words, the contemporary features of Māori organisations are characterised; tikanga and legal conventions, tribal institutions, and the organisational culture and developmental capacity.

Chapter Eight [Conclusions] presents a set of concluding remarks. It begins by explaining the purpose and the key features of the study and leads to a summary of the five major conclusions. In conclusion, a final comment is offered about the essential nature of development and the perspective which, in the writer's view, best services Māori needs.

Research Perspective

In this study a research approach has been adopted that acknowledges the existence of tribal and wider Māori community views and the changing shape of Māori organisation, leadership and identity. This research approach is based on the premise that all collectives have a recorded history and views about the world around them. In keeping with this perspective, three strands are conceptually plaited. First, the information bases of tribal members, Māori members and their respective organisations are recognised. Second, the information bases accumulated by non-Māori research communities and the public domain (international literature) are also recognised. Third, the interweaving between the first and second strands presents a mediation point. The arrangement provides an opportunity to evaluate what is understood to be generated by Māori on the one hand and what is gained from shared time and space with a broad range of ideas and practices beyond the marae gate, on the other.

Turning the page

As the page is turned, a multi-dimensional approach with a healthy regard for the rigour of academic analysis is presented. The narrative represents an open-ended and uncontaminated description, which does not play off discourses against each other. On the contrary, the text is cognisant of diverse ideas while ensuring that the primary focus on Māori organisations is sustained within contemporary Māori development.

The thesis draws on the involvement and personal experience of numerous contributors within Māori organisations in contemporary Māori development. It is envisaged that this study will contribute to knowledge and understanding of Māori organisation in contemporary Māori development and will play some part in the realisation of Māori aspirations.

Chapter One: Development and Determination

The notion of development abounds with interpretation grounded in international ideas and practice, many of which tend to reflect the context and circumstances faced by diverse countries and communities. According to Rist (1997) development discourse would not be so troublesome if it were not built into relationships of power. Paradoxically, it is becoming universal, but not transcultural.²⁰ However, one constant is the notion of interaction between people to achieve their respective and common development goals. Contemporary development models tend to focus on the processes employed, the underlying assumptions and the outcomes realised by the instigators and the communities involved. These approaches are discussed as follows.

Development Approaches

A number of historical accounts of the 1950-60s conclude that economic development models were widely used to progress and to monitor the effectiveness of development strategies. Brohman (1996) points out that development was narrowly defined as economic growth with little if any consideration for social and cultural factors other than for encouraging economic growth.²¹ The period is exemplified by Rostow's

²⁰ See Gilbert Rist, (1997), *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, London, p. 44.

²¹ See John Brohman, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, pp. 9-15.

model of countries moving through a sequence of development stages from a traditional society to a modern capitalist society.²² In retrospect, the 1950-60s represented a period when First World countries could maximise their extrinsic values and minimise their intrinsic intentions to any under-developed country or third world. Consequently, social and economic changes were inevitable for under-developed²³ countries, as movement toward modernity with the assistance of the 'developed' world became difficult to resist. Even so, the nature and intent of the 'development' relationship resembles little more than an advanced form of colonisation. A comment by Harrison (1988) illustrates the point: "development and underdevelopment are essentially aspects of the same economic process, and the former has been able to occur only by increasing the latter".²⁴ Therefore, 'developed' societies will gravitate to the centre and control 'underdeveloped' countries situated at the periphery. It would seem that for capitalism to survive a relationship of inequality in power between the 'developed' and the 'underdeveloped' must be maintained. In crude terms, this period was indicative of post-war Americanism, bringing with it the exploitation of resource rich but under-developed countries. The features of this period were reminiscent of colonial rule with the acquisition of natural resources and the assimilation of native populations. As a development approach, industrialisation

²² See Gilbert Rist, (1997), *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, London, pp. 94-103.

²³ 'Underdevelopment' promoted the integration of the underdeveloped with the developed as members of a single nation, community or group. It tempered the colonizer intention of extermination and exploitation but ensured the retention of power and control through integration. The idea and practice of underdevelopment is discussed by Gilbert Rist, (1997), *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, London, pp. 72-75

²⁴ See Harrison, D., (1988), *The Sociology of Modernisation and Development*, Routledge, London, p. 255.

accelerated (and increased) production with industrial machinery; and population shifts from rural areas to industrial towns in search of employment opportunities and a better standard of living.

During the 1960-70s, a more measured approach to economic growth and development was adopted. It was characterised by movement toward anti poverty programmes and by challenges to the 1950's urban-industrial biases of modernisation theories and policies. Consequently, the meaning and use of such theories and policies were transformed by the mid-1970s. Development thinking and practice moved away from 'Westernisation' but still advocated industrialisation as the primary building block. The role of the state was emphasised with the advent of social welfare programmes, designed particularly for managing local processes of social and economic development. While theories of social and institutional change were used to complement theories of economic transformation, the provision of development rather than empowerment to develop was still evident in the discourse of this period. Accordingly, non-economic factors including social, cultural and political matters were expected to be located in the logic of capitalist economic growth.²⁵

Post-Marxist literature on development accords First World companies with exploitative intentions of human and natural resources, and new markets.²⁶ This body

²⁵ John Brohman, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, p. 15.

²⁶ See writers such as Andre Frank (1970), Stuart Corbridge (1995) and others who apply Marxist ideas to Theories of Dependency and Underdevelopment.

of critique points to the extraction of wealth from Third World countries rather than to development to generate wealth and improved wellbeing for Third World populations.²⁷ The translation of post-Marxism into plausible policy advice did not succeed.²⁸

In sharp contrast to post-Marxism, the counter-revolutionist approach to development theory that emerged in the 1960-70s has influenced development policies, particularly those that emerged in the 1980s. The counter-revolutionist research community attacked economic approaches that took shape after World War II. Concerns centred on the influence of Keynesianism on mainstream development theory since the rise of growth theory through proponents such as Rostow (1956) and the modernisation approach. The Keynesian interventionist model was rejected by a vanguard of neoliberalism persuasion as an impediment to growth and development.²⁹ Its proponents cited examples such as the downturn in productivity, inefficiencies in the state sector and growing foreign debt. Writers such as Balassa (1982), Lal (1985) and Bhagwati (1993) were convinced that eliminating state intervention by reducing its development role and providing incentives then the marketplace could operate more efficiently. Their catch-cry was the need for trade not aid, privatisation not nationalisation, and the user pays philosophy.

²⁷ See Andre Gunder Frank, (1970), 'The Development of Underdevelopment', in R. Rhodes, (ed.), *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader*, Monthly Review Press, London, pp. 4-17.

²⁸ This is pointed out by Stuart Corbridge, (ed.), (1995), *Development Studies*, Edward Arnold – Hodder Headline Group, London.

²⁹ See John Brohman, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, pp. 26-28.

The counter-revolutionist approach is sometimes associated with the free-market community and limited government philosophy. Critics³⁰ of the 'New Right' generally argue that this served only to extend First World company activities and profit generation for its financial beneficiaries. In their opinion, neo-liberalism – 'new right ideology' - reduces the world's diverse social realities into a singular economic development paradigm. This development approach at the international level is loosely called 'globalisation' where one emphasises the virtues of free market trade, less government intervention, foreign ownership and investment, and the promotion of individualism. The approach views capitalism as a global system with international arrangements of production, exchange and relations that are supported by less state-control of the economy and international mobility of capital and labour. Third World and indigenous populations are perceived as 'disadvantaged' by a global economy though peripheral benefits may be achievable.³¹ Another way of explaining this is found in the work of Gilbert Rist (1997) who argues that development has been drained of content, so that it is now a mere residue used to justify the process of globalisation.³² In brief, these approaches to development – as previously discussed –

³⁰ See the contributions by various writers in Frans J. Schuurman (ed.), (1993), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, Zed Books, London.

³¹ This theoretical perspective expressed by Mandel (1976), Wallerstein (1980) and others – World Systems Theory – is essentially a macro approach to development. It highlights the interconnections of a world capitalist system and attempts to explain why inequalities occur. A key argument of world systems theorists is that the gap between First and Third World countries will widen.

³² Rist, G., (1997), *The History of Development: from Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, London, p. 6.

have been summarised in table 1.1 below and include an overview of their developmental purposes and major implications.

Table 1.1 : Approaches to Development

Focus	Purpose	Implications
<i>Industrialisation 1950-60s</i>	Progress economic growth Establish industry based economy Improve effectiveness of economic development strategies	Americanisation of under-developed countries Exploitation of natural resources Social and economic upheaval of under-developed countries Increased poverty
<i>Modernisation 1960-70s</i>	Improve industry based economy Increase returns on capital Reduce poverty	Urbanisation of under developed countries Exploitation of natural resources Urbanisation of the population Social Welfare Programmes
<i>Globalisation 1970-1990s</i>	Establish free market trade Reduce government intervention Improve access to global resources Promote individualism	Reduction of Welfare State Foreign Ownership and Investment Protection of Capitalist Society Significant social and economic disparities

Critical Theory and Development

More recently, however, development approaches (particularly at the level of theory) have moved away from strict free-market principles by exploring alternative and competing views. One of approaches used to deconstruct and to demystify economic development models has been critical theory. As a form of analysis, critical theory posed questions about the way we organise our lives or the way that our lives are

organised for us. However, critical theory intentionally sets out to transform society by praxis by reflecting upon the close relationship between epistemology and history. That is to say, there is good reason to reflect on the historical antecedents of all knowledge, what benefits there are accrued and for whom.

Therefore, and according to critical theorists, theories are not separated from the circumstances that surround their emergence. They tend to be characterised by disenchantment with both the successes and failures of both capitalist and socialist development strategies.³³ An inquiry about the environmental costs of development and its effect on people is a key feature. In this context, the resolution of issues such as the rights of individuals and groups, and the forms of sustainable development which enhance the life chances and the wellbeing of men, women and children are significant. For some proponents, it means being more focused on development actions rather than development theories. For other proponents, it means making a space for development that relies more heavily on the skills and voices of the people who are being developed, and often with the support of non-governmental organisations.³⁴

In this critical paradigm, human relationships are positioned amidst such structural issues as class and power, underpinned by an uncompromising bias toward structural

³³ Comment by Stuart Corbridge (ed.), (1995), *Development Studies: A Reader*, Edward Arnold, New York, p. 7.

³⁴ Comment about Edwards and Hulmes (1991) and Farrington and Bebbington (1993) in Stuart Corbridge (ed.), (1995), *Development Studies: A Reader*, Edward Arnold, New York, p. 8.

change. Differences between what is and what should be are made more transparent. Humans are held responsible for their actions. Implicit in this social theory is the commitment to ethical and moral issues, particularly those that beg questions about who benefits from development and perhaps more importantly who should benefit.

Anti-development Movement

For similar reasons, there are also challenges to the very notion of development that are founded on the practices of powerful governments and wealthy investors in their dealings with under-developed countries. The situation is often perceived as the West attempting to produce societies in its own image thereby erasing, through colonisation, the identities of other ethnic groups who would otherwise be preserved by the West as a reminder of the 'colonised' group's incapacity to be completely 'Westernised'. Based on such arguments, the West is criticised for polluting the more authentic and sustainable livelihood systems of less developed countries.³⁵ Consequently, Post-war development efforts are condemned for imposing western ideals on non-Western populations.

Anti-developmentalists consider development planning to be a form of technical knowledge, which legitimates the normality of Western idealism for non-Western populations. The process provides advantages to Western companies and enjoys the

³⁵ Shucking and Anderson, (1991), 'Voices heeded and unheeded', in V. Shiva (ed.), (1991), *Biodiversity: Social and Ecological Perspectives*, Zed Books, London.

support of elite groups and of the state in developing countries. The state is viewed as an instrument of neo-colonialism, and it (the state) assumes the ability to pronounce with authority the 'problems' of developing countries. Authority of this kind is validated in the state's development plans.

According to the anti-developmentalists, the victims of Western development experience are dislocated as they are reformed, and in being so, are denied equal status and access to the knowledge and authority of independence. Not surprisingly, anti-developmentalists strive to eliminate the way development theories and practices are presently conceived. Instead such theories and practices are exchanged for a major refocus on the knowledge, skills and needs of the peoples who are being developed. The intention is to improve and empower the non-Western population, not subsume them within the Western image, framework and discourse.

However, Corbridge (1995) accused anti-developmentalists of romanticising the lifestyles of indigenous peoples, of inventing historical accounts that cannot survive rigorous scrutiny, of failing to recognise westernised measurements of improvement, and of creating a mistrust of development that in effect prevents non-western populations from sharing.³⁶

³⁶ Stuart Corbridge (ed.), (1995), *Development Studies*, Edward Arnold, New York, p. 9.

Within these aforementioned contestable views about development, Seer's (1969) proposition that development and economic growth are not one and the same thing has gained much popularity. In comparison to the writings from early 1980s, there is now less concern with the merits and nature of capitalist growth strategies and more emphasis given to citizenship, gender issues, justice institutions and democracy, the nature of local relationships between development and the environment.³⁷

Corbridge (1995) concludes that most people who think about development and development policy do not subscribe to all the views expressed by one development paradigm, and are more likely to cross-fertilise aspects associated with two or more of these traditions. Nonetheless, there is overwhelming evidence about the domination of pro-market policies for development, particularly in the last twenty years. Corbridge (1995) also contends that the mainstream in development and policy today is probably best characterised by a commitment to making effective states and effective markets work in tandem through efficient local institutions.³⁸ This approach is commonly known as neo-liberalism, which is examined in the following discussion.

Neo-Liberalism

Concepts such as effectiveness and efficiency are fundamental to the discourse of the free-market. Their influence upon development theory and practice is founded in neo-

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 10.

liberalism which is impossible to dismiss when discussing national and international development trends. The neo-liberal ideology emerged from a counter-revolution in development thinking following attempts by neo-monetarists to resolve the inflation problem of Third World countries. The OPEC oil price increases during 1973-74 created balance of payment problems for most, if not all, oil dependant countries. Such countries experienced some relief providing services and products valued by the Middle East. However, this was short lived as oil prices were raised again during 1979-82. While some Western countries turned to monetarism to address their respective inflation problems, a significant number of Third World countries were facing a severe debt crisis. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was requested to coordinate rescue packages for countries in this position. In essence, it meant rescheduling some loans that were due if commercial banks were prepared to abide by a similar package. The arrangement was subject to indebted countries agreeing to reform their own economies toward the needs of the world market and its pricing influence. As a consequence, the IMF required governments to reduce public expenditure thereby increasing the probability of trading surplus funds.

The early success of neo-liberal policies was followed by a more deliberate but flexible strategy which was adopted in 1985. Targeted countries were persuaded to forge ahead with structural adjustments to their economies, in particular, market

³⁸ Most, if not all, writers who analyse the impact of economic development models may not describe it as Corbridge (1995) does nonetheless, they are all critical of market driven philosophies.

oriented policies for growth. In return, they were able to reorganise debt arrangements with support from IMF, international financial institutions and development banks.³⁹

With structural adjustment for growth well entrenched, indebted countries were urged to improve their creditworthiness by voluntarily reducing debt and debt servicing levels. This was made possible alongside the rescheduling of principal and new money packages.⁴⁰ Concerned about financial dilemmas, indebted countries were attracted to favourable debt-servicing and debt write-off opportunities.

An economic perspective of the debt crisis and its associated circumstances implies that development is about the power of the market, economic rationalism and reduction of the state. The most critical feature of the neo-liberal development ideology is the redefinition of the role of state. It can be attributed to the neo-liberal counter-revolution, which rejects the Keynesianism model of state intervention for policies based on more orthodox neoclassical theory. Two key features are identifiable - the decline of state control and the substitution of the state by non-government or private sector interests. Perhaps it is little wonder that Third World countries were cajoled to revive their economies by limiting the state's role, encouraging a liberal economy and introducing a rigid monetary policy. To achieve this, impediments to initiative, private enterprise, and the removal of obsolete

³⁹ This was known as the Baker Initiative. America's Secretary Baker presented it in October 1985 at Seoul, at the annual joint meeting of the IMF and the World Bank.

⁴⁰ See a statement made by Secretary Brady in March 1989 recorded in World Bank, (1990), *World Debt Tables*, The World Bank, Washington, p. 21.

institutions including state corporations must be eliminated. Rist (1997) describes this as the new rhetoric of globalisation, which is ultimately focused on one target, the State, supposedly guilty of regulation that allocated resources in an irrational manner, and was therefore inherently wasteful.⁴¹

A contrary perspective may regard the structural adjustment package of the IMF as the cause not the solution to the debt crisis of Third World countries.⁴² While the approach certainly influenced the reconstruction of old development models it nonetheless maintained a trickle down approach. Consequently, socio-economic disparities increased as low-income groups were significantly disadvantaged by circumstances well beyond their capacity to respond.

Dual economies emerged as export focused companies moved into the international market place while others attempted to survive in a diminishing national market. With the assistance of the West, Third World countries privatised their own state assets which achieved short-term debt relief but it was not sustainable. The strategy required the state to continue providing commodities desired by the international market place. Countries with high debt were particularly exposed as publicly owned economic wealth was gradually reduced.

⁴¹ See Rist, G., (1997), *The History of Development: from Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, London, pp. 223-224.

⁴² M. Chossudovsky, (1991), 'Global Poverty and New World Economic Order', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2 November 1991.

At another level, the capacity of the state to respond effectively to the needs of low-income groups is reduced primarily to its distribution of government income from taxes and other concessions. The transfer of wealth from the public to the private sector has not been coupled with a similar response to welfare responsibilities. However, charitable trusts and corporate entities, throughout the world, are becoming benefactors for community cultural and social activities.

Neo-liberalism is paternalistic insofar as it does not seek to remove barriers or encourage the development of policy tools that respond affirmatively to the needs of the unemployed, the homeless, the starving, the poor of health and the unskilled. Instead, it transfers state dependency of the powerless to the private sector with minimal control through government regulatory arrangements. In general neo-liberalism does seek to remove state-imposed economic barriers. The aim is to cut the cost of welfare to both the state and (through taxes) to capital and, thereby, shift these costs to the individual, family and community. The merits of such structural adjustments for the disadvantaged are not evident. Disappointment with the lack of forward direction within development studies led to a rethink by various writers, including Apter (1987), Schuurman (1993), Booth (1994), Corbridge (1995), Brohman (1996) and Rist (1997) who raise questions and propose opportunities to move passed critique toward new development propositions. Fundamental to the quest is a desire to synthesise the emergence of new ideas and practices beyond neo-liberalism.

Beyond Neo Liberalism

In practice, neoliberalism seeks to reduce the role of the state and puts emphasis on minimal state functions, good governance and a heightened role for civil society. According to Schuurman (1993:12), neo-liberalism resembles the modernisation paradigm but has less to offer because the role of the state is minimised. Concerns have been raised about modernisation theory because it focuses primarily on political development, that is, the transition to democracy in the Third World⁴³. The underlying intentions of political modernisation are to promote democracy, to build the nation state and to maintain state-centred development. The crux of this matter is whether or not political development should be viewed in the context of development as a whole. Writers, such as Blondel,⁴⁴ argued that it is not helpful to separate or encourage greater weighting to social, economic or political development.

The proposition does not ignore the political intent of neo-liberalism but broadens the analysis to unravel the dynamics of its relationship with social and economic aspects. Nevertheless the neo-liberal model features a close alignment of economic and political aspects while social aspects are minimised by the reduction of the state's role. In effect, the donor - donee relationship of the state in welfare matters is weakened significantly.

⁴³ See D. Apter, (1987), *Rethinking Development: Modernisation, Dependency and Post-modern Politics*, Sage Publications, London.

⁴⁴ Jean Blondel, (1990), *Comparative Government: An Introduction*, Phillip Allan, New York, pp. 40-51.

Traditional development models reinforce current structures thereby maintaining the status quo and its power base. They reflect the knowledge, relationships and authority valued by the dominant group. They are founded in a donor - donee relationship that is paternalistic, based on a hierarchy of structures which in turn, is reinforced by this arrangement. Neo-liberalism, however, encourages the state to continue setting the rules and reduce its welfare responsibilities. The situation creates an opportunity for other models to be explored as the state moves away from welfare provision. It is characterised by the removal of the donor-donee relationship between the state and civil society while non-governmental organisations simultaneously attempt to fill the gap. With the impact of structural change, the relevance of the donor - donee relationship is questionable. If the political and economic link between the state and welfare is broken then the model may no longer be relevant. Consequently, individuals and groups are left to review historical relationships and reorganise how best to achieve personal and collective goals and objectives. Although neo-liberalism may provide the conditions for the elimination of top-down approaches to development, decision-making is not necessarily decentralised but in fact strengthened at the core with accountability links that control the periphery. The intention is to remove any impediment that may disturb economic growth and enterprise. The issues surrounding the top-down approach and neo-liberalism are raised in the following discussion.

Top-Down Approach

Top-down models assume that the community is not capable of addressing the problem itself. The models involve external advice from experts set on designing a project, completing cost-benefit analyses to ensure a satisfactory return to the investor and using cost-effective local labour. Evaluation focuses on how the donor perceives the outcomes of the project. The local community does not actively participate with the scope of the project, its monitoring of implementation nor the project evaluation. In reality, participation is not essential to this approach but is often used to increase the likelihood of community acceptance thereby ensuring the achievement of the donor's objectives. Participation can also be treated as the end point with particular emphasis on the well being of individuals and communities. Whether the focus is on participation as a process or participation as an outcome it is inherently a political act. Consequently, writers such as Brohman (1996) argue that participatory development is essentially about empowerment.⁴⁵ The social planner would understand participation to mean community members contributing to decision making while the economist would be more concerned with the equitable sharing of benefits.

⁴⁵ See John Friedmann, (1992), *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Cambridge, pp. 14-36; John Brohman, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, pp. 251-276; Majid Rahnema, (1992), 'Participation', in Wolfgang Sachs, (ed.), (1992), *The Development Dictionary*, Zed Books, London, pp. 116-131; and Robert Chambers, (1997), *Whose Reality Counts ? Putting the First Last*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London, pp. 102-119.

The top-down model – a donor-recipient relationship – does not exclude recipients from a discussion about benefits but it does assume the donor will have significant control over what the benefits are and how they shall be distributed. It is generally linked to economic management at national and international levels. The bottom-up model – participant-facilitator-donor model – relies on active participation and assumes a greater probability of direct benefit to the primary participants. It is more closely associated with local communities and project management. Notwithstanding the differences, no matter what model is adopted both must respond to the argument that development, is inherently unequal and that the benefits of development do not eventually “trickle down” to others. The challenge is highlighted by Friedmann’s (1992) experience in Latin America. He points out that economic policies imposed by international banking systems and embraced by conservative national politicians are in effect a return to ‘trickle down’ policies that in practice leave peasants landless and cause incomes to decline.⁴⁶

Neo-liberalism cannot be strictly treated as a top-down model when an emphasis is given to small state models and bottom-up initiatives are fostered. Nevertheless, political power and control is vested in the state that in turn offsets authority through deregulation and delegation to others for its ultimate purposes. Even with the removal of economic barriers to promote free enterprise and productivity the state does not

⁴⁶ John Friedmann, (1992), *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Cambridge, p. 139.

completely step aside. Instead, a complementary role is built-up to reduce, if not eliminate, social, cultural and political barriers that may adversely impact on the country's overall economic performance. Disadvantaged socio-economic groups are drawn into a hegemonic structure of power, which is organised to gain their (disadvantaged socio-economic groups) consent to structural changes that may adversely affect their livelihood. Whereas the wealthy and powerful are able to reposition themselves, low-income groups end up carrying an unequal share of the debt burden and the cost of remedies. From this analysis, a number of features are revealed as follows. The political and economic power brokers, at national and international levels, do not demonstrate any empathy or significant policy development to empower the disadvantaged in structural adjustment programmes. Instead, neo-liberal 'purists' would argue that addressing the balance of payments problem of respective debtor countries will eventually pass benefits to everyone. Despite the rhetoric, these countries tend to experience rising unemployment and high inflation.

Even though there is an external flow of state resources from indebted countries, the prospects of low-income groups do not improve. Therefore, it is difficult to rationalise increased poverty against a backdrop of significant state asset sales. In terms of development, the ethics of allowing impoverishment while substantial funds are achieved from state resources for debt repayment and servicing is questionable. Any country in this predicament while sustaining on-going state asset sales for this

purpose is acting imprudently. Suffice to say that state resources would be exhausted if limitations were not applied.

The unequal distribution of debt burden and unequal return for enduring the situation between high and low-income groups is a serious concern. Whereas the state protected the basic needs of particular socio-economic groups, its contraction left such socio-economic groups without state advocacy and reasonable support. If this is not the case, then Corbridge's (1993) challenge is that the burden of proof remains with the proponents of structural adjustment to show that potential future benefits will accrue to particular groups of people from particular places over a given period of time. Furthermore, to demonstrate that such benefits will be greater than the present or future costs of such a process of adjustment.⁴⁷

Access and participation difficulties experienced by less resourceful and powerless groups' highlight a fundamental development issue - that is whether or not the affected groups should be actively involved in decision-making processes that affect their livelihood. Further to this, another issue is whether or not those affected groups should be involved with the actions finally decided upon. Admittedly, participation by the affected group is fraught with issues of scale and practicality, nonetheless these should not displace consideration.

⁴⁷ See Stuart Corbridge, (1993), 'Ethics in Development Studies' in Frans J. Schuuman (ed.), (1993), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, Zed Books, New York, p. 131.

Finally, the privilege of making decisions on behalf of others comes with an equal and powerful responsibility. During the 1970-90s, the actions of international and national power brokers, namely economic and political leaders, demonstrated a dubious approach to crucial decision-making that ultimately disadvantaged the powerless while protecting the interests of the powerful. Given these circumstances, any suggestion that the trickle down effect would substantially benefit low-income groups is clouded in scepticism. For different reasons, but ultimately with similar effect, a rising sense of indigenous sovereignty coloured the changing attitudes toward imposed models of development. Consequently, intolerance remains for approaches that are perceived to be essentially paternalistic. In such circumstances, development is about the interaction between people who initiate, people who assist, and people who are dependent on others. The development models adopted by various stakeholders tend to reinforce a relationship, which, on the one hand, ensures the status and benefits of the powerful and maintains the dependency of the powerless on the other. A summary of developmental stakeholders and benefits are presented in table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 : Developmental Stakeholders and Benefits

Benefits	Developmental Stakeholders			
	<i>The State</i>	<i>International Agencies</i>	<i>Multinational Corporations</i>	<i>Indigenous Communities</i>
<i>Wealth Creation</i>	Increase revenue	Socio-economic improvements	Increase profits	Economic independence
<i>Westernisation</i>	Participate in free-market	Improved living standards	Favourable business options	Improved living standards
<i>Self-determination</i>	Reinforce control	Local initiatives	Economic influence	Independence
<i>Elimination of disparities</i>	Productive citizens	Improved living standards	Skilled labour market	Socio-economic growth

To explain, each column refers to a developmental stakeholder who can expect different benefits in comparison with other developmental stakeholders. There is common ground between stakeholders when the economic agenda is shared though benefits may not be the same and may not occur at the same time. For example, indigenous communities who rely on multinationals and the state are destined to wait for something (benefit) to 'trickle down' to them. The key theme to emerge from this discussion about international development approaches is the unequal relationship between those involved in the process and the outcomes of development.

This chapter has highlighted the decision-making influence of international and national political and economic interest groups by comparison with Third World, and underdeveloped countries and communities. The following chapter will discuss development approaches adopted in New Zealand and the issues that surround contemporary Māori development.

Chapter Two: Contemporary Māori Development

In the New Zealand experience, contemporary Māori development (post-1984) has been fashioned by national and international influences. From colonisation to globalisation, the direction and control of Māori development has been a contest between the Crown and Māori interests about authority and control over resources, activities and peoples. More recently, such competition has occurred between Māori and Māori over the way in which development might be best expedited.

In terms of Māori and the Crown, an intermittent history of conflict reveals a fundamental characteristic of government and third parties that remain cautious about any movement toward political power sharing with Māori. Coupled with the impact of open-market economic ideas and practices on the international scene, particularly in the last twenty years, there has been an adverse affect upon the social and economic position of Māori. Māori individuals and collectivities were encouraged to identify suitable strategies and practices in response to free-market ideology as successive governments continued to restructure the national economy and welfare state especially since the 1980s. Sometimes this accorded with Māori aspirations, but often it was an imposed ideology, which bore little resemblance to actual lives and some stark realities. Through all this, Māori individuals and communities held the Treaty of Waitangi as a reminder to successive governments and the country as a whole about the importance of the relationship it (the Treaty) embodies and it implications for

Māori economic, social, cultural and political development. The following discussion is about the nature and extent of the relationship.

The Treaty Partnership - A Relationship of Convenience

Although initially espousing such concepts as co-operative and mutually beneficial,⁴⁸ the Treaty of Waitangi has nonetheless proven to be contentious for both Māori and the Crown, even under the best of circumstances. Regardless, it provided the basis for coexistence on terms and conditions that were thought to be satisfactory. Without belabouring the point, historical events would suggest that the Treaty partnership has been publicly disagreeable. However, the two texts of the Treaty, English and Māori, while not entirely compatible, did appear to provide the only means of peaceful engagement to resolve historical and contemporary issues between Māori and the Crown. Some of the most pronounced disputes have been about whether or not sovereignty was ceded, whether or not Māori authority is guaranteed and the nature and extent of active protection by the Crown.⁴⁹ Indeed, the government has generally acted as if sovereignty was transferred and the Treaty principles present a fair and just approach to the Māori-Crown partnership.

⁴⁸ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 178.

⁴⁹ Mai Chen; Sir Geoffrey Palmer, (1993), *Public Law in New Zealand: Cases, Materials, Commentary, and Questions*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, pp. 295-462.

Somewhat predicably, relationships between Māori and the Crown were strained by litigation and intense public debate about how to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi. Until 1975, there was calculated neglect by the government to address the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi on economic policy. However, Māori individuals and collectives sought to protect their rights from further erosion and demanded opportunities for redress of historical and present grievances. Between 1975-1990, the government responded to Māori pressure, sometimes at the direction of the New Zealand Courts.

Although not immediately appreciated, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which was championed by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Matiu Rata, provided a legal mechanism for testing the performance of the Crown against its Treaty obligations. New challenges to historical and contemporary Crown activities followed while New Zealanders generally became more anxious about the serious consideration being accorded to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Since 1975, legislative changes have included (i) an amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1985 which extended the Tribunal's jurisdiction back to 1840, (ii) the Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988 which placed memorials over land titles of State Owned Enterprises and introduced legal processes for Crown requests to remove memorials, (iii) the Crown Forest Assets Act 1989 which allowed for the establishment of the Crown Forest Rental Trust for managing the rentals from Crown Forests subject to Treaty claims, and (iv) the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Act 1992

which enabled the settlement of the Fisheries Claim. As a category of legislative provisions, these Acts provided the means for the resolution of Treaty claims.

Importantly, other Acts, such as the Resource Management Act 1991, have emerged as a consequence of Māori-Crown disagreements which are about securing Treaty rights, recognising and giving due regard to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and recognising Māori interests or the Māori perspective.⁵⁰

Durie (1994) points out that even though the Treaty of Waitangi has been used to aid interpretation of the law from time to time, it has been enforceable only when it has been incorporated into legislation.⁵¹ Moreover, a range of issues about the Treaty of Waitangi are highlighted by Mai Chen and Sir Geoffrey Palmer (1993) who critically argue that the Treaty debate is hampered by on-going attempts to make it into what it is not. They further argue that inflating the Treaty, and by generating Treaty “principles”, all aimed at advancing the interests of one section of society, as opposed to society as a whole, will be seen generally to be unfair and unjust.⁵²

Ultimately, the value of legal challenges by Māori against the Crown is observed in the recognition, or lack thereof, given to Treaty of Waitangi by the Courts. For example, a decision by the Wanganui District Court on customary fishing rights

⁵⁰ Mason Durie, (1994), *Whaiora*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 92.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵² Mai Chen; Sir Geoffrey Palmer, (1993), *Public Law in New Zealand: Cases, Materials, Commentary, and Questions*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, pp. 342-436.

confirms that active protection exists in legislation.⁵³ While this decision was successfully appealed in the High Court in so far as trout fishing was ruled to be the jurisdiction of a legislated body, the decision was silent about the active protection of customary fishing rights. In such cases, further court action may be inevitable to fully appreciate the application of the Treaty of Waitangi to interpret legislation. Litigation, a feature of Māori Treaty claims over the past two decades, is grounded, at least in part, by the inclusion of a Treaty reference in legislation, but also by the wider uncertainty about the place of the Treaty - and the place of Māori - in the broader constitutional context. Until there is some clarity, litigation will likely continue.

For now, litigation still exerts considerable influence on contemporary Māori social and economic reform. With global economic reform pressing on the national economy, successive governments have attempted to confine, if not reject, any attempt to give full regard to the Treaty of Waitangi. The strategy is about minimising the impact of the Treaty upon the government's economic reform programme. Māori have generally argued this to be primarily the result of Crown reluctance to identify and respond to the implications of economic reform at both national and international levels for Māori. In contrast, successive governments (post-1984) argued that the long-term benefits to New Zealanders and the national economy would vindicate the structural adjustment programme. However, many Pākehā found themselves in the same predicament as many Māori who continued to resist government persuasion to

⁵³ Taranaki Fish and Game Council v Kirk McRitchie 1997 held at the Wanganui District Court.

be subsumed completely.⁵⁴ For Kelsey (1995), the critical question in New Zealand was whether those Pākeha adversely affected by structural adjustment would continue to side with the state, or seek a complementary vision and strategy for the future.⁵⁵

The Government Economic Reform Agenda

After the 1984 election, the incoming Labour Government moved quickly to promote fiscal responsibility and reduce the role of the state. These reforms were a response to fiscal crisis, arguably fuelled by social democracy, while expounding the merits of market forces and the inefficiency of the welfare state.

In application, they required the separation of commercial and non-commercial functions in the state sector, the corporatisation of various public assets and social policy reform. The latter involved a reduction of government delivery mechanisms and assessments of individual entitlement.

Politicians that valued individualism and freedom of choice advocated this market driven development model with the assistance of the Treasury.⁵⁶ With this ideological perspective, it was argued that individual property rights⁵⁷ are encroached upon by the

⁵⁴ Jane Kelsey, (1995), *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment ?*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, p. 318.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 347.

⁵⁶ The Treasury, (1987), *Government Management: A Briefing to the Incoming Government*, vol. I, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

state when taxpayers are burdened with the cost. It followed that the welfare state limits choice and supports paternalism by restricting the range of services available to the individual. As a result, options are not encouraged and dependency is reinforced. Furthermore, it was argued that interest groups that receive substantial benefit from the state intervention model would resist economically sound reasons for change. The explanatory power of these arguments, at least in political circles, was focused on the demise of the welfare state.

By contrast, economic reform at the national level in the 1980s provided a basis for specific funded programmes such as the Mana Enterprises Scheme for Māori business development, the Māori Access programme for Māori employment and training, along with a number of targeted programmes administered by various departments and agencies. For many Māori, the reform environment presented opportunities to move towards Māori economic self-sufficiency albeit with much needed support from government policies and resources.

The perceived complementarity between national economic reforms and Māori economic self-sufficiency became visibly divergent as Māori sought to achieve their own outcomes and as the government strengthened the national agenda for economic policy reforms. Notwithstanding the different expectations, the relationship between the welfare state and individual Māori was altered, the government's role, with, and responsibility to Māori was redefined, and government policy for Māori development was reformed accordingly.

With the advent of Treaty of Waitangi principles in 1989, the government reorganised its Treaty obligations to advance economic reforms by improving its political control and management of Treaty issues. This political decision signalled the government's determination to take control of Treaty issues away from the New Zealand Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal, and within a framework defined by the State. Driven by economic imperatives, Treaty of Waitangi claims were rationalised against the state's fiscal capacity to respond. In addition, it was decided that Māori, like all New Zealanders, should share common entitlements and access to delivery mechanisms. It assumed that Māori and non-Māori alike would benefit equitably.

After the 1990 election, the incoming National Government repackaged the Crown's principles of the Treaty thereby placing particular emphasis on the right to govern according to constitutional process and on self-management for Māori according to the law.⁵⁸

In terms of government policy, issues such as the extent of the Waitangi Tribunal's jurisdiction, direct negotiations with claimants, and the Crown proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims in 1994 have been actively debated. For the government, the period signalled a more focused approach. For Māori, the main features were lower socio-economic group unrest, further litigation and political

⁵⁸ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 205.

challenge by Māori, and the reconstruction of tribal identity albeit within a more diverse Māori political environment. And, to some extent, a shift of emphasis was taking place amongst some tribal groups toward a positive development mode.

Since the 1996 election, and with the formation of a coalition government, debates about leadership and political leverage have clouded the political ground. Nonetheless, the increase in Māori participation in this political environment represents a shift in organisation and aspirations. No longer restricted by historical party alliances and no longer faced with fewer options, Māori individuals and collectives are choosing political pathways that advance what is important to them. Exemplified by the number of Māori political parties and the support each is receiving, there are clear indications that Māori, like non-Māori, are less likely to present a homogeneous political front. When this situation is placed next to the undercurrent of fear about Māori having too much power, and with attempts to eliminate the Treaty of Waitangi, it presents New Zealanders with challenges about the kind of political relationships that will emerge from the change. For Māori, constitutional reform at a local and national level, along with capacity building for Māori development are becoming more transparent within the political landscape.

While Māori have access to a variety of political options under MMP, the value of the Māori vote cannot be understated. The decisive swing in 1996, along with Māori support for a right of centre coalition as well as the turn around in the 1999 election to a left of centre coalition government both illustrate the previous point. Despite

attempts by right of centre politicians to retrieve voter confidence, the majority Māori vote has rejected anything associated with right wing policies. Notwithstanding the swing away from the far right, associated concepts such as greater transparency and accountability, quality service delivery and cost-effectiveness are not likely to be completely discarded by Māori. However, a turn around in the sale of State assets, along with the status of the social welfare net, and the corporatisation of significant public sector activities may be expected. There is no doubt that the hard right has been rejected but the right of centre approach may not be entirely dismissed. The following discussion about Māori initiatives since the 1984 Hui Taumata (The Māori Economic Development Conference) tends to confirm this.

Māori Development Reform

The Māori Economic Development Conference (Hui Taumata) held in October 1984 provided a forum to promote the then Labour government's economic development agenda. The objectives were (i) to examine the New Zealand economic situation as it affected Māori, (ii) to assess the economic strengths and weaknesses of Māori, (iii) to seek a commitment from the conference participants and (iv) to support government policy changes necessary to obtain socio-economic parity between Māori and non-Māori.

Arising from this conference, tribal and regional Māori organisations were established to spearhead economic initiatives at the local level. Institutional and legislative

changes were required, including a transfer of government resources and policy development to Māori. With this thrust, Iwi development (that is tribal development) was promoted as an appropriate means of programme delivery to Māori.⁵⁹ An emphasis was placed on translating negative government expenditure to positive areas in order to accelerate Māori Economic Development. In stating this emphasis, the conference recognised that Māori land must be utilised (i) to maximise its productive capacity. The conference also recognised the need (ii) to equip Māori people to direct and manage development initiatives and (iii) to enhance the development of Māori resources, so that there is an improved quality of life for Māori families, which will be reflected in improved standards of living for all.⁶⁰ In this context, enhancing Māori wellbeing was framed to include social and cultural aspirations rather than separating them from Māori economic development. Interestingly, no mention of political objectives is found, yet there was clearly an intention by Māori to control their own affairs.

At the core of these assumptions, the Māori development debate was about how Treaty-based obligations could best be reaffirmed within social and economic policies for Māori. While property rights dominated the debate, there was still an expectation that social and economic policy would be negotiable based on the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁵⁹ Hon. K. Wetere, (1988), *Tirohanga Rangapu: Partnership Perspectives*, Office of the Minister of Māori Affairs, Wellington.

⁶⁰ Extracted from the conference background papers of the Māori Economic Development Summit Conference, October 1994.

Although the government was generally receptive, it was uncomfortable with views about Māori control and authority when Māori challenged the government's ability to govern the country and also challenged the Crown's sovereignty. Although, devolution was finally embraced, the government was not prepared to hand over control of the process.⁶¹

Four years later, the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) highlighted the inadequacy of New Zealand statutes and constitutional practices to secure the place of the Treaty as a foundation document of New Zealand society and economy.⁶² With this in mind, the Commission concluded that the Treaty is a document of fundamental importance both to the history of New Zealand and to the future development of the country and its people. In summation, the Commission recognised the Treaty as part of the matrix from which all social and economic policies take form.⁶³ These statements complemented the call from the Hui Taumata for all concerned to reverse Māori disparities. It is not surprising that Māori expected to control their own destiny by not being subjected to others making decisions about Māori development. In some quarters, a call for an interconnected approach to Māori cultural, social, economic and political development was advocated.⁶⁴

⁶¹ A. Fleras, (1991), 'Devolution in Iwi - Government Relations', in P. Spoonley; D. Pearson; C. Macpherson, (eds.), *Ngā Take: Ethnic Relations and Racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, pp. 171-193.

⁶² Royal Commission on Social Policy, (1988), *The April Report: Future Directions*, vol. II, Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, pp. 25-39.

⁶³ Summary of Conclusions in The Royal Commission on Social Policy, (1988), *The April Report: Future Directions*, vol. II, Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington, p. 76.

⁶⁴ Extracted from the conference background papers of the Māori Economic Development Summit Conference, October 1994.

For Ngatata Love (1996), the intention of the Hui Taumata was to determine whether iwi would be responsive and supportive of government reform which contained implications for full Māori participation in New Zealand society. A primary objective was to ensure that Māori established a firm and independent place on the free market landscape. It required a move away from failed policies for Māori, enabling Māori to make their own decisions about development, equipping Māori to manage the affairs of their people and establishing a consensus view about this from diverse Māori opinion. Central to the philosophy was a desire to improve the quality of life for Māori families and the standard of living for everyone concerned. Both economic and social strategies were considered necessary. One without the other was not an option.

In 1986, Treasury identified weaknesses in the Māori economic base and recommended to the government that Māori development should be accelerated to address the persistent gap in Māori wealth and wellbeing. Further to this, Treasury stated that official opinion is clearly moving towards a greater recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi; as follows:

As a consequence, it is no longer possible (if it ever was) to view the Māori people as just one of a number of minority groups. Māori people as the only other signatory to the Treaty have a special place in New Zealand notwithstanding their minority situation in terms of numbers. Quite what this means in terms of public policy, including education policy, is an ongoing

process as Acts of Parliament are interpreted by the Courts, as the Government makes decisions on Waitangi Tribunal recommendations and so on.⁶⁵

Having indicated the need to address what the Māori-Crown relationship means within the economic reforms, the Treasury pointed out that the implications for public policy were not clear, would most likely be developed over time and would largely depend on the guidance and direction provided through political and legal processes. This is discussed below.

Government Policy Themes for Māori

One of the government's policy responses was He Tirohanga Rangapu (1988) which was subsequently followed by another policy statement called Te Urupare Rangapu (1988). In these policy statements were proposals to devolve state funding to iwi in conjunction with the then restructuring of the Department of Māori Affairs. Until then, the Department provided a useful mechanism to integrate Māori into the modern New Zealand society. Essentially, the reform meant that other government agencies would administer programmes for Māori instead of the Department of Māori Affairs, although some programmes were to be devolved to tribal and pan-Māori authorities.

As a result, the Iwi Transition Agency was established to complete the transfer of funded programmes to tribal and pan-Māori authorities. The agency promoted the

⁶⁵ The Treasury, (1987), *Government Management: A Briefing to the Incoming Government*, vol. II, Government Printer, Wellington, pp. 241-242.

Rūnanga a Iwi Act (1990) which provided for the establishment of another type⁶⁶ of legally-recognised 'tribal' organisation to receive funds from the government. But after the election of a National Government in 1990, it was argued that sufficient legislation was already in place and the Rūnanga a Iwi Act was repealed in 1991.

Under the direction of the then Minister of Māori Affairs, a review of the Māori social and economic position was completed. The review team produced the *Ka Awatea (It is Dawn)* document⁶⁷ which identified Māori underdevelopment as the main impediment to Māori advancement. It signalled to the state that incentives were needed to ensure all Māori could access and could participate similarly to all New Zealanders in an environment of choice and opportunity. Government deregulation was considered the means to accelerate growth for the betterment of all New Zealanders through improved market opportunities, increased labour skills and more appropriate choices.⁶⁸ An underdevelopment perspective infers that Māori are lagging behind non-Māori but should be encouraged to 'catch up' by being included as part of the 'bigger scheme of things'. It does not promote an autonomous development path rather it renders the 'underdeveloped' to a process of subordinate development.⁶⁹ However, it is unclear whether or not government control of the processes and

⁶⁶ Some tribal groups had already used Māori Trust Boards Act 1955 in an effort to achieve the same thing.

⁶⁷ See Ministerial Planning Group, (1991), *Ka Awatea*, Office of the Minister of Māori Affairs, Wellington.

⁶⁸ For a more detailed explanation of the 'New Zealand model' see J. Boston; J. Martin; J. Pallot; P. Walsh, (eds.), (1996), *Public Management: The New Zealand Model*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.

⁶⁹ See Colin Leys, (1976), 'Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes', in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 92-107.

outcomes was considered an impediment, as the report did not question the power and control relationship inherent in the New Zealand development model. It is also unclear whether the government fully accepted Ka Awatea.⁷⁰

However, consistent with its intent, the short-lived Ministry of Māori Affairs and the Iwi Transition Agency were dismantled and replaced by the current Ministry of Māori Development in 1992. Furthermore, health, education, employment and training, and economic development were identified as key priorities for Māori. The new Ministry of Māori Development was directed to provide policy advice to the government (about Māori), to Māori, to public and private sector agencies, and also to monitor the delivery of services to Māori by mainstream agencies. The remaining funded programmes controlled by the Minister of Māori Affairs were eventually transferred to mainstream departments and agencies.⁷¹

Throughout the 1990s, Māori voiced dissatisfaction with government programmes because they (the programmes) were perceived to be ineffective in meeting Māori social and economic development needs. By application, Māori expected more effective programme delivery and greater Māori participation when identifying desired outcomes and implementation approaches. Instead of responding directly to these expectations, successive governments reformatted Māori aspirations into the

⁷⁰ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 9.

⁷¹ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Mainstreaming of Māori Affairs: An Information Pamphlet*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

more familiar contexts of economic reform, which in and of themselves, tend to set limits in order to maintain state control and accountability. For example, the funds from the Mana Scheme were transferred to the Business Development Boards,⁷² thereby providing administrative support to increase Māori access to and participation in the Board's services and grants.

While the services of Business Development Boards were readily applicable to individual Māori with their own personal business interests, policy implementation was more often than not perceived to be non-responsive to the business development issues facing Māori collectives. This was especially the case for those collectives with multiply owned assets or business interests in areas such as social services and health.⁷³ The Māori reaction included accusations of state paternalism and political unwillingness to address Māori aspirations of self-determination. Even so, some Māori were able to reorganise structures and associated purposes to take advantage of government funded programmes. Progressing a self-determination agenda while simultaneously addressing day to day circumstances was the norm. But the unfavourable outcomes for Māori such as high unemployment did not significantly influence any changes to the government economic agenda, particularly at the policy level. Ultimately, Māori policy development was and still is susceptible to government free-market prescription.

⁷² Business Development Boards were set up on a regional basis under the authority of the Ministry of Commerce. The purpose of these Boards was to assist regional business initiative through support programme such as the business mentor programme and the business grant scheme.

⁷³ Based on personal interviews with Māori individuals and organisations between 1992-1997.

The aforementioned predicament is illuminated both by Māori development initiatives being driven by Māori, and government aspirations and objectives for Māori people being tempered by obligatory consultation. Māori development initiatives driven by Māori are focused on what development is according to Māori, not to the Crown. By comparison, government policy for Māori is generally consistent with the national economic agenda even though consultation with Māori may well occur. Indeed, disagreement about the nature and extent of consultation still exists. However, the fact remains that the Crown and its executive arm, the government, are obliged to demonstrate that affected Māori individuals and groups are consulted.

Since 1984, government policy responses to Māori development have been structured on free-market ideology, while Māori policy expectations have been related to Māori aspirations for greater wealth at a collective level and autonomy – this is referred to as Tino Rangatiratanga. Although concerned about the government response, Māori have also welcomed the deregulation inherent in the reforms and have applauded the government's exit from service delivery. The underlying dilemma of such responses is indicative of the on-going balancing act between the ideals and realities of Māori communities. There are processes, conventions and opportunities presented by the free-market approach which are useful to Māori. However, the negative impact of the processes, conventions and opportunities on the overall Māori social and economic position is an unmistakable reality which cannot be massaged and offset by the successes of the few.

The two approaches may have much in common but they are not synonymous and indeed there are fundamental differences. The free-market approach adopted for New Zealand recognises the individual as the primary beneficiary. It is about the maximisation of individual profit and freedom of choice. Whereas Māori collective approaches may seek similar outcomes, they are less concerned with individual wealth. In general, the primary beneficiaries are Māori collectives who operate with an emphasis on collective mana and wealth. In effect, Māori may be dissatisfied with the free-market approach as a complete package, but may favour some aspects of the free market in practice, especially when deregulation and autonomy are promoted.

With similar views, commentators at the 1994 Māori Development Conference were not convinced that the Māori position had improved. According to some of the commentators at the conference, disparities had increased in education, health, justice, income levels and unemployment.⁷⁴ Based on such commentary, the last decade of Māori development cannot be proclaimed a total success. Instead, such commentators⁷⁵ have argued that Māori were confronted with political and legal impediments to the successful implementation of programmes and achievement of their development objectives.

⁷⁴ See Department of Māori Studies, (1995), *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings of the Hui Whakapūmau – Māori Development Conference*, August 1994, Department of Maori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North.

⁷⁵ See Denise Henare and Ngatata Love, in Department of Māori Studies, (1994), *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings from the Hui Whakapūmau*, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North.

As noted earlier, the introduction of mainstreaming policy for Māori in 1991 provided for Māori to receive services through mainstream government agencies. The intentions were to improve service delivery to Māori, to reduce the duplication of service provision, and to provide better access by Māori to existing programmes. The policy resulted in the transfer of education, training and employment, economic development, social welfare and housing programmes to other agencies that were previously delivered by the Department of Māori Affairs and the Iwi Transition Agency. In addition, a number of programmes were discontinued.

To fulfil the strategy, Vote: Māori Affairs was reduced by 212.4 million dollars. 97.9 million dollars were transferred to mainstream agencies while the remainder of 114.5 million dollars was treated as government savings.⁷⁶ In general, the scheme was promoted as the government's approach to strengthening its accountability and delivery of services to Māori. Despite government reform, as noted in table 2.1 below, there is now sufficient evidence to show that social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori have not reduced.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Mainstreaming of Māori Affairs: An Information Pamphlet*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

⁷⁷ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

Table 2.1 : Government Policy for Māori

Policy Focus	Objectives
<i>Integration</i>	Integration of Māori into New Zealand society Improve employment, training, education, health and housing conditions
<i>Devolution</i>	Devolve programme delivery to Māori Strengthen Māori social and economic development Accelerate national economic reform programme
<i>Mainstreaming</i>	More effective delivery of services to Māori Reduce duplication of service provision Better access to existing programmes available to all New Zealanders

Changes to Māori Affairs policy during the last decade did not deviate from free-market ideology and the reduction of the state. Nonetheless, Māori continued to resist attempts to capture their absolute consent to this ideological perspective. Even so, successive governments have managed to sustain their respective free-market implementation strategies and to manage the cost of Treaty obligations. In consolation, the Treaty is now a central feature of political, social, cultural and economic inquiry on the New Zealand development landscape. It cannot be easily ignored but its application still abounds with political and legal interpretation and a degree of political whim. For Māori, the cumulative effects of these reforms were perhaps less than desired by Māori who confronted social and economic change at a very personal level, let alone at a whānau level. Little wonder that tribal and non-tribal organisations were and still are subjected to demands for social and economic support from their respective memberships. These issues are raised in the following discussion about contemporary Māori social organisation.

Contemporary Māori Social Organisation

Whereas it was common for Māori to be identified as a homogeneous ethnic grouping, the situation has substantially changed today. In fact, if tribal heterogeneity is considered, then tribal homogeneity was never a reality. But non-Māori views of Māori people being more or less identical are now challenged on a different basis. Eurocentric views of Māori no longer have credibility. Constructs of the homogeneous Māori are more about Western dominance over a colonised population rather than about being a serious attempt to reveal the perceptions of tribes and their sense of nationhood.

One of the most significant influences on Māori social organisation has been the dislocation caused by the population shift from rural to urban areas. The lure of education and training, employment and better housing was attractive to whānau Māori as they searched for a solution to the economic pressures associated with the rural life style. The government promoted urban-industrial expansion as the future development direction for the country during the 1950-70s. As a consequence, a high percentage of subsequent generations were raised outside their tribal organisations and boundaries. The emergence of large disparities between Māori and non Māori against most, if not all, social and economic measures was perceived by Māori leaders as the result, in part, of dislocation from their tribal ties and kinship relationships once enjoyed by Māori families that are now urban based.

It was not surprising, therefore, to hear Māori groups in the early 1980s calling for economic self-sufficiency, a reduction of state dependency and the promotion of tribal development as the preferred vehicle for Māori advancement.⁷⁸ This was consistent with the then Labour Government's intention to restructure the economy and dismantle state involvement in the provision of social services. Tribal development may not have been the preferred option of all Māori people but Trust Boards and Rūnanga accessed government funded programme resources for this purpose.

While some urban Māori chose to identify with tribal organisations, others were left disenfranchised, unable to identify or choosing not to identify with any tribal group. Such views about the Māori identity generated by tribal and urban Māori based collectives were often debated. A good example is the fisheries settlement of 1992, which later caused urban Māori groups to question the justification of tribal asset distribution. The argument is embroiled in the settlement agreement's description of beneficiaries - all Māori, - and further complicated by a direction that pre-settlement assets should be distributed to iwi. Urban Māori groups are not satisfied that their circumstances are best served by a tribal distribution approach. It is unclear whether the court findings about the settlement contribute to a better understanding of the Māori identity. The recognition of the Māori individual as the primary beneficiary does not (i) address the dynamics of tribal and urban Māori realities, nor does it (ii) resolve the question as to who is the main Treaty partner or (iii) what is the

⁷⁸ Ngatata Love, (1985), 'The Decade of Māori Development' in *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings from the Hui Whakapūmau*, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University.

relationship between tribal authorities and other Māori authorities. In terms of Māori development, initial attempts to resolve the impasse have tended to compound the problem rather than improve the position.

Court decisions such as the Waipareira Trust and others vs Waitangi Fisheries Commission 1998 have encouraged tribal and urban Māori groups to jostle for recognition primarily to improve their respective positions for property rights, management and use of resources allocated under Treaty of Waitangi Settlements. Observation would suggest that such Māori collectives have generally focused on grievances and litigation, not only with the Crown and successive governments but also with internal groups, with other tribes and with urban Māori organisations. Notwithstanding the complex issues surrounding the debate, perhaps the question is more about whether tribal or urban based organisations are the best way to respond to contemporary Māori development. The ownership of resources is one issue, but the management of assets and the distribution of benefit is another. Attempts to unpack and understand the underlying interests of diverse tribal and urban collectives may reveal the nature and extent of respective ownership, management and distribution views.

Not surprisingly, the above situation has encouraged Māori individuals and collectives to review their understanding of what being Māori means. Given the complexities introduced by resource entitlement arguments it is prudent to gain a better understanding of the Māori identity and its implications for future Māori

Development. It may assist to know what the realities⁷⁹ of tribal and urban Māori individuals and collectives are, before applying this knowledge toward questions surrounding resource allocation, assets management, and benefit distribution.

The tribal versus urban Māori disagreement about Treaty Settlement resources and benefits may in effect, be clouding an equally, if not more, significant issue. The debate is not just confined to rural and urban Māori access to Treaty Settlement resources and benefits, but also extends to the possessed and dispossessed individuals and communities in Māori society. Notwithstanding this, non-Māori and Māori individuals and collectives are faced with recognising difference in cultural, political and socio-economic terms.

Although Māori may not be homogeneous there may exist common aspirations and needs. However, pre- and post-Treaty settlement issues are proving difficult to traverse. With political discourse and economic interests at the forefront of the debate, it remains charged with patch protection strategies by both tribal and urban Māori collectives. Consequently, emerging hapū, iwi and urban Māori organisations can be described as expressions of diverse realities and aspirations. This diverse situation is progressive in so far as it encourages Māori social groups to review the basis of unity within and beyond the group itself. But it is equally concerning that emerging and existing tribal and non-tribal groups will provoke each other with legal

⁷⁹ Mason Durie, (1995), 'Māori in New Zealand: Identity and Diverse Realities', *An address given at the Second Theory, Culture and Society Conference in Berlin, August 1995.*

over boundaries and authority. The effort required to sustain this provocative movement may prove to be misdirected and ultimately futile. Observation suggests the impasse that is created by fragmentation and contestation between Māori individuals and collectives often results in Court judgments for what are fundamentally Māori decisions. Indeed, it presents an interesting dilemma given that Māori aspire to control and manage Māori affairs. On the other hand, contemporary Māori responses to inter-Māori conflicts would suggest that litigation is a well-rehearsed and respected mechanism to exercise when attempting to move beyond the impasse. While internal competition for authority, legitimacy and resources can be all consuming amongst Māori, the government has not been short of influence within these debates by setting policy processes and outcomes for Māori development. What follows is a discussion about these matters.

Government Outcomes for Māori

Māori collectives may disagree about the distribution of benefits from Treaty settlements but there remains an element of shared concern about the effects of the structural adjustment programme on Māori. Dissatisfaction with the 'Muldoonist' era and election promises were sufficient for many Māori to openly support the 1984 Labour government until the economic and political inconsistencies of its own treaty policy became more apparent. The Labour government did undertake to transfer Māori service delivery to legal entities focused on tribal development. Arguably, this may have provided the conditions for revitalising the status and purpose of tribal

authorities. At the micro level, immediate and tangible opportunities were expected, however an analysis of the macro level does not present an unmitigated success story. Official statistics⁸⁰ show the burden of structural adjustment in New Zealand was and still is carried disproportionately by Māori communities. To support this view one can point to a press statement from the then Minister of Māori Affairs who commented about the Hon. Sir Peter Tapsell's admission that Labour's abolishing of the former Department of Māori Affairs was a mistake, and so was the ploy to mainstream Māori funding.⁸¹

While an analysis of Statistics New Zealand information may not substantiate a correlation or causality with structural adjustment and mainstreaming, or establish an immediate link to an unregulated global market, it nonetheless reveals an unsettling trend of disparities between Māori and non-Māori. According to historical record, the total Māori population, already low, declined further between 1850 and 1900 reaching an all time low of 42,000 in 1896. The population began to increase slightly in the early 1900s but significant increases only began after 1950. Based on returns from people who self-identified as Māori, the 1996 census recorded the Māori population to be 523,371. In terms of population distribution, the majority of the Māori population lived in the North Island and predominantly in the main urban areas. The largest

⁸⁰ Statistics New Zealand has a range of statistical information about the Māori population. The references in this section are derived from this source. See also Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

⁸¹ See Press Release on Mainstreaming, 3 August 1998 from the Office of Hon. Tau Henare.

Māori concentration could be found in the Auckland Regional Council (twenty-four percent) which contributes to over 60 percent of the Māori population that live north of Taupo. While the largest percentage of Māori live in main urban areas (62 percent), it is more common for Māori rather than non-Māori to live in small urban centres.⁸²

Furthermore, the 1996 census reports the median age for Māori was 21.4 years which means 50 percent of the Māori population were under twenty-two years old. By comparison, it is significantly lower than the total New Zealand population with a median of 32.3 percent. However with increasing life expectancy and a relatively low fertility rate, preparing for an ageing population will be an important development issue for tribal and other Māori organisations.

The number of births per Māori woman has declined since 1960. Although slightly higher than non-Māori women the average number of live births for youth or teenage pregnancy is not likely to substantially change. Statistics NZ 1995 information shows that Māori women were more likely to have babies between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four with a slight decline between twenty-five and twenty-nine before dropping away after age thirty. In comparison, non-Māori tend to have babies between twenty-five and thirty-four although a fair percentage is noticeable in the twenty to twenty-four age group. The number of infants less than one year old in one-

⁸² Statistics NZ, (1997), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Māori*, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

parent families highlights the potential implications of such trends.⁸³ Since 1981, this has increased from under twenty percent to over forty percent in 1991. If the trend continues then Māori one-parent families for children less than one year old can be expected to increase.

This aforementioned change in whānau structure will test the capacity of whānau support systems but may also reveal ways to strengthen contemporary whānau development. The prospect of such a high percentage of youthful but single parent families reveals one of many trends in modern Māori demography with implications for Māori development planners and policy makers which cannot be ignored. Notwithstanding these trends, some of the most alarming statistics are in the areas of unemployment, psychiatric admissions (first) and school retention and achievement rates.

Māori female and male unemployment figures between 1951-1996 displayed similar trends in comparison to non-Māori.⁸⁴ Although New Zealand unemployment figures increased between 1966-1991, Māori unemployment leaped to over twenty-five percent in 1991 in comparison to under ten percent for non-Māori during the same period. The worst period was between 1986-1991. Relief was achieved for Māori

⁸³ J. A. Davey, (1993), 'Monitoring New Zealand Households', in *New Zealand Population Review*, 1993.

⁸⁴ Taken from Census information for 1991 Household Labour Force Survey. Also see Statistics NZ, (1997), 1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Māori, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

males between 1981-1986 but it was short lived as the figures climbed afterwards. On reflection, the relief may have resulted from the availability of Māori unemployment programmes. Between 1992-95, employed Māori figures increased by 20,000 with a period of labour force stability following for Māori. At the same time, Māori unemployment, long term unemployment and youth unemployment declined. The positive impact is weakened by a less favourable 1996 Māori unemployment result, which increased to 18.3 percent in March 1998.⁸⁵

Māori first admissions and readmissions to psychiatric hospitals between 1960-1990 reveal higher rates than for non-Māori.⁸⁶ Even though the trends converge after 1990 for all groups, Māori men were still more likely to be readmitted than non-Māori. Between 1984-1993, the Māori male readmission rate increased by 65 percent while for Māori women the rate increased by twenty-eight percent. Bridgman and Dyll (1996) reported that during the same period the admission rate for non-Māori had reduced by twenty-five percent.⁸⁷ Whether or not a correlation can be made with the introduction of structural adjustment programmes would require another level of analysis. However, the low Māori admission rate of 88 per 100,000 in 1960 to 205

⁸⁵ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington, pp. 14-16.

⁸⁶ See Lorna Dyll, (1997), 'Māori', in *Mental Health in New Zealand from a Public Health Perspective*, Ministry of Health, Wellington, pp. 85-103.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 43.

per 100,000 in 1990 levelling to 191 per 100,000 in 1993 is nothing less than dramatic.⁸⁸

In education and schooling, two key measures generally analysed are achievement and retention rates. Between 1965-1995, Māori achievement and retention rates have taken a parallel course to non-Māori. By comparison with non-Māori, proportionate increases are evident between 1985-1993 with a small decline in retention rates toward 1995. While some education commentators are excited by this, it does not provide comfort for those who are representative of the disparities. The gap between Māori and non-Māori retention rates is not closing for every indicator.⁸⁹ Finding ways to improve the situation for a youthful Māori population is an important challenge for Māori development planners, policy writers and politicians. Without support, significant numbers of Māori may be predestined, at best, to explore second chance education options later in life.

Some may argue that until Māori human capital⁹⁰ is strengthened at all levels, Māori resources will be primarily managed and controlled by others. Based on a Ministry of Māori Development description of Māori physical resources potential, it is estimated

⁸⁸ See Table 17 in Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington, p. 25.

⁸⁹ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

⁹⁰ Described as the stock of education, skills and knowledge acquired by human beings themselves by Terrence Loomis, (1999), in *Indigenous Populations and Sustainable Development*, Working Paper 3/99, University of Waikato, Hamilton, p. 6.

that land based assets are worth 1.658 billion dollars, fisheries are worth 0.574 billion dollars, self employed business are worth two billion dollars. Furthermore, Māori Corporate entities are estimated to be worth 0.5 billion dollars, Māori Trust Boards' fixed assets are worth 0.047 billion dollars, and Māori dwellings owner equity are worth six billion dollars. In total, the estimated physical resource base is worth 10.779 billion dollars.⁹¹ Claims on natural resources by tribal collectives throughout the country, and changes in valuation, will undoubtedly alter these estimates.

On reflection, disparities have accumulated with significant concerns emerging from the 1984 - 1989 period. These circumstances invite Māori development planners and policy makers to respond to a youthful population with 37.5 percent under fifteen years old and with only three percent of the total Māori population over 65 year old.⁹² Based on the demographic trends presented here, Māori are more likely (i) to maintain a birth rate just above the non-Māori rate, and (ii) to shift from a youthful Māori population to a mature population with significant generational disparities to resolve in future years.

Contemporary Māori development since 1984 has been dominated by the restructuring of the national economy and the welfare state. Successive governments responded to

⁹¹ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1999), *Māori in the New Zealand Economy*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington, p. 17.

⁹² See Statistics NZ, (1997), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Māori*, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

international monetary policies by reforming the economy and by reducing public expenditure. As a consequence, there was more certainty of trading surplus funds becoming available for debt repayment in the first instance. Under these conditions, government funding for Māori development was considerably reduced as a substantial amount of Vote: Māori Affairs⁹³ was transferred to mainstream government agencies to deliver improved services for Māori. However, according to the Ministry of Māori Development (1998) report on disparities between Māori and non-Māori, mainstream policies and practices did not make a significant difference to the Māori social and economic position. Many Māori communities in low socio-economic groupings witnessed the removal of state advocacy and state support.⁹⁴

Māori development was rationalised against economic philosophy and action about fiscal responsibility and communal property rights. The relationship between Māori and the Crown was strained further as litigation and intense public debate about how to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi ensued. The cynical viewpoint saw this as a deliberate strategy to minimise the Crown's exposure to Treaty of Waitangi compliance in order to maximise financial benefits from its structural adjustment programme.

⁹³ Refer to Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Mainstreaming Māori Affairs: An Information Pamphlet*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

⁹⁴ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress toward closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

It could be argued that the government response to Treaty of Waitangi obligations was more about limiting resource allocations for settlements, minimising legal compliance and subsuming the Māori population into mainstream economic and social policy provisions thereby allowing a further reduction in state spending. On the other hand, the inclusion of the Treaty in legislation and in policy statements (many evident since 1984) does suggest a level of awareness, if not a commitment, not previously seen since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

For Māori, the right to control Māori development was a recurring theme, underlying many of the arguments presented to the government. However, the government was uncomfortable with what tino rangatiratanga could imply, especially if taken to mean more than self-management as expressed in the government's Treaty principle of rangatiratanga. Sceptics would conclude that the government concern was little more than a deliberate ploy to retain control over the processes and the options for resolving Treaty claims and Māori development policy. Not surprisingly, the government continued to direct social and economic policy development for Māori.

With good intentions, many Māori embraced the vision of the government's devolution policy. There was certainly a view that Māori were being encouraged to establish a firm and independent place on the free market landscape by reducing Māori dependency on the State and by being funded directly to provide for Māori social and economic development. In reality, political intervention slowed this

process down as the government gradually but surely withdrew its support from this devolutionary course of action.

In 1997, the New Zealand constitution debate was reopened. Libertarians sought to remove the Treaty of Waitangi as the constitutional document of New Zealand, in particular, its influence on the rights and interests of individuals and collectives. According to this viewpoint, the Treaty of Waitangi is associated with philosophical dilemmas and practices, which are not consistent with neo-liberalism. Yet, it could be argued that the principles of the Treaty are currently applied within a neo-liberal development framework for mainstream New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi prescribes a relationship between Māori and the Crown. It protects inclusive and exclusive rights and interests for collective and individual Māori and gives to the Crown the role of guarantor and protector. Neo-liberalism, however, recognises the individual as the basic unit of human society - a perspective that is favoured by the free-market approach. It may be somewhat obvious to assume that the government has a better record of responding to individual rights, but in more recent times the government has demonstrated greater responsiveness to collective rights. For example, the funded programme support provided to urban Māori and tribal Māori interests by the government would suggest an attempt to respond positively to both Māori individual and collective rights. However, the class of beneficiary in the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Settlement (that is all Māori) has introduced a tension between collective and individual rights. In one sense, the Waitangi Fisheries Settlement ensures that all Māori are beneficiaries no matter what their circumstances. However,

on the other hand, the settlement statement about the class of beneficiary also presents a dilemma between the Crown's obligations to individual Māori and to tribal Māori collectives.

Based on the previous commentary, a Māori development conceptual framework should not rely on a donor - donee relationship. Instead, it needs to be responsive to the circumstances of diverse Māori collectives without disregarding the wellbeing of Māori as individuals. While Crown and Māori expectations and outcomes may or may not be identical, one might ask whether or not the outcomes achieved indeed were what either group expected. Notwithstanding the probability of some mismatch, the general perception is that government economic policies were relentlessly promoted even though there was substantive evidence that Māori households⁹⁵ were becoming progressively disadvantaged. Given the evidence, there is merit in considering the relevance of alternative ideas and practices about development offered by local, national and international examples, particularly the self-determination strategies of indigenous peoples.

In summary, there were slight gains such as participation in education. However, this was somewhat overshadowed by the high number of job losses for Māori. Participation increased in self-employment and household income but was adversely offset by less affordable housing and more reliance by Māori on social welfare

⁹⁵ The household is the basic unit used by Statistics NZ for the census. See Statistics NZ, (1997), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Māori*, Department of Statistics, Wellington.

assistance than non-Māori. In most development areas, (that is social and economic development) there are no immediate signs that social and economic gaps are closing nor is there any confidence about imminent changes for the better. For these reasons, a literature search of alternative ideas, models and frameworks for development are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three: Alternative Development Ideas, Models and Frameworks

In general, New Zealand economic and social policies have tested the resolve of tribal organisations to sustain their core values, principles and processes. Māori population shifts from tribal territories to key urban centres are one reflection of the problem. Consequently, what is important to different Māori communities may be shared but influenced by context and circumstances. The situation has required Māori organisations to adapt as government economic and political reforms affect their relationships and their sense of place. In response, alternative development ideas and practices provide considerations for developing conceptual tools which may improve Māori organisations' responsiveness to the social, economic, cultural and political aspirations of Māori peoples. With Treaty of Waitangi settlements and related issues such as equity, diversity, sustainable management and self-determination on the Māori development agenda, the significance of a Māori centred approach to development assumes greater importance.

International Perspectives

At the international level, social, ecology and environmental communities concerned with the consequences of revolutionary economic and political reforms have generated alternative ideas about development theory and practice. International critics such as

David Korten⁹⁶ have examined the open market ideology and its benefit to quality of life and wellbeing. In their view, it is not reasonable to support the creation of a global economic system capable of producing 358 (dollar) billionaires while another 1.3 billion people face less than adequate living conditions.

This polarity simply results in maintaining the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many. Uexkull (1997)⁹⁷ and others argue that reliance on economic ideology for decision-making processes and procedures should be balanced by reference to social and environmental principles. According to the proponents of this liberal view, such ideas require a leadership prepared to create the conditions that encourage empowerment at community levels thereby restoring a balance of power in society between economic and other forces. Even so, however, states all too frequently fail to take account of indigenous values and beliefs as they might apply to social and environmental principles. Nonetheless, social and environmental research communities are attempting to find common ground for building a development framework held together by core values, central principles and processes grounded in ideas and practices that make sense to diverse communities.⁹⁸ Such a development framework could provide access to the critical thinking of other social, environmental

⁹⁶ David Korten is quoted by Jacob von Uexkull, (1997), in *Cornerstones* April 1997.

⁹⁷ See Jakob von Uexkull, (1997) , 'On leadership and things we believe' in *Cornerstones*, April 1997, Newsletter of the Right Livelihood Award Foundation. An abridged version of Chairman Uexkull's speech to the 1996 Right Livelihood Foundation Awards in Stockholm.

⁹⁸ See Frans Shuurman,(ed.), (1996), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, Zed Books, London. Various writers present an array of issues about rethinking about development theory, practice and research.

and ecological research communities. As a consequence, researchers can access this information stream and thereafter consider its merits for contemporary Māori development.

To some extent the central dilemma is presented as a conflict between the ideologies exemplified by the economic imperative of the free-market and the sustainable management imperative of environment and ecology-based communities within a socially responsible framework. However, it is unduly simplistic to examine Māori development as if it were simply a debate about opposing ideologies. What has been missing from the debate, at least in New Zealand, is an approach which is Māori-centred and which draws on social, economic and cultural principles that make sense to contemporary Māori. A discussion about design elements toward a Māori-centred approach follows.

In Search of Framework Design Elements

One of the fundamental tensions in western science and philosophy is about the study of substance and the study of form.⁹⁹ Substance is about matter, structure or quantity; and form refers to pattern, order and quality. They have generally been treated as competing approaches to investigation within the western scientific and philosophical tradition. The substance approach asks what is it made of? What are the fundamental

⁹⁹ See Fritjof Capra, (1997), *The Web Of Life*, First Anchor Books, USA.

constituents? The form approach asks what is its pattern? These approaches have dominated human endeavour with attempts to improve our understanding about the nature of complex living systems. As a result, new insights are described with concepts such as networks, feedback and self-organisation.

A fundamental contention associated with these ideas is that living systems are networks capable of self-organisation. Networking offers a perspective that suggests communities are capable of learning from feedback and by providing them with learning capability. Capra (1996)¹⁰⁰ argues that a comprehensive theory of living systems lies in the synthesis of two approaches - the study of pattern (or *form*, order, quality) and the study of structure (or *substance*, matter, quantity). A study of patterns is about the mapping of relationships. It is a qualitative exercise focused on revealing relationships that appear repeatedly. Therefore, a study of relationships is about a study of patterns. Three key shifts in thinking are revealed here: (i) a move away from measuring to mapping, (ii) a change of perspective from contents to patterns, and (iii) a healthy regard for contextual and process thinking. Context refers to the inter connectedness of a system with its environment. From this perspective, the whole is more significant than the parts. The approach perceives the problematic based on principles of organisation by placing the organisation into the context of the larger whole.

¹⁰⁰ See Fritjof Capra, (1996), 'The Web Of Life' in *Resurgence*, No. 178, April 1996.

A study of structure is about describing actual physical components. This is a quantitative exercise focused on discerning aspects that include shape, size and composition. A study of physical matter is about a study of structure. Three cornerstones are important here. First, measurement is required. Second, content is important. Third, scientific rigour is paramount. From this perspective, the parts are what make the whole. If it is accepted that diverse Māori collectives do exist and do network with other living systems and are capable of self-organisation then it is possible to map the relationships and describe the physical components. Accordingly, Māori perspectives about the inter connectedness of social, cultural, economic and political matters are critical to a study of Māori organisation in contemporary Māori development.

Māori customary knowledge and understanding founded on tribal values, beliefs and custom presents a recognisable philosophical base. Today, it is cultivated in the discourse of Māori realities revealed by concepts such as whakapapa (genealogy), whānaungātanga (relationships) and mauri (life source). To a greater or lesser extent, customary knowledge and understanding are considered relevant to contemporary Māori development. However, the appropriateness, relevance and application of Māori knowledge and understanding require further consideration within the contexts and circumstances of Māori organisations. While care for the environment and improving the position of Māori is perceived to be a common aspiration, it may be presumptuous to believe that all Māori organisations readily apply Māori values, beliefs and customs. For Māori who acknowledge such traditions, whether the

behaviour is explicit or not, respect and acknowledgement is afforded to the relationships that exist between all things. Whakapapa references the tangible and intangible relationships among all phenomena. Whānaungātanga describes their networks. Mauri is often explained to be the life source, a presence that carries the life-print. In synthesis, acknowledgement is given to human life being connected and inter-woven with all things.¹⁰¹

Ecology and environmental research communities may share similarities with Māori tradition and practice. In fact, core principles may reflect mutually agreeable intentions, although described in different ways. What this means in practice is treated with caution by iwi and hapū authorities who regard ecology and environmental advocates as interest groups, not as Treaty partners. Yet it is not unusual to find tribal and urban based Māori organisations reclaiming, valuing and applying these understandings in ways that make sense to them.¹⁰²

In general, iwi and hapū authorities are comfortable with interest groups who assist them to fulfil their kaitiakitanga¹⁰³ responsibilities, within the parameters of a Treaty

¹⁰¹ It is not intended to provide a detail description of these concepts. However, it is appropriate to acknowledge that much of what is considered Māori stems from tribal philosophies and practices. With the resurgence of Māori culture at national and international levels, tribal tenets are being reshaped and reorganised to these circumstances. Writers such as Metge (1967), Marsden (1975), Rangihau (1975), Salmond (1975), Walker (1978) and Henare (1988) provide useful perspectives about such matters.

¹⁰² Whanganui River Māori Trust Board, (1993), *Whanganui River Water Rights Charter*, WRMTB, Whanganui. The Charter presents a set of principles about ownership, use and management of the river.

¹⁰³ Kaitiakitanga is derived from the word tiaki, which reflects ideas about care, protection and preservation. In this form, its approximate meaning would be trusteeship or guardianship.

relationship, and without imposing their belief systems, values and practices. Consequently, two streams of development ideas and practice are important here. These are the discourse of an international community and the discourse of Māori communities.

The construction of a conceptual framework from such experiences would increase the explanatory power of a Māori-centred approach. Furthermore, it may be useful to link research and practice at different levels as they have limited practical meaning in isolation from each other. By doing this, the reasons and purposes for contemporary Māori relationships can be taken into account when examining alternative development ideas and practices. In this respect, intellectual inquiry is aimed at explaining the development of disenfranchised people. While not every individual Māori readily falls within this description there are significant Māori collectives based on gender, age, income levels, educational attainment and other circumstances that do so.¹⁰⁴ It follows that inquiry must be focused on diverse Māori realities for both process and results.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, inquiry values what is done and who people are more than what is known. Based on this research perspective, the real task in development is to link understanding and action more closely by ensuring that the people most affected are at the core of the arrangement.

¹⁰⁴ See Te Puni Kōkiri, (1999), *Māori in the New Zealand Economy*, Ministry of Māori Development,, Wellington.

¹⁰⁵ For further discussion see Michael Edwards, (1993), 'How Relevant is Development Studies?', in Frans J. Schuurman (ed.), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, Zed Books, London, pp.77-92.

At a philosophical level, moral and ethical considerations about who benefits and why, are valued. At a political level, Ranginui Walker (1992) and others would argue that while Māori development theory and practices remain controlled by the veto of others, a sense of urgency for Māori self-determination still remains intact.

In response, a Māori Development Framework should acknowledge not only the international and national dynamics confronting Māori peoples but should also provide explanatory power that enables Māori to respond effectively to political and economic movements. By testing the relevance and appropriateness of contemporary development ideas and practices their application also can be assessed. This is discussed as follows.

Contemporary Development Themes

Many contemporary development ideas have been generated from Third World experiences based on international development practice. Some alternative ideas have emerged from comparisons of third world social structures and advanced industrial countries, based on fundamentalist accounts of developmental laws and tendencies that can be used to identify development obstacles.¹⁰⁶ Such attempts to reveal common properties of development are often tainted by a failure to account for the unevenness of processes and variability of outcomes.

¹⁰⁶ Alternative development is more concerned with the impact of development on people than developing a theoretical position.

A refocus on ideas that inform development practice rather than increase the theoretical debate¹⁰⁷ has enabled groups previously marginalised by conventional development theories and practices to be more readily included. As a consequence, development principles, which account for contemporary circumstances such as the environment, social equity, diverse aspirations and goals, gender and indigenous rights have gained greater credence.

Attempts to address basic needs of local and national communities have raised concerns about wealth distribution to a minority and poverty for a majority. Consequently, widespread poverty and dysfunction in third world countries generated notions such as inequality and diversity, and in turn have focused greater attention on the social, economic, political and cultural circumstances faced by individuals and collectives at all levels of Māori society.

Concerns about overpopulation, but more so the depletion of natural resources and pollution of the natural environment were followed by an international conservation movement focused on reducing if not eliminating unsustainable economic practices. So emerged the notion of sustainability – maintaining the integrity of nature's

¹⁰⁷ See Robert Chambers, (1983), *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London. Chambers and others have challenged conventional development practice by suggesting that alternative principles of development are required. These ideas respond to those neglected by popular development theories and practices.

processes, cycles and rhythms.¹⁰⁸ Fundamental to 'sustainability' is the view that no international economic order could be viable if the natural biological systems that underpin the global economy are not preserved.¹⁰⁹ Sustainability, the concept and practice, is influenced by a conservationist approach to use management and the development of limited natural resources. Sustainability is a precondition to care for, protect, preserve and respect the right of living things to renew themselves. In this context, it follows that development is about action that improves the wellbeing of living things and the surrounding environment. To achieve this, a shift from industrial development practice is expected by setting conservation minded preconditions about how development should proceed.

The indigenous peoples movement has emphasised the importance of traditional knowledge and wisdom toward the notion and practice of sustainability.¹¹⁰ According to the Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples (1997) an understanding of this matter sets in motion the need to empower local communities and learn viable options for the use and conservation of customary resources.

Based on international literature, Loomis, Morrison and Nicholas (1998) describe this as the maintenance and investment in four types of capital: man-made, human, natural

¹⁰⁸ Sachs, Wolfgang, (ed.), (1992), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, p. 217.

¹⁰⁹ Brohman, John, (1996), *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Oxford, p. 309.

¹¹⁰ See Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples, (1997), *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainability: Cases and Actions*, International Books, The Netherlands.

and social/cultural capital.¹¹¹ Much of this discussion incites a transfer of power involving a deep-level change in the very nature of power, beyond the transfer of power from one person to another, to a fundamental change in the mix of violence, wealth and knowledge employed by the powerful to maintain control.¹¹² Consequently, and with historical justification, the possibility of further exploitation of indigenous knowledge by the West is perceived as a new threat to indigenous peoples.

From political upheaval in South America came the literature of oppression. The proponents of political freedom in South America such as Paulo Freire¹¹³ argued that empowerment through educative processes would enable the oppressed to take control of their lives and cause change in social, political, culture and economic matters. Accordingly, the activities of individuals and collectives are not value neutral but are conscious political acts of power and control. In practice, the discourse on oppression sympathises with oppressed communities and urges them to understand their oppressive circumstances so that they may develop appropriate response strategies and tactics, and, thereafter, actively challenge oppressive behaviours in social, political, economic and cultural areas at all levels. In that sense, the notion of empowerment

¹¹¹ Terrence Loomis; Sandra Morrison; Taari Nicholas, (1998), *Capacity Building for Self-Determined Māori Economic Development*, Working Paper No. 2/98, Department of Development Studies, School of Māori and Pacific Development, University of Waikato, Hamilton, p. 3.

¹¹² Alvin Toffler, (1991), *Powershift*, Bantam Books, New York.

¹¹³ Paulo Freire, (1972), *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin Books, Great Britain. Also see John Friedmann, (1992), *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Cambridge.

represents a means of legitimating change by those who are perceived by others and perhaps perceive themselves to be disempowered. It assumes that someone needs to be empowered by someone else. Furthermore, it presupposes that power should be transferred and that the powerless actually desire what the powerful have. With reference to the Gandhian movement, Rahenma (1992) argues that those presumed to be powerless are not necessarily so, rather they have a different power which is not always perceived as such, and cannot be actualised in the same manner, yet it is very real in many ways.¹¹⁴ Therefore, inner freedom to share, to listen and to learn, and outer freedom from violence and abuse are accentuated rather than the acquisition of the oppressor's power.¹¹⁵

The notion of participation has gained strength as a result of increasing dissatisfaction with top-down development models. Nevertheless, a cautionary note is sounded by Majid Rahnema (1992) who raises a concern about the concept being used as a deceptive myth or a dangerous tool for manipulation – thereby proving difficult to put into practice. In his words;

The fact that entire populations are robbed of their possibilities of relating and acting together, in their own best interests, is indeed a most serious question. This represents a state of violence, which cannot leave anyone indifferent, and it, no doubt, calls for action. Whenever people confront such situations, they do act, collectively or individually, within the limits of their possibilities... Only the acromanic, the missionary, the obsessional intevenor and the mentally programmed do-gooder think they alone care about the situation, while the victims do not. And because of the arrogance and lack of sensitivity

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 128.

implied in this attitude, their mediation turns out usually to be manipulative and counterproductive.¹¹⁶

In contrast, proponents of bottom-up models are concerned about who should drive development projects and receive primary benefits. A central feature of bottom-up research and development assumes that it is most likely to succeed when those affected have significant control over the process and the desired outcomes. Participatory approaches to community research and development are being used in rural and regional development projects. In practice the knowledge and experience of communities is valued, however criticisms are raised about the high cost and lengthy time requirements of participatory approaches.

The notion of self-determination is often identified with indigenous peoples' development. The Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples (1997) stated that the basic demand of indigenous peoples is that their right to self-determination be recognised. According to the Kari-Oca Declaration, announced at UNCED in 1992, self-determination means "the right to decide our forms of government, to use our own laws to raise and educate our children, to our own cultural identity without interference."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Majid Rahnema, (1992), 'Participation', in Wolfgang Sachs, (ed.), (1992), *The Development Dictionary*, Zed Books, London, p. 126.

¹¹⁷ Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples, (1997), *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainability: Cases and Actions*, International Books, The Netherlands, p. 29.

At the crux of this movement are challenges to colonisation which have led to challenges, through the ages, to reduce if not eliminate colonial authority and control. According to this perspective, colonial and indigenous developments are not mutually inclusive. However, it is important to note that not all indigenous peoples have experienced European colonialism.

Broad international acceptance has been given to the idea that indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that have developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts thereof. Indigenous peoples form non dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.¹¹⁸ For example, in his description of a Yupiaq worldview, Kawagley (1995) states that through indigenous government, our customs, cultures, languages and histories can be preserved and flourish into the future and benefit the world community in better understanding each others culture.¹¹⁹ A complementary theme can be found in the work of researchers such as Cornell and Kalt (1997) who present compelling arguments about the practice of indigenous government. Based on

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁹ See A. Oscar Kawagley, (1995), *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*, Waveland Press Inc., Illinois, p. 42.

their research of Native American tribes, they argue that the key to successful development is grounded in sovereignty and nation building. Simply, sovereignty is about the ability to exercise authority in an accountable and responsible manner though, in and of itself, there is no guarantee of success. Nation building is about the process of building viable sovereign nations through capable institutions of self-governance.¹²⁰

What is made clear is the distinction between tribal governance and the governance of corporate entities. The effective exercise of tribal sovereignty is contingent on the separation of tribal politics – tribal governance from the management of tribal affairs – the tribal public interest and the tribal private sector opportunities. Underpinning effective institutional arrangements is the need for political stability through tribal laws, rules, and procedures that are appropriate to the tribe's situation and its heritage and that can get things done in the real world that tribes confront.¹²¹ As a consequence of research with Native American tribes, Cornell and Kalt (1997) propose that the reinforcement of tribal sovereignty should be the central thrust of public policy in America for there is value not only for Indian nations but for non-Indian communities as well.¹²² In practical terms, it would require the relationship between the tribe and government to be adjusted. The government would move from

¹²⁰ See 'Nation-Building: Creating a Place for Business', in *Reinvestment: Community Affairs Department*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Winter 1997, pp. 1-13.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²² *ibid.*, pp. 7-12.

decision-maker to a resource option, from controlling influence in decisions to advisor or provider of technical assistance.

In reality, however, most governments contend themselves with the principles of self-management and self-government so that there are no limitations on the ultimate authority of the state. More often than not, these responses have failed to satisfy the primary concerns of indigenous peoples. In development terms, self-organisation is perceived as the starting point for any exercise of self-determination. In effect, self-organisation refers to indigenous peoples exercising control over their own political, economic, social, and cultural development. With this belief and access to international forums, indigenous peoples continue to advocate for international agreements and national recognition of indigenous peoples rights. However, governments are unlikely to readily allow the indigenous people who were disenfranchised to achieve a level of political, economic, social and cultural power that could potentially destabilise government control or lead to a cession.

Perhaps there is an implicit belief system, driven by a need to protect the basis of power and control and the world of their ancestors, which rationalises indigenous peoples as ultimately striving to eliminate the power base of the oppressor. There may be an element of truth in this. However, it is the redefining of relationships and an inalienable duty to pass on the ancestral legacy to future generations that permeates the discourse of indigenous peoples.

Fleras and Elliot (1992)¹²³ argue that New Zealand, like Canada is constrained by paradigms that are founded in colonialism, which still persist today. The new paradigm is concerned with redefining the relationship between the Crown and Māori in the New Zealand context, and between the Crown and First Nations, Metis and Inuit in the Canadian context. However, although outmoded views of government responsibilities are being revised albeit slowly, there is evidence of dissatisfaction of aboriginal peoples as well as of those reliant on the status quo. By example, recent agreements between the Canadian government and aboriginal peoples recognised by the Canadian constitution, have achieved home rule for Nunavut and movement toward self-government for the Nisga'a Nation on the west coast of British Columbia.¹²⁴ Although not necessarily simultaneous, the self-government and home rule initiatives were preceded by an array of litigation and negotiation in response to political and legal pressure about aboriginal and treaty rights.

First Nations who are a protected aboriginal grouping in the Canadian constitution have used litigation to force the federal and provincial governments to recognise aboriginal rights. Calder (1973), Sparrow (1990), Van der Peet (1996), Gladstone (1996), and Delgamuuk (1996) are notable cases. The litigation approach, adopted by some First Nations, is about redefining what aboriginal rights mean and how to apply them. However, the federal and provincial governments' interest in litigation is, more

¹²³ A. Fleras; J. L. Elliot, (1992), *The Nation Within*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, pp. 227-231.

¹²⁴ Interviews with staff of Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Nisga'a Tribal Council and others and the Assembly of First Nations, July - December 1998.

often than not, focused on maintaining the status quo and, where possible, to confine if not remove any legal uncertainty regarding the protection of aboriginal rights. In contrast to New Zealand, the Canadian government agreed to consider the issue of aboriginal self-government. The inclusion of self-government on the federal policy agenda is weighted positively by the recognition of inherent rights protected by the Canadian constitution. The government policy of self-government now provides an important negotiation lever in the treaty settlement process. Pragmatically, the federal government is seeking constitutional certainty with First Nations by codifying aboriginal rights into treaty rights. Through a self-government policy,¹²⁵ First Nations' jurisdiction within defined territories can be confirmed with the agreement of the federal and provincial governments, while provincial and national jurisdiction are affirmed by the process. In the Canadian context, there is a level of commitment from the federal and some provincial governments to address claims by First Nations, Inuit and Metis. However, international policy development about indigenous rights is treated as a guide to a national response rather than as a prescription. Importantly, self-government does not include international relations as part of inherent rights. First Nations may not necessarily share this view, in particular the ability to enter into economic alliances across international borders. Although provision does exist for this to occur under federal jurisdiction, self-government may be perceived by First Nations as a mechanism for limiting aboriginal rights to First Nation territories.

¹²⁵ See Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, (1997), *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa. See also Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, (1995), *Aboriginal Self-government: The Government of Canada's approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the negotiation of Aboriginal self-government*, Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa.

Ultimately, the relationship is founded on limited autonomy - self-governance within a larger sovereign nation state. The indigenous nation is portrayed as a type of minority population who choose to organise collective interests in order to achieve common goals and aspirations.

Authority for a defined area seems to represent a significant building block for creating tribal economic and social prosperity. No doubt, self-government will test the importance of tribal values and personal values against the aspirations and practicalities of tribal autonomy. Likewise, the value of tribal self-government for non-indigenous peoples will also be tested. Consequently, there is an unmistakable political dynamic underlying the future relationships, economic or otherwise, between indigenous nations and the State, indigenous nations with themselves and with others.¹²⁶

On a broader front, contemporary development themes may be theoretically recognised at an international level, but are rejected as mandatory. Some, but certainly not all sovereign countries, have adopted one or more of these themes with measured intentions in response to political influences. Given the nature of power and control, self-government and other development themes are more likely to be subjected to application, appropriateness and relevance parameters which are acceptable to power brokers at national and local levels. For example, table 3.1 outlines the purpose and

¹²⁶ Cornell and Kalt (1997) argue that economic development is not primarily an economic problem but first and foremost a political problem.

expected outcomes of various development themes. Such themes have the cumulative effort of outlining the multi-dimensional purposes and outcomes of development no matter what the context of development may be for indigenous peoples.

Table 3.1 : Contemporary Development Themes

Themes	Purpose	Expected Outcome
<i>Self-determination</i>	Reduce, if not eliminate, colonial oppression	Exercise authority and control
<i>Self-management</i>	Reduce external management of own affairs	Increase control over decisions affecting own wellbeing
<i>Self-government</i>	Reduce central government and the role of others in own affairs	Social, economic, cultural and political jurisdiction within agreed terms and conditions
<i>Self-organisation</i>	Enable individuals and groups to organise according to democratic imperatives	Organise to improve individual and group wellbeing
<i>Empowerment</i>	Remove political, cultural, economic and social oppression	Political action through responsive strategies and tactics
<i>Social equity</i>	Regard for lower socio-economic groups	Equitable benefit distribution
<i>Cultural diversity</i>	Recognise cultural differences	Public tolerance of cultural principles and practices
<i>Participation</i>	Genuine inclusion in decision-making processes and benefit distribution	Those affected are involved in decision-making processes and receive primary benefits
<i>Sustainability</i>	Recognise conservation principles and practices	Environmental protection and preservation

Given these general contemporary themes, the question is how are they or how can they be applied to a Māori context. The following section will discuss such an application.

Contemporary Development Themes for Māori

In the New Zealand context, Durie (1998) provides description and comment about the politics of Māori self-determination. For Māori, self-determination is generally associated with the notions of mana and tino rangatiratanga embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi. In another respect, it attempts to connect with the circumstances reported by indigenous peoples throughout the world. In response to (and encouraged by) the work of international writers such as Paulo Freire, Māori communities have adopted and reinterpreted ideas and practical responses to oppression, empowerment and self-determination. The Crown, however, has not accepted the debate beyond enabling Māori to manage their own affairs and resources.

Social, cultural, economic and political debates generated by Māori have continued to challenge the non-recognition of Treaty rights and the detrimental social, cultural and economic effects of government policies for Māori. Underlying the concerns, is a fundamental desire to retain, if not strengthen, the Māori identity and to maximise Māori wealth. Although not necessarily well defined, the Treaty of Waitangi relationship is fundamental to ideas of development and practice between Māori and the Crown. For this reason, it is useful to discuss the Waitangi Tribunal's deliberations on tino rangatiratanga.

Since the Orakei Report in November 1987, the Waitangi Tribunal has defined rangatiratanga as more than ownership.¹²⁷ The definition denotes the authority not only to possess but to manage and control¹²⁸ one's affairs in accordance with the preferences of the owner. Although Māori will attempt to maintain some form of self-government, that is, independent Māori control over Māori resources and people, it is recognised that tino rangatiratanga is not defined as separate sovereignty but tribal self-management¹²⁹ on lines similar to what the Tribunal understands to be the role played by local government. The Tribunal concluded that, in this regard, the texts of the Treaty are not so much contradictory as they are complementary of one another. The English text guaranteed Māori their just rights and properties. Just rights include the maintenance of their own customs and institutions.¹³⁰

According to the Waitangi Tribunal, cession by Māori of sovereignty to the Crown was in exchange for the protection by the Crown of Māori rangatiratanga. The notion of reciprocity is expressed by an exchange of the right to govern for the right of Māori to retain their full tribal authority and control over their lands and all other valued possessions.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, (1987), *Orakei Report (Wai 9)*, Department of Justice, Wellington, p. 134.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, (1992), *Ngai Tahu Report (Wai 27)*, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, p. 232.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ *ibid.*

That understanding includes active protection by the Crown¹³² or of any delegation afforded by the Crown. Consequently, the Crown must ensure that its Treaty duty of protection is fulfilled. Importantly, the Tribunal's deliberations provide a reasonable guide for Treaty interpretation although claimants are cautious about Treaty relationships with delegated authorities. The closing submission of Counsel for the Whanganui River Claim (Wai 167), for example, contended that the notion of rangatiratanga cannot be written out of the Treaty on the assertion that Māori rangatiratanga is incompatible with discretions conferred by statutory authorities such as the Regional Council (now known as Horizons).¹³³

The Tribunal's findings in this case are not strong enough for those who interpret rangatiratanga as if it were synonymous with sovereignty and for them, nothing less than absolute authority and control at both local and national levels would be sufficient. But even those who hold less sweeping views about rangatiratanga expect that the Treaty should include a sharing of power and authority at a national level. In that light, many of the Tribunal's findings do not directly refer to the matter. Instead, the sharing of political power and control is a constitutional debate promulgated by Māori dissatisfaction with the processes and outcomes of successive governments. One example was the national consultation conducted by the Ministry of Māori Development for the Government in 1995 for the Treaty Settlement Proposals.

¹³² Waitangi Tribunal, (1993), *Ngawha Geothermal Resource Report (Wai 304)*, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington.

¹³³ Closing Submission of Counsel for the Claimants, *Whanganui River Claim (Wai 167)*.

While the overall proposals in that context were rejected some of the process elements did capture Māori attention, in particular, mandate and representation issues. Nevertheless, the rejection was immediately followed by a Māori collective voice, led by Sir Hēpi Te Heuheū, in calling for the constitutional debate to begin.¹³⁴

At the local level, the Tribunal's findings do comment about full tribal authority over tribal lands and all other valued possessions. Nevertheless, the Tribunal put limits on the meaning of tino rangatiratanga to mean self-management rather than the recognition of Māori self-determination. Although the government is aware of Māori opinion, it has yet to formally engage in the debate. The delegation of responsibilities with accountability to government is already commonplace within regional and district councils. However, the idea of shared authority with Māori at either local or national level is treated with caution. If the government was to proceed with shared authority it would ultimately and fundamentally reshape the governance of the country. With such wide ranging views about the meaning and implications of tino rangatiratanga, from absolute sovereignty to the sharing of power and authority, it is not surprising to find this matter still at an impasse.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ National hui were called and held at Hirangi in Turangi to discuss the matter. Through workshops, discussion papers were produced.

¹³⁵ Extracted from an article in *Rural Bulletin*, September 1997. The article presents the comments of Morris Love, Director of the Waitangi Tribunal, about the meanings of tino rangatiratanga.

The aforementioned situation invites uncertainty about Māori development at one extreme and opportunity to define it better at the other. The Crown is predictable because it remains cautious about the meaning and implications of tino rangatiratanga. On the other hand, Māori are also predictable because they expect significant changes at all levels of social, economic, cultural and political life.

Characterised by issues of uncertainty, the state of affairs does illuminate the Māori-Crown relationship as a critical point of change for the kind of development framework desired by Māori. Implicit in the contestation is a desire to review the current relationship and thereafter introduce a renewal process, which demonstrates mutually agreeable changes to the status quo.

On the Māori political landscape, the practice of tribal self-organisation has been further impeded by disagreement among Māori over the parameters of self-determination and over conflicting interests. This is illustrated by the urban Māori authorities' challenge to the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission about who should receive and manage pre- and post-settlement assets. According to Inder,¹³⁶ urban Māori authorities disagree with the process of pre-settlement resource distribution because the distribution favours those in control of established iwi. Although this debate is about who owns, manages and receives the benefits, it may be

¹³⁶ R. Inder, (1997), 'Māori Launch series of hui to debate future of \$300 million fisheries assets', in *The National Business Review*, 25 July 1997.

viewed as a stand-off between tribal and urban Māori authorities rather than as a useful contribution to contemporary Māori development.

At the tribal level, iwi authorities are being challenged about the centralisation of resources and benefit distribution. To a greater or lesser degree, these challenges are concerned with the return of hapū specific resources and with the equitable distribution of benefits from iwi resources. It could be argued that the Crown approach to Treaty settlements is flawed because it fails to protect hapū rights to possess, manage and control their affairs and resources. Interestingly, the Treaty settlement process does not ensure that hapū resource distribution issues have been addressed. It could also be argued that this is a matter for iwi to resolve. If this is the case then it may be reasonable for iwi to demonstrate how respective hapū and whānau interests of affected individual Māori and whānau living outside tribal territories will be able to access tribal benefits.

The Treaty of Waitangi does speak about resource protection, management and control. At the centre of the matter is the relationship between Māori and the Crown. Consequently, alternative development ideas and practices are useful for two reasons. First, the Treaty is about rights and interests that underscore perspectives about Māori development. What is implied may be contentious but this is largely about whom should define what it means. Second, the Treaty is recognised by Māori and the Crown, though from different perspectives, as a baseline for determining what is considered fair and reasonable for Māori. Importantly, legal challenges to interpretations by the Crown or Māori are not prevented but the parties concerned do

not necessarily share the reasons for such actions. In practice, there has been considerable movement between the parties, with Māori sharing their knowledge and understanding with local authorities and government agencies. The notion and practice of sustainability, as presented by tribal and wider Māori community perspectives, is a fundamental benchmark for decision-making processes about economic, social, and cultural activity. The Māori expression of sustainability in concept *kaitiakitanga* - and in the practice of tribal resource management systems - has limited recognition at local and national levels. Consequently, the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi can be found in legislation but local authorities and government agencies are generally cautious about their interpretation and application.¹³⁷ Under these circumstances, Māori perspectives are predisposed to redefinition by a host of officials at local, regional and district levels.

This aforementioned commentary highlights a number of contemporary development themes for Māori. They represent ideas and practices, which are grounded in Western democracy and Crown law though not always agreeable to Māori. More important, contemporary development themes may be acceptable in many instances, however the determination, if not significant influence, by and of the Crown and its executive arm,

¹³⁷ More detailed comment can be found in P. Nuttall; James Ritchie, (1995), *Māori Participation in the Resource Management Act: An Analysis of Provision Made for Māori Participation in Regional Policy Statements and District Plans produced under the Resource Management Act 1991*, Tainui Māori Trust Board and Centre for Māori Studies and Research, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

the government, tends to invite rejection by Māori who believe that only Māori should determine Māori goals and aspirations.

Despite their merits or otherwise, contemporary development themes for Māori are essentially about an external party determining what is important, what is valued, and what can be achieved for Māori. Clearly, there is a determination by Māori to reduce the government's involvement in Māori development. Nevertheless the government continues to play a significant role in the conception and execution of development for Māori. A summary of development themes for Māori with statements of purpose and outcome is presented in table 3.2. The point of this section has been to discuss and highlight the themes as they are ascribed for Māori. But what of those themes as generated by Māori? What follows is a discussion about Māori development themes.

Table 3.2 : Contemporary Development Themes for Māori

Themes	Purpose	Outcome
<i>Self-management</i>	Enable Māori to management their own affairs and resources	Tribal and pan-Māori organisations contracted for service delivery of government programmes Tribal and pan-Māori organisations for regional purchasing of Māori health, broadcasting and other social policy programmes funded by the government Tribal and pan-Māori authorities as interface between respective communities and the mainstream Tribal and Māori corporations for managing Māori resources
<i>Social responsibility</i>	Demonstrate Māori entitlement to New Zealand Citizenship	Māori social needs reorganised within government mainstreaming policy Vote : Māori Affairs redistributed to mainstream government agencies Disparities increased between Māori and non-Māori
<i>Cultural diversity</i>	Recognise multiple Māori affiliations and associations	Māori Language, Arts and Culture are supported by national and local government funding Māori institutions, such as marae and wananga supported by government funding Distribution of assets and related benefits are fair
<i>Economic growth</i>	Increase Māori participation and access in New Zealand economy	Tribal/Māori authorities as interface between respective communities and the mainstream Tribal/Māori corporations for managing Māori resources Decreased access to government funding for Māori resource and small business development
<i>Individual choice</i>	Affirm primacy of individual rights and responsibilities, and the availability of choices in Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha	Social need replaced with user pays policy in education and health Social needs assessment more stringently applied Attention to individual access and participation issues
<i>Participatory democracy</i>	Encourage Māori participation in an open democracy	MMP introduced Public interest in local and national government performance increased

Contemporary Māori Development Themes

Contemporary Māori development themes are about Māori defining what is important and determining what should happen. Each theme has implications that are interconnected to the others. Collectively, the themes encapsulate commonly held views as points of reference for future Māori development. While there is no particular order or emphasis, each can be treated as integral to the whole.

Founded on historical antecedents, self-governance and Māori self-determination are often identified as contemporary expressions of *tinō rangatiratanga*. The politics of self-determination is not extinguished but the parameters of the debate are usually restricted or diminished by Crown and government actions. Nonetheless, the strength of Māori cultural affirmation and the renewed emphasis on a Māori identity attest to Māori determination to widen the debate.

Māori understood the Treaty relationship, as described by Orange (1987), as a reciprocal agreement which allowed for the sharing of authority: a partnership within the new nation.¹³⁸ Fleras and Elliot (1992) noted that no agreement about constitutional parameters of the partnership had been confirmed.¹³⁹ In more recent

¹³⁸ See Claudia Orange, (1987), *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Allen and Unwin NZ Ltd., New Zealand, p. 226.

¹³⁹ See A. Fleras; J. L. Elliott, (1992), *The Nations Within: Aboriginal - State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, p. 229.

years, Māori and the Crown have debated issues and perspectives on constitutional reform. Clearly the potential has not diminished, nor has political interest by Māori and non-Māori to formally engage.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the distance between *kawanatanga* and *rangatiratanga* may not be so difficult to traverse. Nonetheless, the desire to share the journey may prove to be the greatest challenge. For Māori, the entrenchment of the Treaty of Waitangi in constitutional law and government policy is yet to be fully realised.¹⁴¹

There is an increasing recognition that difference amongst Māori individuals and groups based on social, political, demographic and geographical complexities does exist. This is particularly evident amongst Māori who are reorganising themselves, and who are reviewing their affiliations and alliances. Much of this reorganisation and review is a response to structural adjustments and is highlighted by a desire to improve the social and economic circumstances of Māori. But the reorganisation also reflects the public and private tensions between competitive Māori political and economic interests. The situation is demonstrated by resource allocation and benefit disputes that do not so much exclude *iwi* development but more so do contest an *iwi*-centred approach as the most appropriate solution in all cases.

¹⁴⁰ See Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, pp. 228-238.

¹⁴¹ See Mason Durie, (1994), 'Concluding Remarks', in *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings of the Hui Whakapūmau*, Māori Studies Department, Massey University, Palmerston North, p. 171.

While noting the importance of iwi and hapū structures, particularly for Treaty-based political negotiations, and possibly the ownership and management of physical resources, Durie (1998) makes the point that social policies and programmes must relate primarily to Māori whānau and individuals across the range of social and cultural conditions.¹⁴² It is no longer unusual to observe Māori individuals and groups choosing to organise themselves outside tribal social groupings and, as a result, to expect access and participation in Treaty settlements as well as in the wider benefits of New Zealand citizenship. Given these circumstances, it may be argued that development for all Māori is impractical if confined to an iwi framework. It would be equally inappropriate to reject iwi development given that Māori also choose to organise as tribal collectives. Any rejection of diverse social, political, cultural and economic structures fails to acknowledge that Māori are establishing organisations in response to contemporary circumstances at local, national and international levels.

Māori organisations, tribally-based or otherwise, were not insulated from the structural adjustment programme that changed the landscape for all Māori no matter what are or were the age, gender, political, cultural, secular, social or economic imperatives. Notwithstanding the emergence of governance, asset management and

¹⁴² See Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 96.

distribution models for post-settlement, the question for tribal and non-tribal organisations is still what kind of organisational arrangements will provide benefits to all Māori, despite the circumstances?

On reflection, it is prudent for tribal organisations to consider the fact that benefits from iwi development have not always been transferred to Māori households and individuals.¹⁴³ The transfer of resources from the Crown as a result of Treaty settlements may primarily be about redress to tribes. Māori organisations, at all levels, should not readily ignore the needs and aspirations of Māori people living as tribal members or as members of a community distant from tribal influence or orientation. In this regard, social equity, empowerment and participation are likely to be common ideals for all Māori organisations.

In summary, a Māori development conceptual framework should respond to the attraction of economic development created by pending Treaty settlements and perceived resource development opportunities. Yet, such a framework should also be responsive to the social, economic, cultural and political demands of Māori individuals and groups. Importantly, a Māori-centred approach needs to have regard

¹⁴³ See Mason Durie, (1994), 'Concluding Remarks', in *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings of the hui Whakapūmau Māori Development Conference*, Massey University, Palmerston North, p. 168.

for the expectations of the Crown and Māori collectives with respect to the Treaty relationship.

Furthermore, a Māori conceptual framework may embrace international development ideas and practices to strengthen its explanatory power. Accounting for contemporary circumstances would present a model that (i) values what development means to Māori communities, (ii) accounts for contemporary patterns of Māori social organisation, and (iii) clarifies the distinctions about effective Māori organisations for contemporary Māori development.

In contrast to contemporary development themes for Māori, this commentary is primarily focused on the determination of development themes by Māori. These themes represent a reasonable but not an exhaustive account of current thinking about Māori development, which are described by Durie (1998) as central to the philosophy of positive development.¹⁴⁴ Table 3.3 presents an adaptation of Durie's 'Themes from the Decade of Māori Development' with statements of purpose and outcome.

¹⁴⁴ See Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 8.

Table 3.3 : Contemporary Development Themes by and for Māori¹⁴⁵

Themes	Purpose	Outcome
<i>Tino Rangatiratanga</i>	Māori authority and control	Increased debate about Māori self-governance and the politics of Māori self-determination
<i>Treaty of Waitangi</i>	Entrenchment of Treaty of Waitangi in constitutional law and government policy	Some recognition in legislation and government policy of the place of Māori in New Zealand's future
<i>Cultural advancement</i>	Application of cultural imperatives in contemporary circumstances Strengthen the Māori identity	Diversity of Māori realities Māori and tribal cultural revitalisation
<i>Social equity</i>	Elimination of socio-economic disparities between Māori and non- Māori	Limited influence on government social policy and funding Sustained Māori participation in health, education and social services
<i>Economic self-reliance</i>	Capacity to improve and sustain Māori economic wellbeing	Competing economic interests Improved wealth and capacity by some Māori collectives
<i>Iwi development</i>	Promote tribal development at whānau, hapū and iwi levels	Whānau and hapū self-determination Political, economic, social and cultural changes at whānau, hapū and iwi levels

Each theme shows that when Māori define what development means the purpose and outcome statements may differ from the development themes ascribed for Māori.¹⁴⁶ However, there are recognisable areas of common interest notwithstanding the inherent struggle for power and control of the development process and outcomes. In contrast to table 3.2, this table incorporates those imperatives that are self-determined

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, Table 1.2, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ See Table 3.2, p. 111.

and are left open to validity tests by Māori for Māori opposed to being constrained unduly and defined by the government for Māori. With these insights, a Māori development framework is discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: In search of a Māori Development Framework

The search for a Māori development framework is best served by an approach that is responsive to the contemporary circumstances of Māori peoples. Historical accounts about the practice of development suggest that quick fix approaches to what are essentially complex issues, which are predisposed to historical, cultural, social, economic, political and geographic conditions, do not endure - especially if these approaches are imposed from without. Accordingly, alternative development ideas and practices need to be mindful of the Māori position.

A Māori centred approach to development treats the historical, economic, social, cultural, geographic and political conditions of Māori peoples as an integrated set of circumstances arising from the interactions of civil society, of the state, and of capital, with Māori peoples. A Māori centred approach recognises that the practice of development reflects the interaction within and between internal and external groups to achieve their respective and common development goals. By accounting for these variables as inter-related factors, a more useful proposition can be realised beyond an explanation of each condition in isolation.

A number of areas are examined here including holism and development, diverse Māori realities, the Treaty of Waitangi, and Tino Rangatiratanga. Following this, issues about dichotomies and other dilemmas encountered by Māori, development

propositions, criteria for testing the match of development ideas and practices, and responsiveness to Māori development themes are raised.

Holism and Development

Attempts by Māori to present a holistic perspective of development ideas and practices have tended toward reconciliation with contemporary circumstances. More often than not, their efforts rely on the status of both internal and external relationships in order to translate ideals into realities.

Notwithstanding this dualism, the idea and act of balancing social, economic, political and cultural priorities may be more a matter of perspective rather than of actual impediments. That is to say, improving the quality of relationships between groups for development purposes, instead of contesting for development resources may expose some impediments to be merely illusory. Adjusting the focal point, so that the structure of relationships can be clearly seen, may provide a pathway through the complexity. Approached in this way, Māori development can be understood as qualitative patterns of historical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political relationships, which are organised within a matrix of Māori experiences. Addressing the priorities of Māori development would therefore concentrate on strengthening the qualitative integrity of the whole (in its entirety) rather than on quantifying its parts. With this view, Māori development cannot be restricted just to treaty settlements or just to the Crown-Māori relationship. On this basis, the notion of integrity is

tantamount to revealing the full extent of what needs to happen and the interaction that is required for progress to occur. It follows, therefore, that a Māori centred approach focuses on mapping the patterns of relationships with particular regard to how and to why these patterns are sustained. Consistent with this view, a Māori development framework is an expression of ideas and practices which are held together by core values, central principles and processes that make sense to (and of) diverse Māori communities. Consequently, the adoption of new ideas and practices is not impeded by the source of information, but is more likely to be tested against what is important to Māori.

A multi-disciplinary view is prudent. However, a preoccupation with understanding the patterns which underpin Māori development is no less a constraint than it is an over emphasis on defining what is Māori development. Both the substance and the form of Māori development are relevant. One without the other weakens the integrity of the whole. Consequently, a Māori centred approach is just as much about how and why Māori peoples apply core values, central principles and processes, as it is about what they are. The question is not only how does one currently interact with the surrounding environment but also why and how one should interact. In this context, Māori development is more about a journey rather than a destination.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 6.

Responding to Diverse Māori Realities

Along the way, the act of increasing pressure for accountability and transparency in public affairs has encouraged individual Māori and Māori collectives to expect more involvement in decision-making and in actions for matters that directly affect their wellbeing. Consequently, Māori participation with the general public, with the state and with the economy falls under the macro- and microscope. Underlining this state of affairs, it is questionable whether the practice of participation will address the perceptions of powerlessness and frustration associated with Māori individuals and groups who believe they have been marginalised. By itself, empowerment to participate does not bring about a corresponding shift in power and control. It would seem, according to Friedmann (1992), that only a transfer of power would achieve the objective of empowerment.¹⁴⁸ The ideals of participation and empowerment may be desirable but in practice the relationship between the powerful and the powerless is not readily complementary, nor does the relationship promise an unmitigated interpretation.

On the Māori development landscape, the status of present-day interaction between Māori (themselves), implies that the relationships between civil society, the state,

¹⁴⁸ Friedmann (31-34:1992) argues that an alternative development involves a process of social and political empowerment. The objective is to rebalance the structure of power in society by state accountability for its actions, by strengthening the powers of civil society in the management of own affairs, and by encouraging a more socially responsible corporate business sector. With this perspective, participation is about achieving community empowerment and capacity building for effective collective decision making and action.

capital and Māori are not the only domains that require critical appraisal. It is equally important to probe the relationships of Māori organisational structures with Māori individuals and collectives. Responding to a diverse tribal and wider Māori population is an essential activity for all Māori organisations. The transfer of state responsibilities and of funding to tribal and non-tribal organisations under contract to the government (along with the resource transfer, access and participation agreements achieved through Treaty settlements) have shifted attention toward Māori organisations. Whereas, the state was understood to be responsible for improving the wellbeing of Māori, and while it (the state) still has a role (however ill defined), it is a fact that tribal and other Māori organisations are now under pressure to not only protect and manage the collective asset base, but to fill the social need gaps.

The potential for all Māori organisations being perceived to be mechanisms for social, economic, cultural and political advancement can become more complicated with unreasonable demands that do not incorporate distinctions about what organisations do or should do, but accentuate expectations to satisfy immediate needs. The interwoven state of social, economic, cultural and political needs and aspirations of Māori individuals and collectives presents a wish list to be unpacked and reorganised in practical ways.

Underlying the state of affairs is the realisation that Māori individuals and collectives cannot be treated as a homogeneous group by government, by the New Zealand

public, and by tribal or urban Māori organisations themselves, because the needs and aspirations of an individual or collective may not be compatible.

Any Māori organisation, (tribal or otherwise) that attempts to be all things to all people may be faced with serious issues of capacity and responsiveness to complexities that cannot be practically managed without distinct yet interconnected arrangements. The one stop shop approach may have some merit. However, attending to social, economic, cultural and political advancement, at the same time, within one organisation is better treated as an expedient option. This is particularly useful when faced with necessity rather than design, at least in the face of a sectorised approach to development. Certainly, the need for tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations to be reorganised in response to Māori individuals and collectives with diverse historical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political perspectives is crucial. The situation becomes more crucial when the organisational structure of a tribe or any other Māori social group is expected to successfully respond to all future development needs and aspirations at the same time. In short, there is no single delivery aim, which can embrace all Māori developmental needs.

The Treaty of Waitangi

Arguably, the Treaty of Waitangi is the most contentious relationship document in New Zealand's history. It expresses a power and control relationship between Māori peoples and the Crown, acting on behalf of all New Zealanders. Without understating

the importance of the Treaty, it nonetheless has become ingrained into the psyche of New Zealand society to the extent that the Māori-Crown relationship is but a reflection of strained compromises in response to legal confrontation and protest, rather than an enhancement of Māori-Pākeha wellbeing.

As a phase in the development journey, the Treaty promises much for the future but the rhetoric of partnership cannot be sustained when only one of the partners is making all the rules. In the future, it would seem illogical for the Māori-Crown relationship to be touted as a partnership when the relationship is at best a one-way accommodation of Māori social, economic, cultural and political aspirations within the parameters of 'good government' and the public interest. Unless the playing field changes significantly, adjustments for the future expression of Māori rights and shared interests in New Zealand's present and future may not only be contingent on the Treaty of Waitangi but also on the potential of the Māori vote in New Zealand's democracy. In this sense, successive governments and Māori will use the Treaty as a means of determining what is fair and reasonable for New Zealand Māori citizens. If Māori discourse on the Treaty is a guide, then the purpose of Māori participation in mainstream politics is clearly focused on the entrenchment and compliance of the Crown's obligations and responsibilities to Māori.

At the same time, it is impractical to regard the Treaty of Waitangi as the definitive position on Māori development. Indeed, the Treaty deserves attention but it may be better understood as a relevant instrument for locating one set of parameters within

which Māori development takes place. As such, the utility of the Treaty may progress Māori toward the goal of self-determination or equally, rather than enable the Crown or Māori to respond positively to respective overtures of compromise and accommodation. From this perspective, the Treaty is primarily an arrangement between two parties who may choose to share, common development goals and aspirations. Nonetheless, the Treaty of Waitangi is important because it continues to speak, at a broad and principled level, even though it remains difficult for each party to hear the message. The historical background and contemporary perspectives about the diametrical elements of the Treaty and of its importance are well documented.¹⁴⁹ In the context of this thesis, it is sufficient to conclude that the Treaty should not be discounted, nor should it be overstated.

While the Treaty provides an important mechanism for Māori, and while it holds centre stage, at least for the Māori-Crown relationship, it may be unwise for Māori individuals and collectives to look upon the Treaty of Waitangi as if it were the Māori development plan. The Treaty does speak about the protection, control and management of Māori resources, and it does influence Māori-Crown perspectives about the economic and social objectives for New Zealanders.

¹⁴⁹ Several papers, articles and books have been written on Māori and Pākeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi. Hugh Kawharau, Ranginui Walker, Mason Durie and others have written extensively on these matters.

However, Māori development planning, infrastructure and direction are fundamentally the prerogative of Māori through the organisations they choose to utilise. The very act of collective planning and decision-making by Māori is about self-determination. Moreover, there is no compelling reason for Māori to depend exclusively on the Treaty partnership with the Crown as the basis for Māori development planning, policy and programmes. Whatever the orientation, the Treaty is likely to remain a significant feature on the Māori-Crown political, social, economic and cultural landscape. In the New Zealand context, a development framework would be incomplete without reference to the Treaty of Waitangi even though it is frequently embroiled in litigation and political debate. In the full light of day, Māori development is far from politically neutral.

Tino Rangatiratanga: The Face of Self-Determination

For many Māori, tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, is an understandable feature of a Māori centred approach to development. It represents freedom from colonial oppression and challenges the purpose of state authority. Notwithstanding this natural reaction, the genesis of modern-day tino rangatiratanga is characterised by Māori collective determination of Māori affairs at local, national and international levels. The inherent nature of this movement is fuelled, in part, by adverse historical accounts of Crown interaction with Māori. Indeed, there may be some appreciation, although guarded, for the role of the government in the affairs of Māori people but it

is not surprising that the reduction, if not the complete removal, of government intervention is central to the aim of self-determination.

The act of self-determination infers that contemporary Māori development is about the reorganisation and exercise of the social, political, economic and cultural knowledge, wisdom and practices as acknowledged by Māori. Although a contemporary perspective, a reoccurring theme can be found in the historical precedents such as the activities of Te Whakaminenga, the confederation of tribes and the 1835 Declaration of Independence and later, in the Kotahitanga movement.¹⁴⁹ With some scepticism, it could be argued that full tino rangatiratanga will not happen unless non-Māori power and control over Māori resources (such as land, waterways, forests, swamps, minerals and other taonga tuku iho) are politically challenged. On the other hand, Durie (1998) offers a conciliatory approach by posing questions about the type of state within which Māori self-determination might best find expression. The debate is dense with complexities and ambiguities surrounding the concepts of sovereignty, mana, self-determination, the state, and governance, all within the New Zealand context.¹⁵⁰ In recent times, international debate about the rights of indigenous peoples has encouraged some discussion about the implications for New Zealand.¹⁵¹ Ultimately, Durie (1998) claims that self-determination is about being strong numerically,

¹⁴⁹ An informative account can be found in Lindsay Cox, (1993), *Kotahitanga: The Search for Māori Political Unity*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.

¹⁵⁰ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.

¹⁵¹ In August 1997, a seminar was convened by Sir Paul Reeves in Wellington to consider the implications of the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

economically, and culturally – whilst rejecting any notion of passive assimilation into national or international conglomerates. The three aims mentioned by Durie (1998) for Māori self-determination are Māori advancement, affirming the Māori identity, and environmental protection.¹⁵²

It is difficult, perhaps even unlikely, to believe that the Crown and its government would publicly support a Māori self-determination agenda without severe political and legal confinement. History would tend to vindicate that probability, subject, of course, to the political power brokers maintaining the status quo. Therefore, Māori who are passionate about achieving full tino rangatiratanga must contend with the political realities of government legislation and policy directions. Under an MMP electoral system, the opportunity for change has been ignited and the act of maximising the political option in favour of a Māori self-determination agenda will be a worthy challenge for coming generations of Māori politicians.

There is little doubt that Māori development has been especially influenced by government policy. However, it has not been entirely incompatible with a Māori agenda. But the attraction of greater social and economic independence, if not the desire for some form of political independence also, (as shared by many Māori since the Hui Taumata in 1984) is no longer compelling while government control of Māori

¹⁵² See Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, Table 1.1, p. 6.

affairs is immutable. With all that, the most significant insight is that Māori development might be best understood as a journey toward self-determination.

Dichotomies in Māori Development

As the practice of development calls for movement to improve an otherwise unsatisfactory situation, rationalising the tensions that abound in Māori development as contradictions does not adequately explain the situation. The gap between the ideals of Māori development and what actually occurs is traversed by the inconsistencies between ideals and realities. Māori are faced with apparent dichotomies when addressing matters that directly affect Māori wellbeing. There are two significant interactions at work: the state and Māori, and the heterogeneity of Māori people.

Since the early 1990s, and with a National Government at the helm, the relationships between the state and Māori have been further tested. The political, social and economic status of all New Zealanders, including Māori, changed. Tribal organisations having been previously recognised in legislation by the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990, were no longer accorded priority for Māori development, and urban Māori organisations became politically attractive. More importantly, there was a growing awareness that active Māori structures in tribal and urban areas both could respond to the social needs of individual Māori. As a consequence, the relationship between the state and tribal organisations refocused on Treaty claims and on due regard for tangata

whenua. Principally, the redefined relationship addresses the proposition that historical claims are about tribal grievances, and that tangata whenua status is primarily attributed to tribal collectives rather than to individuals. In this respect, obligatory consultation with tāngata whenua for various matters, including resource consent applications, is now a common expectation of tribal organisations.

With changes to government arrangements for social policy and funded programmes, tribal and urban Māori organisations that chose to be involved in service delivery were, and still are, required to fulfil the standard accreditation criteria to become approved providers. At least for social services, urban Māori and iwi social service providers have a similar charter. Where government funded programmes are concerned, tribal organisations do not necessarily enjoy an exclusive relationship with the government and its agencies, although tribal advocates may argue that priority or first preference should be accorded to 'iwi'. To some extent, the argument is supported by government policies of devolution illustrated by Puaote Ata-tu.¹⁵⁴ However, the Waitangi Tribunal Report on Te Whānau o Waipareira and the Community Funding Agency of the Department of Social Welfare (for example) concluded that the devolution policy is consistent with the principles of the Treaty but that the restriction of devolution to tribal authorities is not.¹⁵⁵ According to the Tribunal the problem is not the policy of devolution as such, but the introduction of

¹⁵⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, (1998), *Te Whānau o Waipareira Report (Wai 414)*, GP Publications, Wellington, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*

prescriptive rules that do not take account of all sections of the Māori community.¹⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the Tribunal's findings, iwi and urban Māori organisations must enter into a purchaser - provider relationship by demonstrating their respective capacity to supply the required quantity and quality of services to New Zealanders who, according to government assessment criteria, warrant such assistance.

During the 1990s, some tribal and urban Māori organisations welcomed the opportunities that emerged from the national economic reforms, while others attempted to resist any discourse about organisational restructure and business management. The gaps within and between tribal and urban Māori collectives went beyond social and economic disparities with issues about organisational capacity for development becoming more apparent. With competition for government funds (i) to provide social programmes, (ii) to complete claims' research and (iii) to maintain a respectable administration base, tribal organisations were eventually left with no way forward but to compete for government funded programmes. Perhaps as expected, competition for government resources led to disagreements, which frequently resulted in conflicts between (and within) tribal organisations.

With similar discord, the interface between tribal and other Māori organisations competing for the same resources did not enhance inter-Māori relationships, at least not initially. While the situation was indicative of economic competition, it was not

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 217.

immediately accepted by tribal organisations (that relied on the advocacy power of the Treaty partnership) to access government funding. Arguably, tribal development advocates may have felt marginalised in their own tribal areas, with little choice but to defend themselves against 'intruders'. Equally, urban Māori advocates have not been convinced that tribal organisations could effectively service all Māori. For example, Te Whānau o Waipareira and the Manukau Urban Regional Authority, through respective advocates, John Tamihere and June Jackson, have from time to time publicly questioned the ability of iwi organisations to service tribal members who live in urban communities such as Auckland.

Although relationships may have improved as a result of service delivery alliances and agreements between some tribal and urban Māori providers, the principle of competition is still fundamental to service delivery programmes that are purchased from the government.¹⁵⁷ Given these arrangements, without general agreement about priorities, Māori development may respond primarily to differences and focus on exclusive action for monetary gain and trade-off any form of collaboration for collective benefit. Notwithstanding this, balancing individual and collective interests is a challenge of some magnitude. In effect, principles, priorities and goals are continually questioned. Whether to change or do nothing, whether to focus on protection or use management, whether to focus on resource development or retention, whether to focus on Māori rights or Māori needs are important matters. However, it

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 225.

may not be straightforward to reject one for another. In the Māori development context, balancing protection and use management, resource development and retention, rights and needs is fundamental to improving the Māori position.

There does not appear to be general agreement between tribal and urban Māori organisations, nor within hapū and iwi, nor between the Crown and Māori peoples about respective roles and functions or about the kind of alliances that will enable Māori development goals to be achieved. Māori organisational efforts have focused on the protection of interests often proclaimed as Treaty rights, including the acquisition and management of resources.

In contrast, less effort has been expended to identify the kind of relationships that would be useful for Māori collectives to manage development needs and aspirations, no matter where Māori choose to reside. Meanwhile, the government may appear sympathetic but is essentially focused on the advancement of economic reforms through political control. Numerous reactions are possible but none have been more frequent than litigation, public protest and political confrontations.

In summary, table 4.1 presents a number of key features, which reflect a Māori centred approach to development. As such a holistic perspective to development is promoted in support of the view that both substance and form are important. There are gaps between the ideals and realities of Māori people, which are often misinterpreted as contradictions rather than dilemmas about what Māori want and

what they can actually do. Importantly, Māori people cannot be treated as 'homogeneous' because the differences of history, geography, social interaction, economic factors, cultural and political inclinations suggest that contemporary Māori society is more complex. There can be little doubt that Māori expect to increase their control of Māori affairs at local and national levels, yet there is an equally important expectation to better understand the obligations and responsibilities of the Crown and its government to Māori.

Table 4.1 : Māori Centred Approach to Development

Features	Implications
<i>Holism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Respect both the substance and form of contemporary Māori development
<i>Dichotomies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Balance ideals and realities
<i>Diverse Māori Realities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Respond to the contemporary circumstances of Māori in historical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political terms
<i>Tino Rangatiratanga</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Reorganise and exercise the knowledge, wisdom and practices acknowledged by Māori ◆ Challenge the authority of the state
<i>Treaty of Waitangi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Entrench the obligations and responsibilities of the Crown and its successive governments to Māori

Māori Development Propositions

Observation of Māori perspectives of development can be uncovered further by three propositions: (i) the needs proposition, (ii) the equity proposition, and (iii) the tribal rights proposition. These scenarios are about three perspectives commonly observed amongst Māori and how each perspective is expressed in practice. Although not mutually exclusive, there are significant features to each of them.

The needs proposition is more often than not aligned to the social responsibility of the state. However, the related issues are not only about the role of the state, as questions are raised about what is needed and by whom. For Māori, it is about the Crown's protection of New Zealand Māori citizenship. This includes access and participation with local and national social, political, cultural and economic opportunities, as well as the conversion of protection from a passive to an active state.

The equity proposition is underpinned by demographic trends. It is concerned with who is benefiting and who should benefit. In the New Zealand context, with Treaty settlements, it is not clear what influence the equity proposition has on resource allocation and management. A significant criticism is that due regard for age profiles, population numbers, location and population projections is relevant but does not encapsulate the full extent of the debate. The notion of equity is often used by government to strengthen its arguments about the kind of structures and processes needed to manage and use Treaty settlement assets and benefits. In this way, the

proposition seeks to legitimise the reduction, if not the elimination, of social responsibilities of future governments to Māori. Consequently, the situation has raised questions about what is perceived as government interference with tribal decisions, especially those decisions that are not considered to be the prerogative of the Crown.

Attempts to achieve general agreement about priorities, the equitable distribution of resources and benefits are being promulgated from various quarters as the primary concern. The notion of equity is generally appreciated but what it means and how it should be achieved remains at an impasse. Advocates for this proposition make two key points. First, that many Māori¹⁵⁸ do not readily associate with a tribal identity; in fact, they have become dislocated from such an affiliation and may choose not to pursue it; and second, that Māori household numbers are larger in urban areas. Consequently, while there may be general agreement about such trends, an unconditional acknowledgement and response to these features of contemporary Māori social structure could be perceived as undermining Treaty rights, if indeed those rights are premised only on tribal-Crown relationships.

¹⁵⁸ Statistics New Zealand, (1998), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Iwi*, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington, vol. 1, pp. 13-14. Under the section – Knowledge of Iwi – it states that Māori living in the South Island were less likely to know their iwi than those in the North Island. For People of Māori descent living in a main urban area with a population of 30,000 or more, 20 percent did not know their iwi in 1996. The same proportion was identified for secondary urban areas.

The tribal rights proposition is generally, but not exclusively, associated with iwi and hapū organisations. Accordingly, it is argued that Treaty of Waitangi settlements for historical grievances are the concern of iwi and hapū collectives, not individual Māori, at least in respect of tribal estates. The tribal rights proposition does not reject Article Three implications but it certainly does not consider it to be the primary issue for tribal organisations. Whereas Article Three is about according citizenship to all Māori, no different from all other New Zealanders, Article Two is about the Crown relationship with tribes. Consequently, the tribal rights proposition does emphasise tribal ownership and management and distribution of benefits. Underlying the view is the expectation of tribal groups to achieve greater, if not absolute, authority and control of tribal affairs and territories. This tribal rights approach is somewhat reactionary to urban Māori authorities and their expectations to obtain and manage a portion of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Settlement resources and benefits on behalf of urban Māori. For example, while control and authority may be a common aspiration for all Māori social groups, non-tribal collectives are not convinced that tribal organisations can respond to more inclusive Māori development aspirations and goals, let alone deliver social services which make sense to pan-tribal, urban situations. The empowerment of disenfranchised urban Māori is a key theme used to strengthen the argument.

For iwi and hapū, the tribal rights proposition is the baseline for Treaty settlement decisions. Nonetheless, tribal organisations that are responsible for tribal resources must be responsive to tribal members who are geographically spread. Although not

explicit in policy, the government does expect tribal organisations to demonstrate capacity to manage pre-settlement assets and the distribution of benefits. Where this is a difficulty, it is not unreasonable for tribal collectives to consider forming alliances with well-organised Māori or non-Māori management structures. However, there is little evidence to suggest that tribal or urban Māori authorities currently view this as a realistic option. Nonetheless, tribal right advocates must face on-going challenges from Māori and non-Māori, to ensure that need and equity considerations are accommodated. As a result, tribal organisations are now being challenged to be more responsive to descendants who are geographically distant, are socially and culturally diverse, and are economically limited and politically fragmented.

There is little merit in promoting the view that Māori development propositions are polarised even though the interplay is usually about protectionism and perceptions of intrusion. Instead, these three aforementioned propositions are better understood as representations of various Māori stakeholders who wish to ensure their inclusion in arrangements created by interaction with the Crown and its government. The debate has moved beyond whether or not all Māori should be included. Clearly, inclusion means all Māori are involved, although issues of access and participation are proving more difficult to resolve.

The current debate is better focused on how to ensure all Māori, albeit tribal or non-tribal, can benefit while ensuring the basis for tribal rights, Māori social needs and Māori social equity are not dismissed. Table 4.2, which summaries the three

propositions, also suggests that each one of them demands different yet interrelated responses in application as follows.

Table 4.2 : Māori Development Propositions

Proposition	Application
<i>Tribal Rights</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Acknowledge the status of contemporary tribal organisation ◆ Determine who has a right ◆ Distribute benefit on a rights basis
<i>Māori Social Needs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Acknowledge effective delivery options ◆ Determine what is needed and by whom ◆ Distribute benefit on a needs basis
<i>Māori Social Equity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Acknowledge the status of contemporary Māori organisation ◆ Determine who should benefit ◆ Distribute benefit on an equity basis

Māori Development Ideas and Practices: Some Criteria

Questions about equitable distribution of resources and benefits, tribal rights and Māori social needs inevitably affect all Māori, individually and collectively. Assessing the appropriateness, relevance and application of these propositions may be better understood by responding to the relative circumstances of Māori at individual and collective levels. Table 4.3 below presents certain criteria with statements that describe their meaning when assessing Māori development ideas and practices. In operation, some ideas and practices may only fulfil one of the criteria, however the intention is for all three criteria to be met.

Table 4.3 : Māori Development Criteria

Criteria	Descriptions
<i>Appropriateness</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Ideas and practices are suitable across the range of Māori circumstances * Ideas and practices are consistent with the notion and practice of self-determination at all levels of contemporary Māori social organisation
<i>Relevance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Ideas and practices contribute to the betterment of Māori peoples * Ideas and practices will advance the Māori position at individual and collective levels
<i>Application</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Practices complement other efforts to improve the Māori position

Appropriateness questions the suitability of development ideas and practice within a Māori world that is diverse and changing. It also seeks consistency with the notion and practice of self-determination at all levels of contemporary Māori social organisation. Whereas, relevance considers whether or not the development idea or practice contributes to the betterment of Māori thereby enabling them to advance the Māori position at individual and collective levels. Application questions whether or not the practice of development unduly affects others who also seek to improve the Māori position. There are issues about autonomy and control, the coordination of development efforts and collective action at local and national levels.

The probability of exposure to wide ranging views about development ideas and practice is increased as Māori individuals and collectives test the reasons for historical

relationships against contemporary circumstances. Certainly, a shift by Māori individuals and collectives to embrace the notion of change for present and future wellbeing is conceivable. If there are reservations, perhaps it is the extent of this shift in ideas and practices that is more concerning rather than the realisation that change is necessary. Moreover, if Māori development is to progress then its participants will need to engage in change. They should not dismiss cultural imperatives of the past but should design applications for the future. Essentially, this is the message inherent in table 4.3.

Māori Development Dilemmas

One of the most public debates has been advanced by urban Māori authority advocates, who argue that they should receive an equitable share of pre-settlement fisheries assets and accrued benefits based on population. Politically and legally, the argument is difficult to resolve when the debate is ultimately about whom, or which organisations, are preferred as asset managers and benefit distribution points. Unreservedly, the situation devalues the tribal rights proposition and accentuates the (Māori) social need and (Māori) social equity propositions. It also brings into question the Treaty of Waitangi as an exclusive partnership either between tribes and the Crown, or, (as urban Māori authorities would suggest), between Māori and the Crown. Conservative iwi authorities may treat this kind of attention as interference with what is viewed by them to be principally a tribal responsibility.

While the priority for tribal collectives is the social, cultural, economic and political advancement of their people, the government priority is about restricting the cost of settlements and promoting a fair and just distribution of benefit to all Māori. The latter argument supports the challenge by urban Māori authorities against the exclusive distribution (for example) of fisheries pre-settlement assets and accrued benefits to tribal authorities. In this case, three principles have emerged; (i) mana whenua - mana moana, (ii) mātotoru o te tangata and (iii) the right to development. The principles may not represent the full extent of the debate but do suggest movement, although incomplete, toward a basis for decision-making. Finding a fair solution is certainly desired but it may be somewhat inevitable for this particular debate to be massaged with political compromises and trade-offs - a negotiated solution that is not necessarily fair.

For different reasons, the Whanganui River Māori Trust Board released a charter¹⁵⁹ with principles for the determination of authority, use and management, of the tribe's ancestral river.¹⁶⁰ The approach was not a response to resource and benefit distribution issues per se, but was a reaffirmation of tribal control and authority in relation to the Crown and others. In effect, Whanganui Iwi were restating the interconnectedness between themselves and the surrounding environment through a statute body was the means for this expression of belonging and responsibility. In terms of

¹⁵⁹ The Whanganui River Water Rights Charter was produced at a hui convened by the Whanganui River Māori Trust Board held in Taumarunui, 1993.

¹⁶⁰ The term 'ancestral river' is a reference to the Whanganui River.

development, the Water Rights Charter provided a foundation for addressing political and ecological patterns on the landscape. Furthermore, the principles could be used for decision-making about active protection, use and management of not only rivers but also of the surrounding environment.

Most of the principles within the charter are conducive to accepted development ideas about the environment and sustainable management. However the principles of management and use development present a challenge to the authority and to the control vested in legislation in favour of government, and of local and regional bodies.¹⁶¹ In practice, agreements about common principles are useful but are impeded by operational policies, which protect exclusive authority and control. Not only are these impediments observable between Māori and the Crown, but also within and between tribal groups.

It cannot be assumed that Māori individuals and collectives always share common causes, at least on a number of issues. Even if broad agreement is apparent, it does not guarantee that the details about principles, priorities and goals are also shared. What has become evident is the gradual disappearance of a national Māori voice on these matters. Instead, there appears to be a broad if not loose arrangement between Māori collectives but without a clear strategic direction to which most Māori

¹⁶¹ Noted as a result of personal involvement with discussions between Whanganui Iwi, Ngāti Ruakā hapū and officials from local and regional bodies (1994 - 1997).

authorities subscribe. With Māori individuals and collectives reorganising what and who is important, this state of affairs would appear to be an inescapable paradox between individual choice and collective responsibilities. Concerns about Māori decision-making structures and processes have dragged the paradox into sharp relief. In public debate, it is commonplace for wide ranging criticism to be aired. Perceived as being fraught with historical inter-personal feuds and questionable communication and information gaps, the capacity of tribal and wider Māori organisations to facilitate, mediate and negotiate development priorities has not been evident.

In effect, the potential for individual Māori to choose organisational options that represent a broader spectrum of social, cultural, economic and political interests rather than options that are firmly entrenched in tribal inheritance and cooperation has become the reality. More importantly, this reality illuminates the fact that individual Māori are not necessarily nurtured by tribal involvement only. As individual choice is accentuated by a democratic environment so too improved opportunities to realise lifestyle preferences become attractive. For Māori who have limited choices, strategies involving collective action to improve an otherwise disagreeable situation tend to be favoured. In most cases, solidarity is maintained by agreements about collective responsibilities given that the attraction of collective action is strength in numbers. Indeed, Māori peoples will choose to organise in ways that improve their position. However, it remains a matter of choice whether such an organisational approach is adopted at local or national levels either collectively, individually or both. More often than not, individual and group actions contribute to human capital

development, but uncoordinated individualism becomes an impediment when collective action is desired. In this regard, competition for human resources is the reality.

Today, individual Māori express their sense of belonging in many ways including residency. Nevertheless, relationships based on whakapapa and traditional whānau, hapū and iwi alliances are still valued.¹⁶² Perhaps this is more so a psychological dilemma about an individual's or group's temperance or permanence within a community. To some extent, the temporal or permanent nature of residence may affect how willing one is to engage with the local community and what residency offers thereafter, to maximise the benefits of residency. Individual Māori choice of association with tribal and wider Māori collectives may no longer be a question of choosing one or the other but rather an acceptance that Māori are choosing to be associated with a wide-range of organisational options including tribal and non-tribal. Individual and collective Māori action may not reduce involvement with tribal organisations but the movement may further demonstrate that tribal groupings and institutions cannot function in a vacuum. Ironically, individualism may be heightened thereby encouraging movement toward a larger collective sense, such as a national Māori politic.¹⁶³

¹⁶² See Te Hoe Nuku Roa, (1996), *Māori Profiles: Integrated Approach to Policy and Planning*, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North.

¹⁶³ See Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, pp. 228-233.

Consequently, a sense of belonging at the individual level is generally perceived to be about individual rights and responsibilities. For whānau, individual growth and collective support are strong features. At the hapū level, whānau inclusion and wellbeing are particularly important. However, at the iwi level, hapū control and authority is a central feature of tribal unity.

This sense of unity is no less important for urban Māori who may choose to both affirm a tribal identity and yet participate with urban Māori collectives. Whatever the case, it may be a misconception to perceive a strong cultural identity as being exclusive to tribal social organisation.¹⁶⁴ Substantially, the dilemma between individual choice and collective responsibility will continue to influence how Māori organisations choose to achieve individual and collective interests.

Accordingly, there are a number of Māori development dilemmas which Māori people are faced with. Efforts to protect tribal rights, and to meet social needs, to protect the environment (if not enhance it) and manage resource use, to develop resources and retain resources for future generations, and to promote individual growth and collective responsibility are concerns which confront other indigenous peoples as well as Māori. However, negotiating the impasse will demand more inclusive fora if these previously mentioned dilemmas are to be given a sensibility for contemporary Māori

¹⁶⁴ See Te Hoe Nuku Roa, (1996), *Māori Profiles: Integrated Approach to Policy and Planning*, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North.

development. A summary of the dilemmas is presented in table 4.4. Each dilemma involves a continual balancing act of development ideals against the realism surrounding the implications of development practice and outcomes. Following this is a discussion about the Māori response to development themes in the light of these dilemmas.

Table 4.4 : Māori Development Dilemmas

Dichotomy	Implication
<i>Tribal Rights vs (Māori) Social Needs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Confirm tribal rights ◇ Respond to (Māori) social needs
<i>Active Protection vs Use Management</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Affirm kaitiakitanga responsibilities ◇ Manage resource use with agreements
<i>Resource Development vs Retention</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Look after resources for future generations ◇ Apportion specific resources for development
<i>Individual Choice vs Collective Responsibility</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Acknowledge diverse Māori realities ◇ Recognise important cultural imperatives ◇ Apply tikanga in contemporary circumstances ◇ Recognise change and democratisation

Responsiveness to Māori Development Themes

Since the Hui Taumata in 1984, important lessons have emerged about building knowledge, experience and practice in addition to defining what is to be achieved. Importantly, the process of development has proven to be just as valuable as the desired outcomes of development. Without doubt, the inter-generational legacy to strive for and attain control of one's destiny remains at the core of development ideas and practice for Māori. It may be referred to as tino rangatiratanga, self-determination, iwitanga and absolute authority and control, but what all these views share is a deconstruction of colonisation and a reconstruction of Māori self-determination.

What positive development means for Māori peoples has become more transparent with the emergence of six themes toward a Māori development philosophy; (i) the Treaty of Waitangi, (ii) tino rangatiratanga, (iii) iwi development, (iv) economic self-reliance, (v) social equity and (vi) cultural advancement.¹⁶⁴ Although not comprehensive, these themes do signal a resolve to strengthen the Māori position inclusive of economic realities as follows in table 4.5.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, Table 1.2, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 6-13.

Table 4.5 : Responsiveness to Māori Development Themes

Theme	Māori Response	Government Response
<i>The Treaty of Waitangi</i>	Litigation to protect treaty rights Seek entrenchment in legislation and policy Advocate redress for Treaty breaches	Protect Crown interests Reinforce one nation state
<i>Tino Rangatiratanga</i>	Advocate Māori control of resources Seek independence from government Affirm Treaty status	Affirm one law - one justice system
<i>Economic self-reliance</i>	Set up Māori businesses Increase Māori involvement in Business	Funded Programme for business set up Education and training programmes
<i>Iwi Development</i>	Strengthen tribal organisation Assert tribal authority Construct social and economic entities Develop people in whānau and hapū contexts	Devolution policy and programmes Programme support and funds Employment and training programmes
<i>Social Equity</i>	Establish social delivery organisations Advocate Māori control and management Develop individual Māori and whānau	Mainstreaming policy Purchaser - Provider relationship Kaupapa Māori institutions
<i>Cultural Advancement</i>	Establish Māori learning institutions Revitalise the Māori language Affirm the Marae institution	Include in legislation and funding cycle Fund Māori Radio and language Fund programmes for and on Marae

As a result, Māori development priorities, goals and principles have been unravelled albeit by contestation with successive governments, and inter-tribal and wider Māori community debates about how best to organise within contemporary arrangements. At times, government and Māori views about development priorities do coalesce, while at other times, they appear vehemently polarised. Although simplistic, positive development for Māori has been prone to shifting political and economic relationships.

It is not surprising that movement toward economic self-reliance, although favoured by Māori, remains subject to the non-Māori veto. Consequently, accessing the government purse, increasing political willingness and removing structural impediments have been significant priorities during the past several years of Māori development.¹⁶⁵ The formation of a robust economic base is a shared goal but the government has principally shaped its direction even though Māori control and management of Māori development was supposedly implied.

In practice, government direction is affected by political weather patterns. Nevertheless, the pursuit of economic self-reliance is still compelling for both the state and Māori, even within mainstream policy and funded programmes for business development.

¹⁶⁵ Māori Studies Department, (1994), *Kia Pūmau Tonu: Proceedings of the Hui Whakapūmau*, Massey University, Palmerston North.

As government resources diminished so did the ability of Māori organisations to respond and, after a period with relatively well funded government devolution programmes, a number of Incorporated Societies, Trust Boards and other legal bodies established for Māori were forced to restructure. Iwi Authorities were significantly affected when government funds, which provided capacity for tribal development were no longer available. Faced with issues of accountability, transparency and quality management practice, Māori organisational efforts were geared to survival rather than to advancement.¹⁶⁶ Initially, it would seem that the intention of Māori organisations was to access resources as a treaty right rather than acquire contracts for quality service delivery. As financial crisis became more apparent, restructuring gradually shifted toward quality service delivery and access to government contracts. In this sense, the priorities for many Māori organisations were to basically survive, and thereafter to access redistributed government funds based on mainstream policy.

Despite its predetermination, history would suggest that Māori were not always ready, nor completely aware of the direct implications of the nation's structural adjustment programme.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, many Māori were quicker than their non-Māori counterparts to take advantage of contractual relationships with government and enter into more business like arrangements.

¹⁶⁶ Reports produced by Māori Trust Boards (1987-1991) suggest that as government funding to Trust Boards reduced so did the capacity of some Trust Boards to advance tribal development.

¹⁶⁷ Jane Kelsey, (1995), *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment ?*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, pp. 283-285.

In social development, disparities between Māori and non-Māori are still prominent.¹⁶⁸ During the last decade, Māori called for Māori delivery systems funded by the state to address these issues. While government reticence may have been anticipated neither devolution nor mainstreaming diverted Māori attention away from the social and economic disparities being resolved by Māori. Consequently, the determination and management of Māori social issues was a consuming priority during this period.

With increasing involvement of Māori organisations, both urban and tribal, in social delivery systems and in partnerships with the state, the establishment of organisational structures to advance Māori determination and management of social services was not unexpected. However, while Māori enthusiasm for service delivery escalated, Māori participation in macro economic decision-making was less visible; and service delivery, no matter how skilful, could hardly be expected to compensate for unemployment, low educational achievement, and alienation from Māori society or society at large.

Cultural development was perhaps more able to demonstrate successful outcomes. Increased involvement in Māori performing arts, a growing commitment toward the Māori language, an affirmation of marae and the establishment of Māori learning places are all relevant examples. Government funding was eventually provided but

¹⁶⁸ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1998), *Progress Toward Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori: A Report to the Minister of Māori Affairs*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

the tension between government authority and control, and Māori determination and management was inevitable. What has become plainly evident is the business of restructuring undertaken by many tribal and other Māori organisations to reposition in the structural adjustment environment. Reform activities among tribal and urban Māori gave rise to debates about balancing social and economic priorities, and the reasons for organisational change. Whether the priorities were about economic wealth, social control, environmental protection or political power, economic imperatives have been undeniably influential upon decision-making processes in this country.¹⁷¹ As a result, redefining relationships in a mainstream, structural adjustment environment is premised on socio-economic values, beliefs and behaviours. For Māori and the Crown, these circumstances are important within a Treaty context, as they represent some of the fundamental issues affecting the future of Māori - Crown relationships. During the last decade, political relationships between Māori and government formed the basis for responding to Māori development aspirations and needs. While some may want to change the nature of the relationship, it is not likely to alter markedly without a significant and enduring shift in political power.

Māori give attention to both the process and desired outcomes of future internal and external relationships. Whether or not the development approach is about disparities or advancement, improving the Māori position has been principally focused on Māori determination and the management of Māori development. However, within present

¹⁷¹ Jane Kelsey, (1995), *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment?*, Auckland, University Press, Auckland, p. 355.

circumstances, Māori development is contingent to some extent on reconciliation with government direction for Māori. A Māori-centred response must be the starting point for positive Māori development enabling the disclosure of Māori development priorities, at all levels. It is only when the broad parameters of Māori development are considered is it possible to better understand the capacity requirements of Māori organisations to formulate sound policies and to implement best practices. With these factors in mind it is time to move the discussion from the definitive to the descriptive. In doing so, a research baseline is explained in Chapter Five followed by the results of qualitative research before discussing Māori organisations and presenting the conclusions of this study.

Chapter Five: Research Baseline for Māori Organisations

To be meaningful, contemporary Māori organisations, tribal or otherwise, must demonstrate responsiveness to an interconnected network of conditions. It makes sense that such bodies should be transparent and accountable in actual performance, and able to reflect the aspirations of Māori individuals and collectives. Indeed, Māori demographic trends suggest that distinctions based on tribal or urban Māori situations must possess explanatory power inclusive of criteria about access, participation and benefit. Alone, neither urban nor tribal are useful descriptions.

Consequently, it may no longer be adequate for Māori to consider the structure of New Zealand society as a Māori vs non-Māori, or even urban vs tribal. Demographic trends support the view that participation and access, fairness and justice are matters, which traverse urban-tribal and, Māori and non-Māori boundaries. In some Māori communities, the quest for social equity and economic self-reliance is principally about emancipation from an undesirable situation. Perceived in this way, tribal and urban Māori social and economic organisations are better understood as vehicles for Māori individuals and collectives to move from one point to another, rather than being the ultimate and immutable expression of Māori leadership and organisation or the sum total of tribal jurisdiction.

In this respect Māori leadership is not necessarily identical to authority derived from organisational leadership. Tribal leadership for example might be determined largely by tribal custom, while leadership within Māori communities generally is derived as much from perceived community needs as either tribal background or executive capacity. Even so, access and distribution arrangements should acknowledge the basis for parallel Māori organisational arrangements that respond to the patterns of tribal and urban Māori populations within respective and shared contemporary circumstances. This is primarily concerned with development capacity.

Loomis, Morrison and Nicholas (1998), describe the utility of organisations, in respect of their communities, as capacity building.¹⁷¹ They define it to mean the process by which individuals, community groups, organisations and nations develop their abilities to perform functions, solve problems and achieve desired outcomes. The emphasis is on the collective capacity of groups and organisations, as opposed to individual capacity. Accordingly, the process should result in structures, policies and procedures that are responsive, participatory, transparent, equitable, and future-oriented. By describing the nature and extent of tribal and other Māori organisations in contemporary Māori development, what is meant by development capacity for tribal organisations can be given shape and form. Importantly, the context for this would be about the capacity to translate ideals into realities.

¹⁷¹ Terrence Loomis; Sandra Morrison; Taari Nicholas, (1998), *Capacity Building for Self-Determined Māori Economic Development*, Working Paper 2/98, Development Studies, University of Waikato, Hamilton, p. 4.

One of the central themes of inquiry in this study is tribal organisation. Notwithstanding this, comment is offered about other types of Māori organisations because not all organisations associated with Māori development are formed by tribal groups but emerge from Māori who are drawn together because they identify as Māori and share a desire to address the needs and aspirations of Māori communities. In a sense, there is an acknowledgement of a whakapapa relationship, to a lesser or greater degree, with both tribal and pan-Māori collectives. Inclusion is reflected by connection to recognised tribal ancestors in one respect and self-identification by Māori descent in another. Common to both tribal and wider Māori communities is a commitment to improve the Māori position and, at one level, an acceptance of Māori social and cultural conventions within enabling procedures.

Consequently, the most significant distinction between tribal and non-tribal organisations is that tribal organisations are essentially concerned with the wellbeing of tribal members based on well-known whakapapa relationships while other Māori organisations are generally concerned with the advancement of Māori people, from whatever tribal background. It is not unusual for such organisations to be focused on the social, cultural, political and economic needs of all Māori that choose to organise and participate based on shared circumstances, purposes and expected outcomes.

Kaupapa Māori rather than tribal affiliation is more likely to be the primary purpose of the organisation.¹⁷²

The importance of biological relationships in Māori organisational patterns is found in the work of Buck (1949). Firth (1959), on the other hand, highlighted the inter-relationships between tribal households¹⁷³ and residents. Both studies are valuable in so far as recognition is given to whakapapa (ancestry) and ahi kaa (occupancy). Today, the integrity of such relationships is dependent on the quality and continuity of political, cultural, social and economic alliances. Importantly, the changes to Māori organisation, but more particularly tribal organisation, over time and in response to contemporary circumstances are taken into account by this study.

Since European contact, welcomed opportunities and necessity have stimulated social, economic, political and economic relationships beyond strict tribal or Māori collective interaction. It follows that organisational constructs in Māori society have responded, whether by choice or cohesion, to change. The tribal groupings identified by Buck, Firth and others are still distinguishable but do not exist in the context of the past nor

¹⁷² A discussion is offered by Joan Metge, (1999), 'Changing Whānau Structures and Practices', in *Proceedings of Te Hua o te Whānau*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp. 7-16.

¹⁷³ John Friedmann (32:1992) refers to the 'household' as the starting point for alternative development. According to him, the household forms a polity and economy in miniature; it is the elementary unit of civil society. Persons residing in a household may be blood-related or not. Their true families include kin who may live in households that are spatially dispersed but remain linked to each other through patterns of mutual obligation. Because each household engages in decision making, collectively produce their own lives and livelihood: they are essentially productive and proactive units. Consequently, the household is understood to be both production-centred and public.

are such groupings confined to rigid prescription. Ballara (1998) reinforces this with comments about the dynamics of tribal organisation 1769-1945.¹⁷⁴

She argues that the destructive influence of colonial settlement upon tribal practices brought about the dismantling of the social system and tribal leadership, which were thereafter replaced by a combination of European concepts with the surviving remnants of Māori custom. Knowing this means acknowledging the changing nature of Māori organisation, leadership and identity.

Research Design

In contemporary Māori development, organisational structures founded on cultural imperatives and contemporary circumstances are discernible. Such an examination is undertaken here with a survey questionnaire of claimant group representatives, in-depth interviews with a sample of tribal organisations, a random sample of one hundred legal Trusts set up by tribal social organisations and Māori community groups, and a comment on Tribal Trust Boards based on reports prepared for the disestablished Iwi Transition Agency. The research methods are based on qualitative survey techniques consistent with action research¹⁷⁵ and participatory approaches¹⁷⁶ to

¹⁷⁴ Angela Ballara, (1998), *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 21.

¹⁷⁵ W. Carr; S. Kemmis, (1986), *Becoming Critical: Knowing through Action Research*, Deakan University, Victoria.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Chambers, (1997), *Whose Reality Counts?: Putting the First Last*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

research and development. In this thesis, the main purpose is to describe the circumstances associated with development capacity for Māori, with an emphasis on the tribal organisation.

Wherever practicable, data collected from interviews and survey questionnaires has been examined then compared with public information sources. The data collection spans public records, legal documents and interviews which may provide a general commentary about the findings, however, it cannot be emphatically treated as representative of all Māori people and organisations. Nonetheless, the findings do present sufficient information to describe the nature and extent of tribal and other Māori organisations in contemporary Māori development, and to unravel what is meant by development capacity for tribal organisations.

A significant portion of the data collection is the result of my direct involvement with claimant groups, tribal organisations and Māori communities. The research approach is guided as much by disciplined subjectivity and insider participation as by the objectivity, which an outsider might bring. By way of explanation, disciplined subjectivity concedes that knowledge is not without bias. Through the work of Kuhn (1962), knowledge is understood to be subjective, context bound and always political. The proposition is favoured by social scientists who had always considered differing views of social reality to be the norm.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ William Foster, (1986), *Paradigms and Promises: New Approaches to Educational Administration*, Falmer Press, London, p. 51.

When applied to the Māori development context, it raises the probability that a Māori centred approach to development for tribal organisations will evolve from a whole complex of beliefs, values and assumptions. Accordingly, the researcher is bound to acknowledge personal bias as an integral part of the research process. Research is therefore seldom objective, universal or value neutral but more often than not is prone to the ways in which communities are organised to justify attitudes, beliefs and values that are important to them.

Even within the context of modern Māori society and the weakening of tribal ties, acceptance of a researcher still requires credibility and some obvious connection with the researched group. Access to Māori communities and tribal organisations is never completely secure, and can be withdrawn more readily than obtained.

Personal experience has revealed that direct participation in tribal affairs is more likely to maintain access though it may compromise the neutrality, which is said to favour academic rigour. In this respect, recognising the existence of inadequately defined tribal responsibilities and Māori community expectations cannot be overstated.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Brendon Puketapu, (1993), *He Mata Ngaro: Māori Leadership in Education*, Massey University, Palmerston North, p. 32, (unpublished).

As a form of inquiry, transparency about personal involvement and interaction is encouraged while recognising the valuable contribution that research offers to Māori communities. From this perspective, the researcher is required to participate, provide assurances, demonstrate relevance, and contribute to the researched communities. By direct participation, the researcher seeks to share the research experience as an integral part of the process. In this study, direct participation provides a context for intellectual inquiry about the circumstances of tribal and other Māori organisations in contemporary Māori development.

The research perspective is supported by qualitative methodologies based on the meanings given to situations by the individuals and groups involved, what their view of the world is, and how they make sense of the world. It is comparable to the interpretative paradigm, which evolved from the disciplines of ethnography, history and hermeneutics, the latter being about the interpretation of texts. Through the work of German social theorists, in particular Max Weber, it emerged as an epistemological basis for the social sciences. In Max Weber's words, the interpretative paradigm is clearly described:

Sociology...is a science, which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action... In 'action' is included all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action in this sense may be either overt or purely inward or subjective; it may consist of positive intervention or passively acquiescing in the situation. Action is social in so far as, by virtue of

the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.¹⁷⁹

In accordance with Weber, a valuable contribution to understanding more about tribal organisations in contemporary Māori development is conceivable through interpretations and analysis of the experience of people involved with tribal organisations. When attempting to map the patterns of historical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political relationships associated with tribal organisations, how and why Māori individuals and collectives apply core values, central principles and processes is as important as what they are.

To gain insights about patterns and characteristics of relationships, interviews, questionnaires, written texts, and publicly available documents about tribal organisations and Māori development are relevant for this study, but are by no means the only instruments associated with the research design. Whereas qualitative methods do provide useful tools, a study of structural elements associated with tribal and other Māori organisations is a complementary undertaking. What the organisation is made of, that is, defining its parts and functions can be unpacked by using quantitative research techniques. There are suitable information sources for assessing data about tribal and other Māori organisational structures.

¹⁷⁹ See W. Carr; S. Kemmis, (1986), *Becoming Critical: Knowing through Action Research*, Deakan University, Victoria.

For the purpose of this study, Trust Boards, Claimant Organisations, Post-settlement Organisations, Charitable Trusts and Incorporated Societies have been included. The legal structure, constitutions, processes and procedures are investigated to reveal the substance of these organisational arrangements. The data analysis for the claimant group interviews, the indepth interviews with tribal organisations, the random sample of Trusts established by tribal organisations and Māori community groups, and the reports on Tribal Trust Boards provide this type of information.

Importantly, while the research design favoured for this study leans toward the interpretive paradigm it does not discount the value of understanding both the substance and form of tribal and other Māori organisations. By drawing on the research tools derived from a range of standpoints, it is argued that a more rounded and certainly multi-disciplined analysis of contemporary Māori development circumstances of tribal and other Māori organisations can be achieved.

The Theory of Organisation in the Twentieth Century

Compared to other known life forms, human existence has a relatively short history. Yet, the impact of human endeavour measured by the discovery of life on earth, and space itself, is a testament to human inquisitiveness. And, with an insatiable appetite, humankind continues to interact in diverse yet interconnected relationships to extend the probe beyond the known, to better understand the meaning of life, and perhaps, the reason for being, albeit from a self-centred perspective.

Acknowledged as a twentieth century phenomenon, the systematic study of organisation confirms human endeavour to understand structure, pattern and process associations, and the opportunities that may emerge within this field of study.¹⁸⁰ Over the last one hundred years, a significant body of knowledge has emerged from the interchange of dialogue between, what were previously understood to be polarised disciplines. Indeed, the evolutionary nature of critique and knowledge has grown, if only modestly, into an appreciation of shared revelation and unresolved issues for further investigation under a battery of disciplines rather than the prerogative of the single voice.

The theory of organisation can be tracked by comparison between many schools of thought prevalent in the twentieth century. To begin, classical organisation is associated with Taylor (1947), Fayol, Urwick and Gulick (1937) who were leading figures in the scientific management movement.¹⁸¹ They proposed that the intent of organisation is order, control, efficiency and effectiveness founded on management and administrative activities that promote specialisation, hierarchical structure, pre-determination and scientific precision in the workplace. It is commonly known as the bureaucratic organisational approach. Little, if any, consideration was given to the social dynamics, the personality characteristics of individuals or the significance of

¹⁸⁰ Wayne K. Hoy; Cecil G. Miskel, (1987), *Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice*, Random House, New York.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

people in organisations.¹⁸² Implicit in the scientific model is an unquestionable faith that an organisation can be constructed by prescription without appreciating the unforeseen impact of unfavourable internal and external circumstances.

Around the 1920s, the human relations approach emerged albeit in reaction to the classical tradition but nonetheless, drawing attention to the value of understanding the relationships and interactions of people within an organisation. It provided an antithesis to the conventions of scientific management by stressing the importance of internal and external forces on the organisation, and communicating the human nature of the organisation. As a consequence, observation methods tempered the strict scientific method of research with an emphasis on worker motivation, satisfaction and group morale.¹⁸³ Ultimately, the well-known application of the classical and human relations approaches was about identifying obstacles, thereafter, to introduce structures, relationships and processes that would increase productivity and efficiency.

With Barnard (1938), the formal and informal organisation, and the certain interaction between them is explained. In this approach, the total organisation is treated as a complex system made up of interdependent parts where organisational leaders are responsible for creating a culture of mutual effort and cooperation. Neither the formal

¹⁸² T. Greenfield, (1986), 'The Decline and Fall of Science in Educational Administration', in *Interchange*, Institute of Studies in Education, Ontario, vol. 17 no. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 57-80.

¹⁸³ Wayne K. Hoy; Cecil G. Miskel, (1987), *Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice*, Random House, New York, p. 15.

or informal organisation is treated adversely, but both are examined to ascertain the impact on the organisation.

Chester Barnard described the organisation as consisting of three critical elements: communication, willingness to serve, and common purpose.¹⁸⁴ Notwithstanding the influence of Barnard's work, concern is raised about the potential for persons with authority to enforce rather than obtain consent to an action,¹⁸⁵ which in turn, raises questions about the ideologies and behaviours of organisational leaders toward work colleagues who do not possess an equivalent power.¹⁸⁶ Yet, Simon (1947) built on Barnard's original ideas to evolve a behavioural based scientific description of organisation.

An economist, Simon (1947) was preoccupied with the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation. Emphasising the organisation's purpose and goals, and bound by the principles of effectiveness and efficiency, distinctions and relationships are better understood about those involved in doing specifically assigned tasks and those involved in decision-making about production. Although radical at the time, Simon also reasoned that decision makers did not opt for the best decisions because they were cognitively limited to the alternatives that could be possessed, "satisfice" for the

¹⁸⁴ C. Barnard, (1968), *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 82.

¹⁸⁵ William Foster, (1986), *Paradigms and Promises: New Approaches to Educational Administration*, Falmer Press, London, p. 43.

¹⁸⁶ T. Greenfield, (1975), 'Theory about Organisation: A New Perspective and its Implications for Schools', in M. Hughes (ed.), (1975), *Administering Education: International Challenge*, Athlone Press, London.

best decision under the particular circumstances.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, decision makers are confined to the extent of knowledge and understanding they actually possess about the organisation's environment.

Somewhat different in perspective, Weber's proposition implies that social action is a structural antecedent of conceptions about organisations as social systems consisting of people who interact with and make sense of their environment. In essence, the organisation is a system of social interaction between actors who interpret and give meaning both to their own and to others' behaviour. Accordingly, human beings having a rich and varied mental life reflected in the social artefacts and institutions by which they live. In sociological and anthropological terms this is globally referred to as culture and includes all that social actors can talk about, explain, describe to others, excuse or justify, believe in, assert, point to, theorise about, agree about, dispute over, pray to, create, build and so on.¹⁸⁸

By regarding the organisation as a system of social interaction, closed and open perspectives are identifiable. Whereas rational systems are concerned primarily with goals and formal structure to determine organisational behaviour, natural systems are more concerned with the behaviour and needs of individuals, and the influence of the informal organisation. While the early human relations' approach did not consider the

¹⁸⁷ William Foster, (1986), *Paradigms and Promises: New Approaches to Educational Administration*, Falmer Press, London, p .45.

¹⁸⁸ John Hughes, (1979), *The Philosophy of Social Research*, Longman Group, UK, p. 71.

environment to be an important factor, natural systems thinking did eventually recognise the importance of the relationship between the organisation and environment. By comparison, these closed systems mirror each other. Rational systems focus on structure without people while natural systems are focused on people without structure.

Greenfield (1975) disputes the rational systems perspective of an organisation because it is perceived as real or distinct from the actions, feelings and purposes of people. According to Greenfield, the convenient separation of people and organisations is a mistaken belief in the reality of organisations, which distracts attention away from human action to the intentions of organisations involving people. Organisations are described as social constructs that are created by people, through human intervention as a result of human intention, reality and history.

In essence, organisations are acted upon not actors, therefore, are arranged by individuals in ways that mirror their intentions. As every individual perceives the world differently, then what is rational for one is not necessarily for another. Consequently, understanding why individuals act as they do is fundamental to this perspective. Therefore, human action and intention are seen as bound with individual and collective decision-making situations that involve political and ethical judgements.¹⁸⁹ Consequently, no human activity can be value neutral. In summary,

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Greenfield, (1986), 'The Decline and Fall of Science in Educational Administration', in *Interchange*, Vol.17 No.2, Summer 1986, Institute of Studies in Education, Ontario, pp. 57-80.

the phenomenological view best espoused by Thomas Greenfield,¹⁹⁰ treats the organisation as invented social reality that is relevant for a time but may be redefined through changing demands and beliefs among people.

In contrast to the closed system models, another school of thought emerged, through the work of the Austrian biologist, Ludwig von Bertalanffy who introduced concepts of an open system¹⁹¹ and a general systems theory.¹⁹² Bertalanffy's insights have been used in a range of disciplines including the theory of organisation. For instance, open systems reject the idea that organisations can be isolated from external forces, that is, they interact with the environment, are dynamic and changing. The importance of feedback loops to make adjustments, moving the system forward by drawing on and giving to the environment, and adaptation to better position within the environment, are critical to the open systems perspective. Because the open system acknowledges both structure and process, it is dynamic with permanence and pliability, with both firm and unrestricted relationships. The environment is not disregarded as is the case with the rational system, nor is it considered hostile, as is the case with the natural systems viewpoint. Instead, it responds positively to the interconnectedness that secures the organisation to the things that encircle and penetrate it.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Greenfield, (1975), 'Theory about Organisation: A New Perspective and its Implications for Schools', in M. Hughes (ed.), *Administering Education: International Challenge*, Athlone Press, London.

¹⁹¹ L. Von Bertalanffy, (1950), 'The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology', in *Science*, vol. 111, 1950, pp. 23-29.

¹⁹² L. Von Bertalanffy, (1968), *General Systems Theory*, Braziller, New York.

¹⁹³ Wayne K. Hoy; Cecil G. Miskel, (1987), *Educational Administration: Theory Research and Practice*, Random House, New York, p. 21.

Systems' thinking was particularly influential during the 1950s and 1960s. As industrial development increased and successful outcomes were attributed to the adoption of the systems approach, so its popularity in business was confirmed. With this acceptance, systems management became an influential approach. In the 1980s, the perspective of the business organisation as a living social system emerged and incorporated several ideas from the disciplines of biology, physics, ecology and evolutionary theory.¹⁹⁵

Systems models did not so much provide theory for the study of living systems but a set of descriptive tools. Founded on the philosophical framework of deep ecology, presented within a mathematical discourse and rejecting a sacrosanct mechanistic view of the world, Capra (1996) argues that a theory of living systems is emerging, where the explanatory power of substance and form, not in opposition but in synthesis, is presented.¹⁹⁶

Three criteria are proposed based on a synthesis of ideas about living systems that are extracted from various disciplines. A central element is that pattern, structure and process are different but inseparable perspectives on the phenomenon of life. By explanation, the pattern of organisation is understood to be the configuration of relationships that determines the system's essential characteristics. Structure is the physical embodiment of the system's pattern of organisation, and life process is the

¹⁹⁵ Fritjof Capra, (1996), *The Web of Life*, Doubleday, New York, p. 76.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 81.

activity involved in the continual embodiment of the system's pattern of organisation.¹⁹⁶

To extrapolate, if a human organisation is essentially made up of individual human beings interconnected by shared phenomenon and organised according to human perceptions about social, economic, cultural and political activity, then it could be described as a living system. Accordingly, people are inseparable from the institutions, the interrelationships or the behaviours that are human organisation. The aspects are different but interconnect to provide substance, form and purpose. The organisation, therefore, is a natural phenomenon of individual human beings choosing to organise in ways that make sense to them.

In business activity, the systems approach to organisation theory is understood to embrace the contributions of many disciplines. Handy (1985) is critical of the approach in so far as its generalisations do not provide immediate applicability but are subject to further explanation within a particular field of study. It is argued that the choice of metaphors or analogies is critical when using a systems approach. A biological or anatomical metaphor is used by Handy to secure what an organisation is about in terms of its physical perspective, the overlaps and interlinking of parts and their purpose, and the flows and processes through the structure.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 158-176.

¹⁹⁷ Charles Handy, (1985), *Understanding Organisations*, Penguin Business, London.

In the business sense, systems are not considered to already exist but are an interdependent set of elements put together by humans and used by humans. Therefore, organisations are not static by structure, pattern or process.

Quite the opposite, the design and structure of organisations are affected by changes over time in both the environment and the organisation itself. It may be argued that an unsystematic approach to organisation assumes that systems do not exist either by design or otherwise, and that organisations do not have systems.

Whether by speculation or gradual evolution, the structure, pattern and processes of human organisation are changing from organisations of imposition both internally and externally, to organisations of responsiveness to people demand and expectations. As a consequence, organisations have moved toward networks rather than pyramids, where flat structure, patterns and processes over hierarchical models are desired.¹⁹⁸

The notion of organisation in the strict biological view would suggest that systems already exist and co-evolve rather than depend exclusively on the creativity of human beings. In this sense, the human species is but a participant in the web of life not the centre of its being. By comparison, the social, cultural, economic or political organisation is a phenomenon of human creation to establish a form of control over human if not all other life. The nature and dynamics of power is central to the

¹⁹⁸ Tom Peters, (1990), 'Flatten Pyramid Organisations for Success in the 90s', in *Springfield News Leader*, 16 July 1990.

organisational constructs of human beings. Human intelligence may be perceived as a significant advantage but is tempered by responsibilities with ethical and moral dilemmas.

Critical theorists such as Horkheimer and Marcuse argue for the recognition of ethical commitments alongside technical matters. Whereas positivism is predicated on prescription and phenomenology upon description, critical theory is committed to ethical and moral issues. Of primary concern are the critical analyses of science, culture, ideology, social and economic systems created by human beings. Fundamentally, questions are asked about the way humans organise themselves or are organised intentionally to transform society by praxis.

According to critical theory, a close relationship exists between epistemology and history. Therefore, it is relevant to examine the historical antecedents of all knowledge, what benefits are accumulated and for whom. Essentially, human relationships are located within structural issues related to class and power, and grounded in an uncompromising bias toward structural change. The causes of social domination and oppression are key aspects, however, critical theory does not exempt humans from being responsible for human actions. In organisational terms, ethics involves the application of moral principles to the conduct of people in organisations. Ethics are associated with the principles of particular professions and morality is

about personal conduct. Consequently, it is argued that administrative practice is not ethically neutral.¹⁹⁹

Although, the act of organisation is not exclusive to human activity, the widespread impact of human endeavour demonstrates that organisation is a fundamental strategy for most, if not all, individual human beings. It is impractical and certainly hard to imagine human activity without organisation. Furthermore, it may be too obvious to assert that protection, power, sustenance, control, shelter, security, use development, and survival are basic reasons for the existence of human organisation. Nevertheless, it may be equally difficult to ignore them.

Māori Organisational Culture

The culture of organisations gained popularity during the 1980s when management gurus examined why some (corporate) organisations were more successful than others. Amongst the influential writers of the period were Willam Ouchi (1981), Richard Pascale and Anthony Athos (1981), Peters and Waterman (1982), Terrance Deal and Allan Kennedy (1982), Edgar Schein (1984) and Charles Hardy (1985). Seemingly profound at the time, and perhaps benefiting from the insights of systems theory and practice, their work affirmed the idea that organisations only made sense as

¹⁹⁹ D. Thompson, (1987), 'The Possibility of Administrative Ethnics', in C. Eyers (ed.), (1987), *Moral Theory of Educative Leadership*, Ministry of Education, Victoria, pp. 73-87.

a whole. By inference, the cultural elements of an organisation were understood to be inter-related rather than completely separate parts.

The study of organisational culture is an attempt to understand the behaviour of the people in organisations, their definitions and understanding of situations, and the features that support their perceptions. For example, by analysing Japanese corporations, Ouchi (1981) concluded that the reason effective organisations are successful can be attributed to a distinctive corporate culture, which is characterised by strong links between shared values (trust, intimacy, cooperation, teamwork and egalitarianism) and what is actually done, and by attention to the management of people. In exploring the culture idea in corporate management, Schein (1984) emphasised the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared and performed unconsciously by members of the organisation. Consequently, whether or not the culture of an organisation is deliberate and open, intuitive and cryptic, or a combination of both may not be immediately apparent. Furthermore, the level of influence attributable to what is shared or not shared may not always be obvious. Reinforcing the point, Handy (1985) contended that a strong culture makes a strong organisation although not all cultures suit all purposes or people.²⁰⁰

What is apparent, at least in the corporate setting, is the movement away from changing the culture of people to attracting individuals who share the culture of the

²⁰⁰ Charles Hardy, (1985), *Understanding Organisations*, Penguin Books, London, p. 188.

organisation. Ultimately, the result is the same as both approaches are concerned with identifying an appropriate organisational culture, determining what structures, relationships and processes are relevant, redeploying individuals to suitable sections, attracting people with the 'right stuff', and discouraging people who do not fit. Where a shared commitment exists among the members of the organisation to promote shared values and norms then the approach is compelling. However, the opposite is true when the members of the organisation cannot maintain a suitable level of group behaviour and action. In such cases, the organisation is predisposed to dysfunction and reconstitution because its members are unlikely to sponsor or nurture a shared orientation.

There are various culture typologies, variables, levels and types offered by a number of writers about organisational culture. Writers such as Peters and Waterman (1982), Charles Handy (1985) and Ralph Kilmann (1987) appear to suggest ideal types of organisational culture but do not offer a preference. Instead, there is a consistent theme about the unlikely scenario of one perfect culture for all organisations. Rather than a one model fits all or even the idea of one organisation - one culture, there is a clear and unmistakable view that a framework designed to reveal one best culture does not exist. The choice of culture is more or less dependent on numerous internal and external forces to the organisation. Each organisation and each part of an organisation, can nurture a culture, and can have a structure and systems appropriate to that culture. Moreover, every individual may have a preferred culture but may also have to function within various organisational cultures.

Corporate management ideas about organisational culture revealed during the 1980s are useful, however Maruyama (1994) extends the comprehension by examining different patterns of reasoning which underlie decisions, actions and behaviour of executives, managers and other employees in business firms.²⁰¹ Notwithstanding that the members of corporate organisations receive financial, non-financial and status incentives for their cooperation and performance, the ideas and experiences documented by Maruyama are not necessarily predicated on such motives. More important, he explains a dynamic of organisational culture beyond the collective by focusing on the reasoning of the individual.

Perhaps the most striking argument is that each corporate culture or country culture, or even the culture of an ethnic group is not homogeneous. Although seemingly obvious, it is further argued by Maruyama that in any culture, individual heterogeneity in epistemological types exists under the surface of homogeneity. The proposition does not discount homogeneity instead it is acknowledged but qualified by the assertion that heterogeneity exists within homogeneity. In Maruyama's words, in any country you can find individuals of many different logical types, and between two very different cultures you can find individuals who share the same logical type.²⁰²

²⁰¹ Magoroh Maruyama, (1994), *Mindscapes in Management: Use of Individual Differences in Multicultural Management*, Darmouth, England, p. ix.

²⁰² *ibid.*, p. 2.

The tacit assumptions of Maruyama's proposition are about the differences in logics. Underlying the argument is the idea that logics transcend the cultures of corporate organisations and countries. In theory, it would mean the existence of many logics, some more dominant than others depending on context and circumstances, while non-dominant types also exist beneath the more visible homogeneity of the organisation's culture. Widening the view, it would mean that all cultures, to a lesser or greater degree, shares complementary logics. Whereas, one form of logic may be dominant in one culture and it may nonetheless exist in another but essentially be non-dominant.

In Maruyama's proposition, it is possible to discern the dominant logic and also identify the relative influence of other logic types.²⁰⁴ For example, four different cultures may share a similar logic type, which is dominant in one and exists in the other three to varying degrees but essentially non-dominant. It follows that members of an organisation will vary in many ways including their structure of reasoning and action, which Maruyama refers to as mindscape types. When Maruyama's ideas are applied to Māori organisation, the potential for culture variants to be more about the differences of reasoning and action rather than differences between tikanga Māori and Pākeha law is accentuated.

General differences between Māori and non-Māori cultural precepts would suggest different ways of speaking, being and doing, nevertheless underlying both of them

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

may be cognate logics. Whether by choice or circumstance, the patterns of ideas and actions used by Māori from one situation to the next may indicate an unrelenting effort to maintain Māori values and reasoning in Māori and non-Māori organisations though confronted with a legal context. There may be skilful advocates capable of maintaining a sense of integrity in culturally difficult situations however, the potential for inconsistencies to appear between what is espoused in cultural terms and what actually happens is ever present.

On the other hand, the patterns may not be so much incongruent rather, a natural response by Māori individuals and groups when faced with organisational issues to maintain, extend and develop their cultural imperatives and practices beyond traditional boundaries. For example, Māori views about interconnectedness are reasonably similar to the ideas generated by ecologists and environmentalists, who likewise struggle for a voice in competition with the dominant culture of the free-market. At the same time, the idea that all Māori share common values about the environment because they are related by genealogical connections cannot be upheld. While members of an organisation may work in the same place, it is misguided to believe that they unquestionably share the same mindscape. Equally, there are times when the reasoning and actions of the Crown, non-Māori and others are not compatible and yet, on other occasions are directly positive to Māori.

Taken to another level, while Māori may disagree with each other it is conceivable for some Māori and non-Māori to readily find common ground. They may indeed share a

difference of culture but they may also share a perspective, which enables them to engage when others cannot. For example, advocates who promote the need for indigenous peoples to reject the reasoning and actions of colonisation by removing the psychological shackles of the coloniser - referred to as decolonisation - are often supported by others who do not accept oppression toward any group of people.

The variations of logic employed by Māori to make sense of their world may explain why it is not unnatural to observe complementarity, confrontation and separation within and between Māori organisations, and non-Māori organisations. Moreover, drawing on Maruyama (1994), different mindscapes can be located within the cultures of organisations, which enable different groups and individuals to interact by transcending the surface of cultural homogeneity. In essence, the explanation offers a way to better understand the variation of Māori responses to organisational complexities.

Māori Organisation in the Twentieth Century

Ethnicity as a reference to a group of people who share a common ancestry and cultural background is probably a meaningful activity for humankind but may not overly excite any other life form on earth. Consistent with human inquisitiveness to categorise all that is the world, a study of people organisation provides a method for interpreting human relationships in some useful way. For example, reference to the indigenous people of New Zealand as Māori stems principally from colonial post-

contact events, rather than a deliberate attempt by tribal groups to attain some sense of common understanding about themselves. Prior to the coming of the Pākeha, the indigenous people of New Zealand understood identity in terms of tribal organisation and the characteristics of their habitats rather than some notion of distinctiveness from other races.

Through various means, including the work of anthropologists like Buck,²⁰⁵ the general population has become accustomed to the use of Māori as a reliable measure. Beyond Pākeha realisation, conflict during the later part of the 19th century encouraged a sense of Māori unity to counter British political imposition. While the term Māori is regularly applied as a general description of all Māori people the recording of tribal affiliation is clearly evident in the 1991 and 1996 census forms.

The statutory definition was substantially altered by the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974, which substituted the legal application of a "Māori" being persons of more than a fixed degree of Māori blood²⁰⁶ for a new definition - 'a person of the Māori race of New Zealand; and including any descendants of such a person.'²⁰⁷ But the practice, at least in terms of census data maintains a distinction between those who descend from a Māori and those who belong to the Māori ethnic group.²⁰⁸ Since

²⁰⁵ Peter Buck, (1949), *The Coming of the Māori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Christchurch.

²⁰⁶ Reprinted Statutes of New Zealand 1982, Vol.8, Government Printer, Wellington, pp. 332-333.

²⁰⁷ New Zealand Statutes 1974, Vol. 2 No. 73, Government Printer, Wellington, p. 1711.

²⁰⁸ Statistic NZ, (1997), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Māori*, Department of Statistics, Wellington.

1984, rather than strict biological markers, self-identification has been favoured by government departments and Crown agencies for determining ethnic identity. However, the Māori household study, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, takes the Māori identity concept to a different level. Identity is constructed not so much from descent, alone, or self-identification as a Māori, but from access to those cultural, social, and economic organisations which typify te ao Māori, the Māori world.

A secure identity, for example, rests on ready access to ancestral land, Māori language, whānau, marae, and social networks, sometimes tribal, sometimes non-tribal. A notional identity on the other hand, has a strong sense of being Māori though without access to Māori institutions, customs or networks.²⁰⁸

In 1991, when census data began recording tribal affiliation, the connection between tribal members and tribal organisations was assisted with a population count of Māori who chose to be recorded as tribal descendants. Although tribal affiliation was provided for in the 1991 and 1996 census forms, the reasons why a significant number of Māori chose to be recorded as tribal descendants cannot be penetrated. Census data does not indicate how many tribal members can or cannot access tribal organisations and institutions nor does it uncover the reasons why some tribal members prefer tribal, non-tribal or both kinds of organisations and institutions for social, cultural, economic and perhaps political involvement. Nevertheless, the suitability of traditional Māori

²⁰⁸ Te Hoe Nuku Roa, (1996), *Māori Profiles: In integrated approach to policy and planning*, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp. 7-9.

organisation in modern times has been the subject of criticism among Māori who seek to widen rather than narrow the organisational options available to them. Moreover, while the reasoning and actions of many Māori are not confined to a tribal paradigm, it would be erroneous to conclude that all Māori reject a tribal orientation.

If prior to colonisation, tribal organisation was the rule, the colonisers were unimpressed by such divisions. By and large, they wanted to deal with all tribes simply as Māori people. Not only were tribes obstacles to land purchases, but they posed threats to regional settlers. As a consequence, central government began legislating for Māori, as if the tribal differences were insignificant.²⁰⁹ Perhaps the most significant organisational reform introduced by the government was the concept of the Council (Rūnanga), which can be traced back to the Māori Councils Act 1900. The Act provided the legal mechanism to establish locally self-governing bodies. A Māori Council was constituted for every Māori district established under the Act, and Komiti Marae (Village Committees) were elected from among every Māori settlement within each district. The title of the Act states that it was “An Act to confer a limited measure of self-government upon her Majesty’s subjects of the Māori race in the colony.”

Ranginui Walker (1996) argued that in 1900 the government blunted the challenge of the Kauhanganui and the Māori Parliament by establishing Māori Councils. Walker’s

²⁰⁹ For examples, see the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, Māori Community Development Act 1962 and the Māori Welfare Act 1962.

view is supported by the tasks given to the councils being low level, non-political tasks such as improving Māori health, marae sanitation, discouraging tohunga and ensuring compliance with new building standards for meeting houses.²¹⁰

The Māori Council structure was revived under the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, which aimed to promote health, cleanliness and sanitation in Māori communities, the suppression of injurious customs such as drinking and gambling, and the regulation of other social matters. To achieve the aims, Māori Councils possessed statutory power to pass by-laws sensitive to local needs. Komiti Marae were then delegated the power to administer and enforce by-laws.

The only income the Councils and Komiti Marae received to carry out their functions was derived from fines imposed on Māori, and dog taxes. In 1962, the Māori Council Structure was revamped under the Māori Welfare Act 1962 then subsequently changed to the Māori Community Development Act in 1979, and is currently being reviewed.

Despite the heavy legislative hand of the Crown, tribal organisation persisted, often in a covert manner, and in 1984 government began resurrecting tribal councils or their equivalent. In 1990, the Rūnanga Iwi Act even endorsed tribal organisations. But by then of course, for every tribal organisation there were a number of non-tribal Māori

²¹⁰ Ranginui Walker, (1996), *Nga Pepa a Ranginui*, Penguin Books, Auckland, p. 82.

groupings. Notwithstanding the widening of Māori interaction at local, national and international levels, present-day legislative activities reconfirm the predicability of government to organise and influence Māori organisational options.

During the early to mid-20th century, Buck, Best and Firth reported that population growth, from one generation to the next, was a fundamental element in the change process for tribal organisation. In essence, as whānau numbers grew then hapū and iwi collectivity emerged. From these writers, an appreciation for the structure of Māori society (at that time), its social and economic organisations, institutions, and relationships is offered. However, the dynamics of social, cultural, economic and political change generated by and influencing tribal groups is not fully appreciable from the descriptions. In a study about whānau in a modern world,²¹¹ Metge acknowledges the work of Firth, Best and Buck however, she points out limitations in detail, and approach to variation, process and change.

It is a contemporary observation, recognised by Metge as benefiting from critical refinement and amplification by subsequent scholarship. More important, it offers a broader perspective for observing and understanding Māori organisation with all its complexities.

²¹¹ Joan Metge, (1995), *New Growth From Old*, Victoria University, Wellington, p. 37.

Although, the social groupings of waka, iwi, hapū and whānau are still evident today, the most commonly referred to Māori social order is iwi - hapū - whānau.²¹² Briefly, the waka was the largest accepted traditional social organisation, which consists of a group of tribes related by genealogical connection to one or more of the waka crew. Those iwi groups that were known to be direct descendants used the waka name. Leadership remained with the most senior line among the related iwi groups and was referred to as ariki. The waka grouping was usually not visible unless the livelihood of the descendants was threatened.

While reference to 'waka' was frequent during the 1870s and attempts to institutionalise its status did occur in the following years, it is treated as an informal but important expression of communal influence in the 20th century,²¹³ apart from a brief resurrection in the government's Matua Whangai Scheme, which was developed in 1981-1982.²¹⁴

Tribes, mostly hapū, were the recognised widest socio-political grouping of all the traditional Māori organisations. Relationships were determined by descent through either parent, which maintained a level of cohesion between tribal members to act cooperatively for political purposes with direct implications on economic and social

²¹² *ibid.*, p. 315.

²¹³ Angela Ballara, (1998), *Iwi: The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from 1769 to 1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 326-331.

²¹⁴ Feedback from Kara Puketapu, 15 December 1999.

wellbeing. Generally, leadership was from the direct senior line of the tribe, however, there are several examples, such as Te Rauparaha, who fall outside the mould.

If whakapapa succession was secure then leaders were of two classes; ariki who lead the iwi, while rangatira lead the hapū and contributed to the iwi decision-making process. Rangatira were related to the ariki usually along a junior line. Nevertheless, there are notable examples where whakapapa succession was not secure. Suffice to say that the leadership environment was probably more dynamic. No matter how leadership was attained, political, social and economic matters were ultimately the affairs of leadership. To some extent this may still be so, however, access to tribal resources and political influence is no longer exclusively contingent on whakapapa succession. While Māori initiative did impact upon tribal organisation, the pressures of interaction with the Crown and government over authority and resources issues, also influenced the dynamics of iwi and hapū during the 19th and the 20th century.²¹⁵

Hapū were led by rangatira who along with all their members had kinship ties with a common ancestor usually a junior to the eponymous ancestor of the iwi. However, some hapū and iwi have been named after a significant historical event. The other noted leader was the tohunga who held a knowledge base that sustained particular activities of the social group. Firth (1959) described the hapū as the largest economic unit of the traditional Māori social groupings.

²¹⁵ Angela Ballara, (1998), *Iwi: The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from 1769 - 1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 315.

The hapū was the most useful forum for uniting kinship whānau for purposes of work and defence. It was particularly cohesive and capable of contributing to, if not independently executing, social, cultural, economic and political tasks.²¹⁶ However, the control over wealth creation and distribution by the rangatira of old has not been sustained into the 20th century. Traditional material culture has extensively been replaced by individual enterprise though communal wealth still exists in multiply owned land, legitimated by the Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. Nonetheless, the influence of inherited leadership upon the economic and social infrastructure of Māori tribal organisation has gradually but surely reduced.

The situation is indicative of the shift in leadership roles and functions from exclusive whakapapa succession toward a less stringent whakapapa orientation and a greater emphasis on personal skills, knowledge, experience and qualities. Mahuika (1992) noted that traditional determinants are still relevant today but must now be fused with the attributes that will respond to the wider community and the demands of modern life. And, just as occurred in traditional times, where a rangatira lacks ability, another will fill his leadership role.²¹⁷ Today, the status of rangatira may be largely confined to formal marae activity, however the functions traditionally undertaken by rangatira are still visible in tribal members who are 'movers and shakers', involved in the

²¹⁶ Raymond Firth, (1959), *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, Government Printer, Wellington, p. 351.

²¹⁷ Apirana Mahuika, (1992), 'Leadership: Inherited and Achieved', in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga*, M., King (ed.), Reed, Wellington, p. 61.

management and advocacy of tribal affairs, and who control a Māori communal resource such as land.

Notwithstanding the dynamics of leadership, the hapū did manage and control the tribal land they lived on. This was recognised by the other hapū of the tribe. A hapū was capable of owning various natural resources, including forested areas, swamps and fishing grounds. Resource ownership or claims were addressed by the practice of ahi kaa, which ensured that occupation was maintained. Tawhai (1987) reveals the importance of the marae, the pataka and the whare rūnanga as community assets.²¹⁹ The symbolism attached to these institutions depicted, among other things, social position, economic wealth, and by inference leadership. For the hapū, social and economic positions were transparent indicators of effective leadership. Notably, some hapū also had a whare wānanga institution, which was cared for and owned by them. Most iwi had at least one such institution within their tribal boundaries. Today, these institutions still function, to a lesser or greater degree from one iwi to the next, dependant on the continuity and stability of organisation over time. Consequently, the systematic transfer of roles and responsibilities, functions and processes from generation to generation, has relied on tribal groups having the foresight and capacity to plan for succession.

²¹⁹ Extracted from Department of Māori Studies, (1989), *Māori Cultural Symbolism: Course Readings*, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Whānau was the basic sub-group of a hapū but did not necessarily develop over time into hapū.²¹⁹ It consisted of individuals with very close kinship ties, usually several generations, which included grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. A whānau occupied an area set aside for their use. They collectively managed and controlled these areas and other resources such as canoes, fishing implements and such like. While most resources were shared there were personal items which may have been closely associated with certain whānau members. Cloaks, weapons and prized implements were good examples.

In common with iwi and hapū, the whānau is based on genealogical connections. Thereafter, social, cultural, economic and political actions occurred from within and by these groupings as part of day to day affairs rather than as their primary reason for being. Firth points out that kinship organisation appeared to be rather a determinant than an outcome of economic structure. He concluded that the whānau stems principally from the biological and social relationship, rather than economic intention. However, he argued that a relationship existed between economic and social phenomenon of traditional Māori organisation.²²⁰

In the past, iwi and hapū may have primarily relied on whānau cohesion and contribution however, this situation is no longer guaranteed. Self-identification,

²¹⁹ Joan Metge, (1995), *New Growth From Old*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 43.

²²⁰ Raymond Firth, (1959), *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, Government Printer, Wellington, p. 141.

through a biological relationship may still receive acknowledgement but a better understanding of whānau participation and access to tribal structures and processes is not likely to be appreciated by many Māori unless a level of acceptance beyond the recognition of genealogical ties is embraced. Moreover, Māori are interpreting whānau in non-traditional ways, which are not necessarily or solely based on whakapapa and therefore, may be defined differently in different contexts.²²²

The nature of the circumstance was evident during the rural-urban drift according to Winiata (1967) who observed that the state of Māori communities was becoming more differentiated. According to him, Māori communities were merging with the wider New Zealand society and were inevitably drawing on European institutions, value systems and resources.²²³ Despite the accommodating policies of the period, there was little advocacy to sacrifice Māori heritage but certainly support for making suitable adjustments.²²⁴

While biological groups of iwi, hapū and whānau can be described readily, the approach is limited because the impact of social, demographic, cultural, economic, historical and geographic circumstances on tribal organisation is not conveyed.

²²² Joan Metge, (1995), *New Growth From Old*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 37.

²²³ Maharaia Winiata, (1967), *The Changing Role of the Māori Leader in Māori Society*, Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd., Auckland, p. 178.

²²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

Māori organisation in the twentieth century is understood by contemporary scholars such as Metge (1995), Durie (1998) and Ballara (1998) to have responded not only, nor principally to Māori initiative but also the significant influence of colonial endeavour. The phenomenon is best explained with distinctions about the complexities surrounding the dynamism of Māori social organisation.

Based on Keesing's distinction, Metge (1995:47) explained that any discussion about Māori social organisation can benefit from anthropological terms - descent, descendant, descent line, descent category and descent group, because Māori emphasise genealogy as the basis for kinship relationships and group formation. The terms, descent category and descent group are particularly useful to the study. In her words, a *descent category* is made up of *all* the descendants of Ancestor X, thought about in the abstract without reference to any social interaction between them and a *descent group*, which is made up of those descendants of Ancestor X who interact recurrently in terms of interconnected roles. The distinctions are clearly relevant for tribal organisation however, they may have little if any relevance to non-tribal organisation, which are not reliant on ancestry.

To accommodate the situation, the work of social scientists suggests a way of distinguishing between *corporate groups* which have an ongoing life, short term *gatherings* and *action groups* of people who come together to perform a particular

task and then disband.²²⁴ Corporate groups do not necessarily identify with a common ancestor but are visible and share other reasons for being while the interaction found in gatherings and action groups is temporary and limited. In summary, these definitions which give sense to anthropological studies are useful for describing how tribal and wider Māori groupings organise themselves for development purposes.

²²⁴ Roger M. Keesing, (1976), *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, pp. 231-32.

Chapter Six: Research Results and the Wider Context

Responses to a Survey of Claimant Groups

The aim of the survey was to identify what structures, relationships and processes are being used by groups who are involved with Treaty of Waitangi claims, and the organisational issues that arise from the certain interaction within the claimant group, with other claimant groups, with the Crown and government. The survey contributes to the study by identifying a range of circumstances that are faced by tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations when attempting to fulfil development goals and aspirations.

Through personal involvement in inter-tribal development projects and the Ministry of Māori Development, there were opportunities to meet and discuss organisational and development issues with claimant groups. Added to working relationships with colleagues and others, the capability to collect data for the survey was available. The geographic spread and subsequent selection of claimant groups for the survey were organised with the support of various people. This included regional office staff of the Ministry of Māori Development, the management groups of various tribal organisations and a range of Māori individuals who are employed or involved in Māori development projects.

The questionnaire²²⁵ was developed with five key sections: the reasons for the establishment of the organisation, management structure, goals and objectives, claimant group expectations, understanding of Treaty claim processes and management capability.

It was tested with a small group of people working for claimant organisations. After minor adjustments to the survey format and language, the questionnaire was sent to a variety of claimant group organisations. A claimant was defined as a tribal or non-tribal Māori group who had submitted a claim statement and had it registered with the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of their people.

The mail out was followed up with telephone contact and meetings, at the request of respondents or when claimant responses were not understood. As anticipated, a number of survey forms were not returned, but the overall response rate was 90%. Nonetheless, while some claimant groups chose not to complete the survey form they did however, agree to participate by discussing the survey questions rather than present a formally written response. The arrangement was a minor departure but it resulted in open and wide ranging discussion about matters not directly noted in the survey questionnaire. In all cases, the approach adopted for data collection was ultimately the prerogative of the claimant group. Where possible, annual reports and

²²⁵ See appendix one.

other public information about the claimants were examined to broaden my understanding of claimants' comments and responses.

The number and organisational role of respondents varied from one claimant organisation to the next. In most cases, one or two respondents who were involved in senior management or the governance of the organisation contributed to the survey. However, several claimant groups began with one contact person then invited others to share their views. Generally, meetings were informal and usually not constrained by time. Direct feedback and comments were recorded on the survey form while side notes were taken for responses, which needed further explanation.

Between 1997-98, twenty-eight claimant groups completed the survey questionnaire. According to the self-description provided by the groups, only hapū, iwi and non-tribal Māori claimant organisations were involved. There were no whānau claimants represented in the survey. An assurance was given to respondents that no name or location references would be mentioned and that the key findings would be based on trends identified in the total sample. Importantly, the sample represented a useful geographic spread across the country.

Tribal Organisation and Māori Individuals

According to respondents the most influential social unit for Treaty claim purposes is the hapū. There is a strong emphasis on collective decision-making and action rather

than a small 'executive' group making the decisions on behalf of others. Notwithstanding this, individual Māori insist on having a greater say in tribal affairs rather than allowing others to speak on their behalf.

The whānau is treated as the basic building block for hapū and iwi participation. Whakapapa is considered to be the most significant criterion for whānau, hapū and iwi recognition. Yet, wide participation by all eligible members, is not a strong feature of tribal organisation at either hapū or iwi levels.

It is possible for individual Māori and whānau to participate in iwi matters without consent from hapū. However, iwi decisions are generally not sustainable without hapū consent. While individual Māori and whānau expect hapū and iwi organisations will respond to them, not all individual Māori or whānau are prepared to contribute to hapū, but perhaps more so, iwi development.

Despite the fact that individuals and whānau who participate with hapū do not necessarily want to be involved in iwi politics and issues, there is nonetheless an expectation that iwi development will directly benefit them. In other words, the hapū appears to be the mediating influence between iwi on the one hand, and whānau and individuals on the other. Hapū organisations appear to be more accessible to individuals and in turn have access to the wider iwi organisations.

Hapū have limited resources and personnel. Consequently, many rely on the goodwill of family members to find time and donate personal resources for the benefit of others. In general, whānau and individual Māori are able to choose whom they participate with and why. While whakapapa establishes a connection it is not sufficient to cement a working and reciprocal relationship at either the hapū or iwi level. What is apparently needed is a clear form of access, which will generate participation in a meaningful way. Whether simply belonging, by virtue of descent, will be sufficient to guarantee a share of hapū benefits remains to be seen. Hapū may require some additional sign of commitment to a cause, before assuming that an individual can lay claim to hapū wealth.

Tikanga and Legally Recognised Organisations

Respondents described tribal organisation as having two frames of reference: tikanga and legal identity. Within a tikanga context, regulation according to tribal custom is important, while a legal context requires compliance with the law. Based on shared tikanga, hui provide a forum for setting terms and conditions for mandate and leadership. However, the effectiveness of tikanga relies on the personal capacity of tribal affiliates to function successfully in the hui environment. Accordingly, hapū are expected to have significant input to decision-making, and contribute to the formation and renewal of tribal alliances. From the sample of claimant groups, the following characteristics of tikanga-recognised organisations emerged (see table 6.1). The percentages refer to the claimants in the survey who have established organisations

that depend primarily on tikanga for procedural guidance, even though the same organisations might be established as legal entities.

Table 6.1 : Tikanga Recognised Organisations

Tikanga-recognised Organisation	% of claimants	Description
<i>Rūnanga ā Iwi</i>	11%	Confederation of hapū or marae at an iwi level.
<i>Rūnanga a tūpuna rohe</i>	7%	Alliance of hapū within a tribal area. Likely to involve more than one hapū. Generally formed to promote and facilitate the management of shared kaupapa at the hapū level.
<i>Hapū Rūnanga</i>	78%	Identified as the most significant decision-making social group in tribal affairs.

In comparison with tikanga based organisations, legally recognised organisations are usually less concerned with the observation of tribal custom and protocols, tikanga, than with legal jurisdiction over tribal assets and affairs. They are set up to manage one or more tribal portfolios according to the requirements of statute. Often the entity is perceived to be the tribe, particularly by external groups. Most have legal powers to carry out activities in the best interests of beneficiaries or shareholders. Opponents are generally concerned with the potential for the abuse of power by an ultimate legal tribal authority. Proponents believe that greater accountability, transparency and effective management of tribal affairs will address this concern.

A number of respondents established legal entities to gain access to funding opportunities, to enter into contracts, manage claims and settlements, and to be legally recognised by external agencies and bodies. The beneficiaries of these entities are thought to be overly critical of strategic direction and performance. Nearly all claimants involved in this survey mentioned the unrelenting challenges to the leadership and management of tribal claims.

A significant number of claimant groups have Incorporated Society status, which is perceived by their proponents to be robust and flexible, and allowing a mix of tikanga and commercial practice. However, the critics do not believe they provide for the full extent of tribal jurisdiction and management.

The main issues are about what kind of organisation is required to protect and develop tribal assets, how to sustain the tino rangatiratanga agenda, how to ensure accountability to tribal members, how to ensure certainty of legal powers and capacity, and how best to organise tribal and legal governance.²²⁶ The following table (6.2) presents an overview of claimant preferences with respect to legal entities for the management and control of tribal assets and affairs. It shows the legal entities that are favoured, the percentage of respondents involved, and a comment about suitability.

²²⁶ These matters are also highlighted by Te Puni Kokiri, (1996), *Structural Review of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington.

These legal governance options²²⁸ do not readily answer calls by Māori for indigenous tribal authority but they are, at least, recognised by the state and others. Despite the fact that Māori do use legal structures there is sufficient comment by respondents to suggest that the arrangement is a 'means of progress' until a more favourable model for tribal authority can be organised. In short, these organisational approaches enable Māori to pursue economic and perhaps social goals but they are not suitable for tribal governance.²²⁹

Table 6.2 : Legally Recognised Organisations

Legally-recognised Organisation	% of claimants	Suitability
<i>Authority with its own statute</i>	4%	Not common. Part of settlement package. Ownership is beneficiary based. The statute includes accountability, transparency and tribal recognition as central features.
<i>Incorporated Society Act 1908</i>	31%	Often referred to as a Rūnanga. Unless a member is registered benefit cannot be obtained. Members are also not allowed to receive any pecuniary gain, direct or indirect.
<i>Charitable Trust Act 1957</i>	16%	Often referred to as a Rūnanga. Limited by income being applied for charitable purposes only.
<i>Trust Board Act 1955</i>	14%	Under review. The Board is answerable to the Minister of Māori Affairs.

²²⁸ See Te Puni Kōkiri; Bell Gully, (1996), *The Bell Gully Report – Management and Ownership Structures Project*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington. Although the report does not comment on tribal governance, it nonetheless highlights the parameters and advantages of current legal options. Clearly, those options will not provide for the aspirations of some Māori. In fact, the selection recommended by government and independent professionals to Māori might unwittingly limit rather than explore what is desired.

²²⁹ For insights to the Native American experience, see Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt, (1998), 'Sovereignty and Nation-building: The Development Challenge', in *Indian Country Today in American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, November 1998

Survey responses suggest that there are probably overlaps between organisations that are founded on tikanga and legal conventions however, the interplay is not always obvious nor easily understood.

Certainly, there is sufficient comment from respondents to support the view that it is a question of balance rather than absolute difference. Mindful of the fact that many organisations operate within both tikanga and legal frameworks, discord between the power brokers is usually about competing interests within or external to the claimant community.

Disagreements are usually played out with fragmentation and the establishment of rival organisations that may operate according to tikanga Māori, Pākeha law or a combination of both, depending on what is important and valued by the emergent groups. Nonetheless, if and when the unhelpful politics and power plays are stabilised then the interaction between organisations that operate with tikanga or law conventions, or both, can be geared toward the achievement of development goals and objectives instead of impeding each other.

Non-Tribal and Tribal Organisations

From the survey data, a comparison between non-tribal and tribal organisations can be presented. A tribal organisation is founded on historical antecedents. Nonetheless, its features have been transformed by external influences. Consequently, tribal groups

are particularly guarded to prevent further erosion of tribal systems and organisational structures and sometimes appear to be restricting or limiting access, rather than adopting more inclusive approaches. Much of this tribal attention is about the reconstruction and evolution of political, social, economic and cultural systems. A major concern is about how best to achieve the desired outcomes and remain consistent with tribal imperatives.

In comparison, non-tribal organisations have emerged in response to the circumstances of individual and whānau Māori who are brought together for other (than whakapapa) reasons. They may live in the city, or belong to the same kohanga reo, or share a similar sporting interest. Affiliation to a tribal collective is not critical however, immediate needs and aspirations are focal points. Consequently, development is not necessarily predicated on tribal history and custom; instead it reflects the aspirations of Māori people residing away from tribal areas, but keen to maintain their identity as Māori.

Some respondents raised concerns about the weaknesses in organisational systems that overstate tikanga as if legal compliance can be easily disregarded. Whereas legal entities have enforcement mechanisms, tikanga based systems are dependant on individual and whānau willingness to comply. This is as much a political cohesion issue as it is about sharing a common purpose. Without sustainable agreements and tribal compliance, it is not surprising that disagreements usually result in legal avenues being sought to resolve disputes. In summary, table 6.3 presents a

comparison of features between tribal and non-tribal organisations. For example, the table indicates that the organisational landscape is not exactly the same for tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations. On the contrary, tribal organisations cannot eliminate tribal conventions from their day-to-day activities. Non-tribal Māori organisations, on the other hand, are not required to involve themselves with tribal responsibilities. One perspective suggests that tribal groups work within tribal circumstances while non-tribal Māori groups engage in a wide array of social and economic activities. Another viewpoint is that tribal and non-Māori organisations are not so much competitors instead, they highlight the need for complementary organisational types that will satisfy and respond positively to the circumstances of all Māori whether they reside in their tribal areas or not.

Table 6.3 : Features of Tribal and Non-tribal Organisations

Claimant	Features	Advantages	Disadvantages
<i>Tribal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • based on whakapapa social groupings of whānau and hapū • sustains mana whenua, mana atua and mana tangata obligations • cautious about the role of legal entities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • continues a sense of identity and history • contributes to the wellbeing of the whānau, hapū and iwi • focused on Tribal development • closer links to the tribal estate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • can become embroiled in tribal history and cultural tradition when making decisions • tribal decision-making systems are prone to fluctuate between tikanga and legal requirements • rules to full participation are often vague • burdened with the obligations of kaitiakitanga
<i>Non-tribal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • based on individuals and whānau who share similar needs and aspirations • provides an organisation for the needs and aspirations of individual Māori and whānau who are involved in the pursuit of similar goals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focused primarily on individual Māori and whānau • focused on Māori development • relies on legal entities to meet desired outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited access to tribal resources eg, marae, land, forests, tribal knowledge • variable use of tikanga

Common Expectations

Based on this sample of claimant groups, the choice of organisational structure varies, some groups choosing to reject tribal custom and tradition while others embrace tribal imperatives to a lesser or greater degree.

However, all respondents accepted a need for transparency, accountability and practicality whether driven by tikanga or by legal orientation. Furthermore, there was acceptance of the need to sustain relevant cultural imperatives within economic, political, and social activities that impact on the day to day affairs of tribal and other Māori communities.

Notwithstanding the support for cultural maintenance, many respondents are seeking to reconstruct and strengthen tribal jurisdiction. For these claimant groups, development capacity is weakened by tribal disagreements about historical, geographical and genealogical connections. This tension is further compounded by varying interpretations of meaning and application of notions such as marae (the communal forum for tribal and non-tribal Māori collectives), ahi kaa (resident tribal members who manage the day to day affairs), mana whenua (those who make decisions about the tribal estate), and papakainga (land set aside for communal purposes by whānau or hapū). Consequently, relationships between whānau, hapū and iwi, and the surrounding landscape are not always known, well understood or appreciated.

Not surprisingly, and perhaps more so the result of historical antecedents, the connections between people and the tribal estate, which are legitimated by tribal stalwarts through whakapapa, are no longer accepted by all Māori as the only basis for tribal participation.

The practices associated with tribal imperatives such as ahi kaa and mana whenua are generally associated with the tribal context with little if any significance in the wider Māori context. Consequently, the relationship between whakapapa and tribal access and benefit is now confronted with expectations that are founded on non-tribal views of the world.

Clearly, there is another view, which does not agree with benefit distribution based on whakapapa connections but instead seeks a guarantee of benefit because the individual can be identified as Māori. Responses to the survey favour Māori being able to access benefits from Treaty settlements no matter where they reside. But there is no agreement about how the assets should be managed or how benefits should be distributed. The debate between urban Māori and tribal Māori regarding the distribution of pre-settlement fisheries assets illustrates this point.

The Court of Appeal judgment on 18 October 1999, although a three-two split decision, ruled on whether assets should go to iwi only and whether the word iwi meant traditional tribes only. In effect, the Waitangi Fisheries Commission is

required to allocate assets solely to iwi or bodies representing iwi. And, the Court ruled that, for the purposes of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act 1992, iwi means traditional tribes only. The judgment is limited insofar as the rulings are concerned with one aspect of the means by which the benefits of the settlement are to be delivered to Māori.

The court did not rule on any particular scheme of distribution.²²⁸ Tamihere, an advocate of urban Māori interests, acknowledged that the argument that urban authorities were iwi had never been strong, and said it was only the force of circumstances that had encouraged them to push the argument.²²⁹ But the essential question, overlooked by a reliance on a structural approach to modern Māori society, is about the nature of relationships between organisations, and between individual Māori and organisations (tribal or non-tribal) that purport to represent their interests.

Some claimants believe that tikanga based organisations can be useful resource management structures but may not enable the tribal organisation to achieve the full extent of its economic development goals and objectives. While resource management activities may be effectively administered by such organisations, commercial activities are more readily managed by legal entities. Claimant organisations appear to realise the importance of separating commercial activities and

²²⁸ Ruth Berry, Māori Affairs Reporter, 'Urban Māori lose appeal', in the *Evening Post* (1st ed), 18 October 1999.

²²⁹ Jonathan Milne, 'Appeal Court rejects urban 'iwi' claim', in the *Dominion* (2nd ed), 19 October 1999.

benefit distribution, and separate political representation from executive functions however, only a small number of claimant groups have been able to achieve this.

The areas of concern highlighted by claimants are management capability, financial backing, tribal support, and local and national support. Management capability is perceived to be about competent and professional managers of tribal assets and affairs. The resources available for tribal development from internal and external sources demonstrate financial backing. Political support refers to the influence and networks available to the claimant group.

Tribal support is about the ability of the claimant group to determine and sustain its leadership, representation and mandate for tribal affairs. In response to the organisation of tribal affairs for Treaty claims, respondents are not satisfied with current management structures, skill base and strategic direction. Current legislative options are considered inadequate due to the lack of tribal control in legislative processes and outcomes. Some respondents described a sense of powerlessness when decisions affecting tribal development rely on the political will of the New Zealand democracy and its parliamentary representatives.

Respondents argued that when insufficient information is distributed and inadequate education opportunities are instigated for tribal members to learn about legal processes, financial matters, legal responsibilities and administrative requirements it often means there will be ill informed tribal participants. Likewise, when claimant

organisations do not have sufficient financial resources and skills, there is a dependency on the goodwill of tribal members to personally resource their participation. Consequently, many skilled tribal members choose not to participate. Inevitably, this leads to a reliance on the few to achieve outcomes for the many.

In terms of development, there are a number of identifiable goals and objectives in the survey data. The key items are: (i) the importance of whānau and hapū as units for social and economic wellbeing initiatives, (ii) the importance of the individual in terms of direct benefit for education, health and social services, (iii) the support of human development, (iv) the necessity for transparent and accountable tribal authority, and (v) a desire to settle claims.

In summary, survey responses were particularly concerned with the influence of tikanga and law conventions on the relationships within and between tribal or non-tribal Māori organisations, and with the Crown and government. Despite the concerns raised about historical imposition and power and control relationships, respondents did not reject any organisational options for tribal or non-tribal Māori development. Nevertheless, there was a preference for tikanga to drive the values and principles of the organisation and for claimant groups not to rely on legal status as the basis for presenting authoritative credentials to the Crown or other tribal groups.

Indeed, most claimant groups want to assign tribal resource management activities to organisations that are guided primarily by tikanga though some believe that

commercial and regulatory activities require strict legal entities to manage relationships beyond the immediate tribal environment. This is not to say that legal entities do not recognise the value of tikanga or vice versa, however the conflicts (discussed by respondents) between tikanga organisations such as hapū rūnanga and legal organisations such as Māori Trust Boards, do suggest that tikanga and legal frameworks are being used to contest the legitimacy of one over the other. Principally, the issue is founded in conflicts for power rather than the value of tikanga and legal guidance, which tends to make the situation unnecessarily, complicated.

Respondents' feedback suggests that insufficient development capacity is the primary issue. For many, no access and ineffective use of communication tools and technology to support development planning and implementation exemplify this. Respondents noted that financial, technical resources and skilled personnel are not readily available to most claimant groups. Where this is the case, claimant organisations tend to rely on the goodwill of skilled tribal members who are already employed, to make time, find resources and contribute frequently to development planning and implementation. Importantly, people development through the education and skill building of people within whānau and hapū contexts is considered fundamental to contemporary Māori development.

A Random Survey of 100 Trusts

A random survey of 100 trusts was made from records held by the Companies Office of New Zealand. From records, information that is about the circumstances in which 100 trusts were set up and the way they operate has been examined. The purpose is to gain a better understanding about development capacity within contemporary Māori organisations.

The selection criteria involved an identification of trusts established by Māori collectives for the benefit of Māori people. These trusts are not exclusive to Māori but describe objects and purposes about the advancement and wellbeing of Māori people. As the number of registered trusts set up by Māori collectives is not known, this sample can only, at best, represent selected groups. Trust documents were scanned for the following information:

- the purposes and objects of the trust; and
- the activities of the trust; and
- general information about benefit distribution, mandate representation, compliance, accountability to registered members and the wider community, and trustee responsibilities.

The characteristics of the trusts are discussed by reference to Māori tikanga and Crown law, structural adjustments and Māori community organisations, and Māori development and trusts.

Māori Tikanga and Legal Restraints

As a starting point, the relationships between people associated with the trusts in this study are primarily defined by legal parameters. Within this framework, relationships are presented as rights and interests, governance and management, and accountabilities. Organisational constructs such as employees and employer, beneficiaries and trustees, clients and provider, and registered membership and executive officers are generally accepted.

For Māori collectives, these relationships are often affected by tribal relationships. Whether this is appropriate is questionable but more importantly it poses a dilemma between fundamentalism and pragmatism. Consequently, the potential for conflict between opposing viewpoints underpinned by legal and tikanga arguments to justify respective attitudes, beliefs and values cannot be dismissed.²³²

²³² See p. 182 for writer's comments on 'variations of logic'. This is highlighted in part by explanations about heterogeneity in Magoroh Maruyama, (1994), *Mindscales in Management: Use of Individual Differences in Multicultural Management*, Dartmouth, England.

Whereas participants well versed in the legal narrative are comfortable with decision-making confined to such parameters, others remain cautious with concerns founded on historical conflicts between tikanga Māori and Crown law. Furthermore, concerns are noted about the negative effects on Māori peoples demonstrated in social and economic indices, and the oppressive nature of Crown law upon matters of tikanga.

In general terms, this situation questions the lack of resolve between tikanga and legal practices in decision-making processes undertaken by Māori organisations when determining how to shape a particular organisation. Hence, there is a need to better understand Māori customary law and its application to statute. Perhaps, the provision of a guide or the development of a process through which the Courts can better interpret customary implications for statute responsibilities would be useful.

In part, it assumes that resolution should reject ideas about discounting tikanga or law. It further suggests that the influence of Crown law on Māori peoples means, at least within current political realities, that it is not practical to ignore its affect on Māori development. Nor can it be assumed that the law can forever ignore Māori cultural realities and tikanga. In fact, there are now several statutes which incorporate Māori tikanga. In the Resource Management Act 1991 for example, there is a need for local authorities to recognise Māori values and iwi development plans. And in Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, the requirement for Māori Land Court judges to be guided by custom is even more explicit. These acts have probably been ahead of legal

enlightenment: judges are, by and large, ill equipped to decide on matters of customary law, yet that is what they are required to do.

In contrast, tikanga Māori relies on the emergence of champions, cultural domains and formality for its survival. Its philosophical basis and implications for day to day affairs are widespread but generally require considerable debate and justification within the New Zealand legal framework, its associated values and bias. Individual Māori and collectives who choose to process tribal affairs within a tikanga framework do not appreciate this. Consequently, the relevance, appropriateness and application of tikanga Māori and Crown law remain a dichotomy for many Māori organisations.

Four possible relationships can be posited. First, tribal primacy (tribal jurisdiction) and mainstream subordination (legal). Second, legal primacy (crown jurisdiction) and tikanga subordination. Third, separate tikanga and legal arrangements. Fourth, distinct tikanga and legal structures and processes with a conjoint forum (shared jurisdiction) for collective decisions on matters affecting the parties involved.

Because the 100 trusts in this sample are legal entities it could be assumed that legal primacy exists with tikanga subordination. However, the situation cannot be explained in this way, given that Māori collectives may have determined tikanga matters prior to deciding what legal entity will progress their intentions. In this respect, the structure may be a legal entity which functions within a legal framework but is organised in terms of objects and purposes that are defined by tikanga

parameters. It suggests that tikanga has primacy because it determines what is required and why. Thereafter, the legal entity accounts for how it functions based on tikanga guidance. Viewed in this way, legal entities are merely a means for Māori collectives to address needs and aspirations. Remaining consistent, tikanga processes and decisions would precede any decisions about a suitable organisational construct.

Perhaps the issue is more about current legal parameters being unable to respond effectively to the contemporary circumstances of Māori people. This argument is given some justification with the government response to the Ngai Tahu and Tainui settlements. In both cases, statutes were introduced that enabled them to construct organisations that suited their requirements. Although, these latter legal entities are somewhat different, the primary intentions are certainly similar. Both tribal groups are shaping organisational structures, processes and procedures that, in their view, respond to the circumstances and future direction of their respective tribe. In these cases, development capacity is as much about progress, as it is about continuity. Fundamental to this is the active protection of aboriginal rights.

Post-1984 Trust Entities and Māori

The Trusts in this sample emerged at the end of Keynesianism in New Zealand. At that time, the vision of full employment and a stable economy being achieved through state intervention to foster growth, cope with temporary economic crisis and deal with social inequalities was being rejected. It was the most significant philosophical

change in government thinking since 1945 when Keynesianism was adopted at a time when security for health, old age and employment were priorities for New Zealanders. It featured agreement between the main political parties about what needed to be done and how to achieve it.

In response to global trends and national demographics, the two main parties searched for new directions to address the mounting economic problems of New Zealand. With a more diverse society and the erosion of political consensus the structure, role and responsibilities of government were placed under the spotlight. So began the introduction of new right ideology and the free market economy.

During this period, the reduction of the social welfare state involved a review of the government's relationship to civil society. The role and responsibilities of government were redefined. The primary result was the transfer of cost from the state to the individual with a parallel reduction in income tax. Further to this, government spending in health, education, social welfare, employment and training was administered by a restructured public service.

Mainstreaming, as it is referred to, is about improving the effectiveness and efficiency of government service delivery to Māori. To facilitate this programme, government agencies and departments redefined their relationships with individuals, families and communities. A feature of the structural adjustment programme involved government agencies developing service delivery contracts with community based organisations.

The terms and conditions were about accountability, transparency and responsibilities for service delivery.

Most, if not all, the trusts in the study were established for the purpose of accessing government funded programmes for social and economic development purposes. To achieve this, the objects and purposes of the trusts in this sample mirror the government social responsibility agenda of the period. Despite the inevitable implications, few trusts made noticeable alterations to the constitution even though political and policy changes were redefining the role and responsibilities of the state and the individual.

The following table 6.4 presents the most popular objects and purposes identified by this random sample of trusts. To a lesser extent, the constitutions of these trusts also included support to Māori gender issues, the elderly, the environment, drug and alcohol abuse, housing, business support, and tangihanga. As can be noted, the results of the random survey highlight the emphasis on social and cultural areas but particularly on education.

Table 6.4 : Objects and Purposes

Objects and Purposes	n=100	Comment
<i>Education</i>	65	Focused on bridging courses toward tertiary entry requirements
<i>Employment</i>	33	Key areas included, interview skills, motivation and self-esteem
<i>Training</i>	23	Focused on life skills and Māori culture programmes
<i>Tikanga Māori</i>	42	Promotion of tikanga Māori
<i>Te Reo Māori</i>	30	Advancement of Māori language
<i>Tribal Affairs</i>	30	Tribal representation and advocacy
<i>Māori Youth Support</i>	23	Youth counselling
<i>Treaty of Waitangi</i>	22	Awareness programmes
<i>Whānaungatanga</i>	22	Whānau support counselling
<i>Tribal whakapapa</i>	13	Learning about personal genealogy
<i>Health</i>	15	Focused on promotion and prevention
<i>Sport and recreation</i>	18	Focused on outdoor activities

During the 1984-1994 period, government departments and agencies funded unemployment and training, community education and health programmes. As corporatisation was implemented in the public sector, government asset sales were achieved and social welfare funding purposes reassessed, retraining and unemployment became a political priority. For some communities the impact was severe leading to the government pronouncing that full employment was no longer possible. Therefore, a level of unemployment was considered an acceptable feature of New Zealand society. With asset testing came benchmarks for assessing who the government considered to be in need.

For community organisations such as Trusts involved in health, education, employment and training, such benchmarks predetermined who the potential client base would be. The following table (6.5) presents the number of Trusts identified against key development areas. According to this sample, the most important priority is social equity followed by cultural advancement, economic self-reliance and political independence.

Table 6.5 : Key Development Areas

Development Area	n=100	Comment
<i>Social Equity</i>	87	Included education, training, health, social services
<i>Cultural Advancement</i>	73	Often associated with Māori language and tikanga programmes, tribal knowledge and skills
<i>Economic Self-reliance</i>	60	Focused on Māori land, marae development, and small business start-up programmes for collectives and individuals
<i>Political Independence</i>	31	Included Treaty awareness and Māori autonomy issues

Contestable funding was provided on a per capita formula with adjustments for hardship. An organisation had to apply for consideration as a provider based on criteria determined by the government department or agency responsible. When national standards for training and education emerged along with quality management ideas and practices, Trusts were forced to restructure.

Many of the trusts represented by this sample may still exist though no longer supported by the funding environment they were accustomed to. While government funding for health, education, employment and training did increase, Trusts were faced with demonstrating the capacity to meet standards of quality and quantity as an integral part of the process toward a more explicit contractual agreement.

As a result many trusts gradually became dormant or refocussed on funding opportunities from philanthropic organisations, at national and local levels while some Trusts focused their attention on Māori economic organisations such as Māori Land Incorporations to become financially involved in social development matters.

The Trust Entity and Māori Development

The Incorporated Societies Act (1908) requires registration as a member of the society. Unless a member is registered benefit cannot be obtained. For hapū and iwi, it may prove impractical to establish a register, as members of the society are not allowed to receive any pecuniary gain, direct or indirect.

In comparison, the Charitable Trusts Act (1959) is limited by income being applied for charitable purposes only. It precludes the use of income for purposes, which are not charitable. The trustees hold the assets in trust for the objects and purposes stated in the constitution. For tribal and pan Māori collectives, the main issues are about whom assets should be vested in, sustaining the aim of tino rangatiratanga, ensuring

ultimate control by Māori involved, providing certainty of legal powers and capacity, and how best to organise tikanga and legal governance.

The circumstances surrounding legal entities such as trusts, established to advance the wellbeing of Māori collectives based on a range of objects and purposes, highlights a number of matters which deserve further attention. Since 1984, legal entities have been set up by Māori collectives to engage in activities for the benefit of Māori peoples within the context of the government structural adjustment programme. The emergence and activities of these organisations is understandable given the influence of government strategic direction and effort.

Without doubt, these legal entities reflect the historical Māori response to government direction but also the pragmatic nature of the organisations themselves. Trusts emerged in an environment of government social and economic policy changes. They provided a community organised mechanism for the government to demonstrate its commitment toward the socially and economically disadvantaged. At the same time, the structural adjustment programme was accelerated. Indeed, the establishment and activities of these trusts form part of the Māori response to government changes post-1984. It can be described as a reactive approach but certainly pragmatic.

A range of Māori communities, which include iwi, hapū and wider Māori social groupings, formed these trusts. For tribal groups, whakapapa is the basis of representation, authority and benefit. For pan Māori groups, kaupapa is the basis of

participation and commitment. At first glance, tribal and non-tribal organisations may appear polarised. These perceptions are largely generated from debates about resource allocation. Differences are transparent but may be best described as the reflections of Māori individuals and collectives coming from different starting points or living in different realities.

Understanding the contemporary circumstances of Māori peoples is surely a preparatory requirement for tribal and other Māori organisations to identify how best to achieve the development goals of the communities they serve. In this respect, it is assumed that such organisations exist to provide for the development needs and aspirations of their respective collectives.

The development objects and purposes of these trusts are not indifferent to the goals and aspirations of tribal groups. While there is a common interest in the wellbeing of Māori people it is expressed in various ways that respond to the circumstances associated with different groups. The preoccupation with difference between legal and tikanga based authorities extracts a considerable effort yet the debate may be more about what the relationship should be between these organisational options rather than a dismissal of one or the other.

The current polarisation between fundamentalism and pragmatism is a concern. Notwithstanding the politics, there exists a perception that absolute opposition is required to prevent the erosion of tribal authority and control. In contrast, there is also

a view that tribalism is an impediment to future Māori development. Interestingly, little debate has ensued about the obvious existence of two, if not more, Māori organisations with legal and tikanga philosophical frameworks attempting to improve Māori wellbeing by taking into account all aspects of Māori development for diverse Māori social groupings with equally diverse circumstances.

This random survey of trusts does not traverse the political debate about the legal status or otherwise of iwi and urban authorities with respect to asset management and benefit distribution or whether or not an urban collective of Māori should be afforded similar status to a whakapapa iwi as opposed to a kaupapa iwi.²³⁰ This is a comment about Māori social, cultural, economic and political change largely brought about by time and external influences. To a large extent, Māori development has been primarily influenced by government direction. Consequently, this survey questions whether the frameworks and processes currently being used by Māori collectives are sufficiently broad to enable the contemporary nature of Māori society to be addressed. Although using different structures to achieve stated aims, tribal and other Māori organisations generally agree on developmental goals and objectives. However, the relationship between various organisational options for Māori development, whether they are

²³⁰ Between March 1995 and October 1999, litigation between various parties primarily focused on the allocation of fisheries settlement assets. A range of matters were debated including what is an iwi, who are iwi, and who is entitled to receive a share of the fisheries settlement allocation were contested. To date, urban Māori are not recognised as iwi, all Māori are identified as the beneficiaries of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Settlement, and iwi are acknowledged by the Waitangi Fisheries Commission as a principal tribal organisation for the allocation of pre-settlement assets. The issue of whakapapa iwi and kaupapa iwi was raised by Joan Metge in her submission to the High Court in 1998.

founded on tikanga, law or both, is more often than not, fraught with dilemmas which are often left unresolved. Resolution may never occur if attitudes are based on exclusive criteria, or fail to appreciate the multiple pathways to development. Most Māori organisations, at least according to the survey of 28 claimant groups and 100 trusts, have elements of both tikanga, or custom, as well as some legal framework within which they operate and do business with Crown, or with other agencies. In the end it may be a debate about uneven progress within tribal groups, between them, between tribal and non-tribal Māori, between Māori and the Crown, rather than certainty of relationships and organisational arrangements for Māori development.

Indepth Interviews about Tribal Organisation and Treaty Settlements

Between 1995-99, over 90 interviews were completed with members of various tribal groups. This included respondents who were employed to implement tribal development aims and objectives, representatives of associated hapū and whānau groupings, and tribal members awaiting some benefit from treaty settlement. All respondents were provided with an interview schedule²³¹ and background information about the study. Assurances were given that no names, respondent associations or location references would be mentioned. A summary of the issues and comments offered by interviewees' follows.

²³¹ See appendix two.

With Treaty Settlements, the tension between the tribal public interest and tribal private sector interests has become more pronounced. Whereas some respondents argue that settlements and tribal 'organisation' are about tribal collective wealth and wellbeing, others are more concerned about individual tribal members and whānau groupings being able to access and to participate with the benefits. Arguably, Treaty settlements are not only about the transfer of resources from the Crown to a tribal grouping but also, the renewal of internal and external tribal alliances. Understandably, such activities are characterised by tribal dynamics which often affect tribal relationships with the state, public and private sectors.

"It is a distraction to be concerned about the organisational structure rather than what is attempting to be achieved."²³⁵

For the advocates of whānau and hapū development, the nature of tribal reforms is perceived to be competitive without clear tribal policies about wealth distribution and wellbeing through marae organisations. According to these respondents, tribal members are more focused on individual choice and collective protection rather than individual contribution to collective responsibility. Non-commitment to tribal collective action suggests a lack of confidence in tribal organisations being able to provide whānau and hapū with socio-economic support to achieve local level development goals and aspirations.

²³⁵ Respondent involved in the overall development of a hapū that is located in a large urban area.

*"If you become too organisational in a western sense (you) may lose the edge to achieve what you seek to achieve."*²³⁶

A recurring issue is the potential for hapū jurisdiction to be marginalised by decisions on behalf of the iwi. The need for tribal accountability and transparency was raised by respondents who are seeking more visible checks and balances from tribal organisations set up to represent their rights and interests, and improve their respective social, cultural and economic situation.

*"Turanga is the fixed position of your organisation, tikanga are ways your organisation gets things done."*²³⁷

All respondents argued that tribal organisations must be able to recognise the rights and needs of tribal members regardless of their circumstances. Consequently, tribal organisations are expected to create mechanisms that will effectively respond to inadequate genealogy knowledge, nationwide residency of tribal members and tribal registration. By itself, tikanga is not perceived to be sufficient to ensure equity for hapū and whānau. Unless non-compliance by tribal members with tikanga regulations can be turned around, respondents argue that legal enforcement is necessary. The argument is about the tribal centre becoming more responsive to the periphery, even if

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ Respondent who manages a tribal organisation based in an urban area.

the periphery does not know how to, or even chooses not to participate in the centre.²³⁸

The two main issues raised were geographic and demographic differences between hapū and whānau groupings in rural and urban situations. Essentially, iwi organisations are expected to provide support to hapū and whānau development whether in rural or urban based situations. With the opportunities and dilemmas associated with settlements, the impact of New Zealand's structural adjustment programme upon tribal organisation and contemporary Māori development reveals shortcomings in tribal development capacity to capitalise on tribal resources and organisational reforms.

*"The intentions would be to bring together the dynamics of Māori land and other assets to assist with overall Māori development."*²³⁹

Respondents believe that tribal development comes with responsibilities. Some believe it is about commitment to tribal advancement through individual, whānau and hapū participation.²⁴⁰ This is considered achievable if tribal organisations focus on strengthening the whānau through access to tribal knowledge, social cohesion and

²³⁸ The argument is indicative of the centre - periphery analysis raised in Chapter One, p. 25 and Chapter Two, p. 60. The viewpoint strongly suggests uneven development for Māori will occur if such matters are not (i) recognised, (ii) addressed, (iii) critically appraised.

²³⁹ Respondent who manages whānau (by whakapapa) land currently used for sheep farming.

²⁴⁰ The approach is indicative of a 'bottom-up model' with 'participation' being an essential requirement.

economic opportunities. Others argue that active protection, use management and jurisdiction issues between hapū and iwi, need to be clearly stated. Without such distinctions, tribal development goals and aspirations at all levels are likely to be impeded by unsustainable intra-tribal alliances.

*"We need to be careful of words like 'sustainability', need to define it in a way that makes sense to tribal groups. For us, it's got to be about the capacity to move with changes. It's quality is dependent on predictability and capacity to continually change."*²⁴¹

For most respondents, the marae is a valuable institution for contemporary Māori social, economic, political and cultural development. They argue that tribal organisations and treaty settlements could facilitate marae-based development at hapū and whānau levels. However, a settlement should not constitute the full extent of what tribal development is about. Instead, it is better understood as an opportunity to advance tribal development.

According to older respondents, kaumatua, the marae should be left to make decisions about resources, active protection, resource management and use matters affecting the hapū. Policies that clarify the working relationships between iwi and hapū

²⁴¹ Respondent who manages the social and economic affairs of a hapū surrounded by non-tribal Māori and non-Māori residents within a large urban area.

organisations are expected. Further to this, it is recognised that tensions between socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural leadership perspectives have a significant impact on the organisation and function of marae. Where these voices are unable to co-exist, competition has the potential to distract rather than strengthen development at whānau, hapū and iwi levels.

While there is general agreement about marae representation through hapū mandate, respondents are concerned to ensure that hapū representatives maintain transparency and accountability to the hapū. Responses revealed a common desire for hapū and iwi collectives to achieve a shared understanding about what is expected of hapū leaders and why. Many of these views stem from a perceived need to develop protective mechanisms to guard against oppressive behaviour at hapū and iwi levels. Notwithstanding these expectations about future hapū-iwi relationships, the need to improve the skill base of hapū and whānau is pointed out by respondents. This emphasis on upskilling through education and training is extremely transparent in the feedback received.

"We need the will to sustain our culture, who are the repositories of all that knowledge?"²⁴²

²⁴² Comment by an elderly respondent (from a small tribal group that is rural based) who is involved with the wānanga of the tribe.

There is general agreement that monitoring of tikanga in practice is difficult without respected tribal expertise, at hapū and iwi levels. This is often compounded by inadequate communication between tribal members who live within and outside the tribal area. Respondents suggest that marae trustees and committees have not kept pace with the skills needed to fulfil tribal roles and responsibilities.

“You know, no matter what, whakapapa and what it stands for will still be first.”²⁴³

Consequently, the potential for descendants to be elected because of who they are with no reference to what they can do, remains problematic. As a result, concerns are raised about the lack of balance between knowledge, skills and qualities associated with inherent and achieved leadership.

The general perception is that tikanga is not sufficiently valued in decision-making processes affecting tribal (collective) activities in economic, social and political areas. Knowledge and skills in the Pākehā world need to be balanced with those of the Māori world. By implication, hapū members are expected to know and understand how to apply tikanga in every day hapū affairs within and outside the marae forum.

²⁴³ Respondent was discussing the importance of whakapapa (personal viewpoint) when appointing people to tribal leadership roles.

“Kāore anō kia tae rawa ki te kaupapa nā te mea, ka huri tātou ki waho, ka aro ake ki te kooti hei wāhi pakanga.”²⁴⁴

Underlying these perceptions are concerns about the erosion of whānau and hapū authority, responding to the needs of tribal members no matter what their circumstances, the increasing competition between individual, whānau and hapū interests for tribal resources and political influence, and the inadequate skill based to protect the tikanga base of the marae institution.

“What is a beneficiary? Should there be a distinction between urban and rural? We are all included and identify as Māori so we can all identify as a beneficiary.”²⁴⁵

Interestingly, marae community development advocates commented that when resources and power opportunities arise it is followed by an equal if not more energetic interest by descendants who have not participated with the human and capital resource to achieve this. On one hand, this is welcomed because it means tribal members are choosing to be involved. On the other, it is considered an issue because the reasons for this interest are perceived to be about chasing the benefits rather than contributing to hapū and iwi responsibilities. For those who have kept the home fires burning, this is often treated with caution until performance over time

²⁴⁴ Elderly respondent who is involved with a Treaty settlement process. Concern is raised about the people not yet working together. Instead, it seems that taking each other to court is the trend.

²⁴⁵ Respondent is involved in Treaty claims issues.

demonstrates a personal commitment and effort to tribal development. The problem is whether personal benefits come without obligations, or whether tribal benefits carry with them other expectations that endure over time.

From this perspective, and because participation at hapū levels is more readily achieved, hapū is favoured as a tribal public collective for the management, use and active protection of hapū resources. The idea of all settlement assets being organised at an iwi level is not acceptable to most respondents. However, asset management of specific resources and sites of special significance for the tribal collective benefit is considered practical. A cautionary note is made about identifying these areas by shared understanding and intra-tribal agreements. With some scepticism, respondents are not convinced that iwi - Crown negotiations will reflect hapū based decision-making.

*"Some just wanna get on with it but they don't think, that's why we get in trouble."*²⁴⁶

Of the negative aspects noted by respondents, the most significant were about undisciplined tribal leadership, an unwillingness to act in the best interests of all tribal members, accepting mediocrity by not addressing poor performance and mismanagement, and blaming others for ill conceived tribal initiatives.

²⁴⁶ Respondent (associated with large tribal group). Concerned with the activities of tribal leaders.

Development Capacity - A Comment

Exploring the contemporary drivers for affirming the Māori identity and maximising wealth, in its widest sense is a useful way to unpack the issues surrounding development capacity. A prescriptive approach is not practical as the dynamics of people organisations, albeit tribal or otherwise, are a natural consequence of human interaction and endeavour. In essence, the rules of people organisations are often outweighed by an ability to function within the sense of people organisations. Notwithstanding the principles, values and beliefs of individuals and collectives, the need to respond effectively to favourable and unfavourable situations is ultimately a non-negotiable matter. Whether by choice or coercion, tribal organisations will continually be renewed in response to internal and external influences.

From this perspective, it is not relevant to debate whether or not to respond. Rather, the emphasis is better placed on how to respond, once an agreed vision of positive Māori development is known.²⁴⁷ The research results have identified several development capacity themes founded on perceived problems, unresolved issues and desired outcomes. Underlying the situation is the gradual entrenchment of dogma in the search for resolution within tribal organisations. In effect, people relationships are more often than not, severed rather than enhanced by obscure approaches to the dilemmas of contemporary Māori development.

²⁴⁷ One respondent - a negotiator of a tribal settlement - had this to say, " *Who is prepared to do rather than talk? Development is known for most...but do we go tribal or individual or both?*"

Clearly, the negotiation and mediation skill base of tribal groupings is often undervalued, perhaps understated more so, while political fundamentalism is overexerted. By explanation, this kind of fundamentalism views disagreement as a threat rather than an opportunity, and difference as a weakness rather than a strength. Consequently, tribal access and participation is likely to remain problematic without suitable processes and systems that are well organised and transparent to all Māori.

Responding to Māori Identity

As tribal organisations attempt to identify and interact with tribal members, clear policies on the rights of whakapapa will be expected. According to the research results, whakapapa is clearly insufficient to access benefits without active and valued participation with tribal development. Consequently, who is a tribal member and what does it mean to be a tribal member are key questions that require a formal but transparent approach.

Importantly, the recognised ancestral lines of descent will form the basis for individuals and their whānau to be recorded formally as tribal members. However, proof of whakapapa connection may not provide direct access to tribal involvement and benefits. It may have abstract rather than practical significance.

The findings suggest that recognition, as a tribal member, is not necessarily the question. On the contrary, the key question is about how this acknowledgement

should be applied. Participation with tribal development is essentially a matter of choice however, there is no agreement about access being a matter of right. While some would argue that recognition as a tribal member comes with unconditional access to indirect if not direct benefit, others believe access should be based on some form of demonstrable commitment to a common, collective cause.

For instance, Tainui acknowledge all tribal members by whakapapa but access to benefits is subject to endorsement of participation and contribution to one or more affiliated marae. Ngai Tahu and Raukawa are two other tribal groups that favour an assessment-based approach. By comparison, Tuwharetoa have generally provided benefits in the form of education grants and scholarships to tribal members primarily based on whakapapa connection. In a similar way, the Whanganui Trust²⁴⁷ has more often than not, provided grants and scholarships to beneficiaries or shareholders who do not necessarily live in the Whanganui tribal area or contribute in anyway to tribal development at hapū or iwi levels.

Whakapapa is a key determinant of the Māori identity. It inevitably affects both participation and access to tribal organisations at whānau, hapū and iwi levels. But, regardless of Crown expectations, or the statement in the Sealords Settlement that ‘all Māori’ should benefit (from the settlement), many Māori - and especially tribes - hold

²⁴⁷ Whanganui Trust is a charitable trust associated with the Morikau-Atihau Maori Land Incorporations in Whanganui.

that whakapapa is not so much a guarantee of benefits as a reminder of obligations to the wider whānau and hapū.

Clearly, active input to marae, hapū or iwi affairs is expected however, tribal members may not know or understand how to get involved. By contrast, some tribal members may expect to access benefits whether they reside or not within the tribal area, and whether or not they contribute actively to tribal development. Moreover, tribal organisations will be expected to formulate policies and implement best practices that clarify inclusion by birthright, affirmation of resource interests, access to benefits and participation in a tribal democracy.

Responding to Organisational Reform

It would be easy enough to suggest that tribal structure, relationships and processes are further disintegrating under external pressures to redistribute power and control. Indeed, the change process does not exclude the phenomenon. However, it is somewhat clouded by an undertone of resistance to reforms that are imposed rather than an aversion to adaptation and growth. Individual or group control of change is generally desirable but not always practicable. Nevertheless, a sense of control does underline the concerns about access and participation with tribal organisations.

An evolutionary perspective would suggest that change is the inevitable outcome of human interaction. Human organisation is not static nor is it completely passive to

surrounding activity. Individuals and collectives are both instigators and inheritors of change. With individual Māori expecting a participatory approach to tribal affairs and decision-making, and inclusion meaning everyone having the opportunity to voice an opinion, tribal systems and processes cannot rely exclusively on traditional leadership custom to present an authoritative voice.

The upheaval in decision-making processes suggests that tribal organisation and leadership are exposed to both internal and external forces. But it may not always be clear whether tribal groups are engaging or reacting to change. Perhaps, knowing that current tribal organisation is no longer capable of responding effectively to internal and external pressures should trigger the need for tribal reorganisation.

In most cases, the need for change is recognised, however little agreement is evident about what changes to make, who should make them and how they should happen. The control and management interests of the tribal estate by tribal organisations have profoundly influenced this. While Treaty settlements may increase the tribal estate, the tenuous nature of agreements between tribal organisations about tribal jurisdiction and resource management and control is also exposed.

At least for now, respondents argue that the hapū is the most appropriate tribal organisation for collective decision-making, resource control and management, and benefit distribution for communal purposes. It would seem that hapū authority is considered more likely to ensure access and participation at the local level. As a

practical consideration, use management and development of some resources may be better addressed at the iwi level but identifying and understanding what should remain within the jurisdiction of hapū may prove critical in the tribal decision-making process. No matter what happens, individual Māori clearly expect to access individual benefits from tribal resources that are managed at both hapū and iwi levels.

The ability of tribal organisations to meet these demands may improve after Treaty settlements, however respondents are not convinced that tribal social, cultural and economic improvements will occur unless hapū have a significant level of control and management of tribal resources and benefit distribution. In effect, respondents expect to re-establish a hapū-based structure for strengthening the Māori identity and maximising wealth. Whatever the outcome, building human capacity to manage hapū and iwi centred affairs is fundamental. The practicalities of capacity building at both hapū and iwi levels to effectively manage tribal development will require major investments in training and education.

In contrast, non-tribal organisations are not so much concerned with the development of the tribal estate or tribal obligations of kaitiakitanga. Instead, people development and social service delivery are priorities. Access to tribal resources may be limited for many Māori, at least under current circumstances, but there is a type of development in progress which is about the development of human capital, and which transcends tribes, either at hapū or iwi levels. This broadly defined 'Māori' development is not necessarily in opposition to tribal schemes, but recognises the relatively minimal

influence of tribes on individuals who do not have good access to tribal estates. Some tribal groups have established taurahere committees in urban centres to maintain links with tribal members but their efforts are likely to be felt in terms of cultural, rather than socio economic benefits.

Urban Māori organisations are established to meet the development needs and aspirations of Māori who live in urban centres. While some have invested in commercial property and other business ventures, they generally service individual Māori and whānau groupings based on affiliation by choice. Importantly, client and funding body satisfaction with service delivery enables urban Māori organisations to secure on-going financial and wider community support. Consequently, amidst the wide ranging activities of urban Māori organisations, urban Māori advocates are in the business of attracting resources through service contracts, philanthropic support and lobbying the government for direct access to Treaty settlement assets. To a lesser extent, Maori advocates may want to convince tribal corporate bodies to financially assist with activities for tribal members living in urban areas. Importantly, urban Māori organisations have also played a critical role in maintaining cultural and social links between Māori people no matter what tribal group they may affiliate to.

Because urban Māori organisations are not burdened with tribal obligations, they are not expected to conform to tribal norms, systems and processes. Whereas tribal organisations are obliged to care, to protect, to preserve and to develop the tribal estate including ancestral marae, land and other resources, urban Māori organisations

are able to concentrate on people development and resource acquisition outside the tribal environment.

Unencumbered by tribal norms, urban Māori organisations can evolve and reposition more readily to external forces and opportunities. At the same time, urban Māori organisations are distinctly Māori. They tend not to be clones of their non-Māori counterparts, and even if they do not adhere to particular tribal custom, they do subscribe to values and practices which all Māori share: te reo Māori, consensus decision-making, respect and inclusion of kaumatua, protocols which formalise group interaction and interaction between groups.

The changing nature of Māori society will continue to evolve organisational options for tribal and non-tribal development purposes. However, the competitive approach adopted by many is discouraging cooperative relationships founded on shared goals, understanding and collaboration of respective strengths and opportunities. In a dynamic society, dynamic approaches to the structural, relationship and process issues facing Māori, at local and national levels, are more likely to attract wider Māori participation.

Responding to Māori Needs and Aspirations

A significant amount of time and effort is committed to the Crown and government responsiveness to Māori needs and aspirations. Underlying the debates are a range of

issues about honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, eliminating disparities between Māori and non-Māori, and self-management. At the core, is a desire to affirm the Māori identity and improve the overall Māori position in social, economic, political and cultural terms. While Crown obligations and government responsiveness are important, there is clearly a growing trend by Māori to achieve greater control and independence. At the forefront of this debate is the relationship embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty of Waitangi is ultimately a relationship document that sets out broad principles for the partnership between Māori and the Crown. But, the point is the Treaty should not confine Māori development. It does not represent the full extent of what Māori development means or what Māori people may pursue in the twenty-first century. In a sense, it provides an instrument for advancing aspects of Māori development not a dissertation of Māori development. Perhaps, Treaty policy rather than Māori development policy should be the level of interaction between the Crown, its government and Māori. In this context, Māori development policy would therefore, be the prerogative of Māori. The nature of the Māori-Crown relationship in the twenty-first century is hard to predict but, by all accounts, it will no longer be a relationship of dependency nor confined to a Crown perspective. Instead, it will form the basis for one of many relationship documents that Māori may nurture and review during the twenty-first century.

From this perspective, Treaty settlements and government policies are no more nor less than a means for achieving the needs and aspirations of Māori, no matter what organisational constructs are favoured by Māori. Indeed, individual and whānau involvement in both the mainstream and more exclusive tribal environment is contingent on the ability of all Māori organisations providing transparent and accountable systems and processes for access and participation.

“Unfortunately we have to learn to slow down so that they (tribal members) can keep up with us, we can’t leave them behind. It means we have to learn to go at the speed of the slowest person that’s on the waka.”²⁴⁸

Clearly, respondents want to continue the thrust of autonomy with their involvement, not in spite of themselves. With some distrust and scepticism, many respondents are not convinced that current tribal systems and processes are suitable. While the comments are made from the personal perspectives of respondents, it does not lessen the importance given to inclusive and participatory approaches to tribal development.

²⁴⁸ Respondent (involved in social work with whānau Māori) who believes that everyone from the tribe should have a say.

Chapter Seven: Māori Organisation in the Twenty-First Century

If tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations are to develop the capacity to formulate sound policies and implement best practices then an examination of organisational weaknesses and strengths is necessary. Applying a Māori centred approach to development requires indicators of best practice, which are responsive to the contemporary circumstances of tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations. As one respondent described it, “ *present development is about getting every person (individuals) jobs, education, health...but future development is about tribal and Māori (collective) advancement.*”²⁵⁰ Unpacking the relevant complexities provides a basis for identifying the key issues and features, and deciding how best to respond. An analysis of these aspects may reveal insights for the twenty-first century.

No individual or group in Māori society can be shielded so completely from the impact of change. Notwithstanding a worldwide catastrophe, future generations will emerge and continue human endeavour by determining how best to survive, protect what is important, and prosper. Although historically preordained, the quest to improve the Māori position at individual and collective levels need not be fixed in time or location, nor limited by tradition and present-day formality. On the other hand, it does not mean rejecting cultural imperatives or devaluing the lessons of history. No matter what the circumstances, one consistent feature may be the gradual

²⁵⁰ Respondent is a tribal claims manager for a small tribal group.

but certain movement by Māori, throughout history, to determine the goals and priorities for positively transforming Māori society.

Māori organisation in the twenty-first century will contend with local, national and international matters that will influence the success or otherwise of positive Māori development. Yet, the quality of future relationships between Māori and others, but perhaps more so between Māori and Māori, may prove to be the most crucial precondition toward a more collaborative and cooperative movement in New Zealand across the spectrum of Māori social, economic, political and cultural development goals and objectives.²⁵¹

Strengthening Māori leadership over a wide range of development activities is unlikely to occur without a corresponding shift in the conventions of Māori communities, albeit urban, tribal or otherwise. With greater mobility, Māori leadership is not constrained by geography. However, political, cultural and social relationships may certainly be mitigating factors. Leadership for Māori development in the twenty-first century will be subject to local, national and international pressures that may not always be obvious or welcomed. Consequently, organisational reform for Māori cannot be completely isolated from leadership issues. While Māori leadership is not the main subject of this study, there is a connection between leadership and the willingness of people to participate in organisational reforms.

²⁵¹ M. H. Durie, (1999), *Māori Development: Reflections and Strategic Directions* - An address to Senior Māori Public Servants, Wellington.

Accommodating geographic, demographic, social, cultural and political differences is more a prerequisite than a choice as no one organisational or leadership model will provide the panacea for Māori development needs and aspirations.

A universal approach for tribal or non-tribal Māori organisations is not practicable. Likewise, attempts to exclude or diminish the value of one over the other are unproductive. Although seemingly obvious, understanding that organisations for Māori development are essentially 'the means not the ends' is not always appreciated in tribal or wider Māori activities. Similarly, the resistance and challenges to leadership, organisation, systems and processes is often perceived as the result of personality clashes rather than the inevitable response to the pressure of change. Indeed, negative relationships between power brokers have the potential to distract rather than consolidate organisational efforts. However, it does not constitute the purpose of reform but it does represent an inevitable condition of the reform process. Nevertheless, no matter what the association, all Māori collectives, albeit tribal or non-tribal, are exposed to the proposition of organisational reform.

Notwithstanding the relative circumstances of tribal and other Māori groups, the certain interaction between individual Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi, can be weakened by approaches to planning, consultation, decision-making and dispute resolution which do not necessarily engender confidence or participation. Not surprisingly, fragmentation is created as individual Māori and collectives reorganise to protect and defend respective interests and identity, rather than work cooperatively to achieve

common goals. Surrounded by uncertainty, it is not unusual to reassess the suitability of current organisational constructs, including the whānau, hapū and iwi.

Respondents to the survey in the previous chapter described whānau and hapū as the key social units for benefit distribution, jurisdiction and decision-making at the marae level. For tribal groups, the hapū is clearly the favoured structure for resource custodianship and tribal community development although this is contingent on strengthening whānau access and participation. For urban centres, the whānau is also important. However, being Māori and wanting to work with others to achieve common social, cultural, political and economic objectives are central to access and participation. In both cases, Māori development is focused on the development of Māori people through collective action.

“Focus on people, their self-esteem and their right to just be themselves.”²⁵²

“I think that training for our rangatahi on the marae is needed but we shouldn't leave out the kaumatua – the pakeke –they (tribal decision makers) are just concentrating on the rangatahi. They (kaumatua) can pass on respect, discipline and some understanding cause what is handed down to them, I feel we are losing that.”²⁵³

²⁵² Respondent (kaumatua from a large iwi group) who believes that those who work for tribal organisations forget to look after people but are good at looking after themselves.

²⁵³ This respondent is seeking the involvement of all tribal people in tribal development.

Another inference that could be drawn is that Māori development is about the development of individual Māori in whānau and hapū collectives. In this context, the role of tribal organisations would be to facilitate development at whānau and hapū levels while non-tribal Māori organisations would focus primarily on individual and whānau Māori. Accordingly, whānau and hapū may expect to receive direct and primary benefit from such organisations. These benefits would essentially contribute to whānau and hapū needs and aspirations to improve wellbeing in socio-economic and cultural terms. The key requirement derived from this approach is to build the capacity of tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations to provide support and direct benefits for whānau and hapū development.

By comparison, direct benefit to individual Māori reduces the influence of whānau and hapū collective action and authority. Furthermore, it may unintentionally disconnect the inter-relationship between resources, people and cultural responsibilities. In this way, the direct associations between whenua tupuna and mana whenua are transformed into legal propositions of individual rights and interests. The key conclusion drawn from this approach is to build the capacity of tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations to provide support and direct benefits for the individual. To elaborate, there would be an uninterrupted relationship between individual Māori and the organisation. Accordingly, support and benefit mechanisms would be organised directly with individual Māori rather than promoting social, cultural and economic development through collective Māori arrangements such as whānau and hapū.

From a tribal perspective, the issue is about the responsibility of the individual to support and provide direct benefits to whānau and hapū. Essential to the interaction is the principle of reciprocity which means the collective supporting the individual and in like manner the individual supporting the collective. Indeed, the principle is not obvious in the notion and practice of individualism but it clearly penetrates collectivism.

Underlying the debate is the increasing influence of western democracy and the importance of the individual, as well as the escalating resistance of tribal democracy and the importance of the collective. Notwithstanding the political nature of the situation, there are fundamental expectations continually being voiced. For tribal groups, hereditary obligations and responsibilities to protect and enhance the tribal estate are more often than not perceived as tribal business. However, it is generally accepted that social need affects all Māori, regardless of residency or tribal affiliation.

Access and participation²⁵⁴ options are required through suitable organisations for tribal and urban situations. Overarching tribal rights and Māori social need is an expectation that access to Māori cultural, physical and knowledge resources will be assured. Not surprisingly, Māori development in the twenty-first century will contend with organisational challenges to reconstruct Māori institutions, to enhance Māori

²⁵⁴ The framework developed for the longitudinal study called Te Hoe Nuku Roa, which is based at Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Massey University emphasises both access and participation as fundamental aspects.

wellbeing and identity, to deconstruct colonialism, and to reconstitute Māori relationships for social, cultural, economic and political advancement.

Tribal and Non-Tribal Māori Organisation - Contemporary Features

According to tribal advocates, tribal organisations have an inalienable duty to transfer the tribal estate to future generations, to address development needs and aspirations, and to sustain cooperative principles. Underlying the convictions held by tribal respondents, there is a philosophical theme about the survival and regrowth of the tribe through the on-going care and protection of a heritage nurtured by previous generations for their descendants.

According to one respondent, *"we've had lots of hassles. Other people want to be trustees of the land our tupuna left us. We are the guardians - to always look after the place... that was their (tupuna) whakaaro (vision). The marae can be used but we have to be exclusive to be inclusive.... I don't know how we're going to do it... it might upset a few people but for us - its to protect that land but the others can use it."*²⁵⁵

In this context, one of the purposes of the whānau is to value, protect and transmit economic, social, political and cultural knowledge and skills from one generation to

²⁵⁵ Respondent is the kaumatua of a marae.

the next. Indeed, the hapū is comparable but is primarily focused on hapū knowledge and skills rather than whānau specific arrangements. With continuity and stability of tribal custom, decision-making at whānau and hapū levels is sustainable. However, fluctuation is inevitable when the distinctions and connections between tribal and western democratic principles are not transparent in practice.

This circumstance is noticeable between whānau and hapū members who carry the burden of cultural responsibilities and members who must contend with living away and with personal priorities. Given the differences in life experiences, aspirations and understanding of cultural responsibilities, the potential for conflicts about decision-making processes and leadership is amplified. While tribal and western democratic principles are not necessarily incompatible, disagreements between whānau and hapū members may unwittingly or intentionally dislodge processes, relationships and structures which usually maintain group cohesion and capacity. It would seem to be, at least in part, a repercussion of structural adjustment upon (and by) tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations.

Notwithstanding the importance of hapū to tribal organisation, whānau is clearly the more durable collective to both tribal and urban Māori social organisation. While the changes in family (including whānau) structures over the last two decades are observable in the variety of whānau forms based on genealogy and common

purpose,²⁵⁶ all whānau organise themselves against a backdrop of changeable social and economic conditions, and whānau mobility. Under these circumstances, individuals may opt for membership in contemporary whānau structures that are much broader than the observations of the early anthropologists.

With greater variation in composition and affiliation, the term whānau is now associated with a wider variety of group relationships which include: whakapapa-based whānau - descendants of a pair of ancestors (category) and descendants of the same ancestors who work together for common purposes (group); and kaupapa-based whānau - a collective which is formed for either short term goals and disbanded, or a collective that serves a number of functions and whose members sustain the relationship.²⁵⁷

Today, the individual is more able to choose with whom to participate and why, without sole reference to whakapapa or cultural responsibilities. As a consequence, participation is more likely to depend on accruable benefits to the individual in cultural terms, or in social and economic gains.

Arguably, even if the trend is not commonplace, whānau members may elect to focus on what is best for them as individuals rather than on what is best for the wider group.

²⁵⁶ Joan Metge, (1999), 'Changing Whānau Structures and Practices' in *Proceedings of Te Hua o te Whānau*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, p. 10.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

Therefore, the basis of collectivity cannot be unquestioningly attributed to a sense of shared community goals and aspirations especially when interaction between individuals is primarily focused on individual gain rather than collective benefit. Taken to its logical conclusion, the genealogical relationships between individuals may become less important for whānau formations to sustain themselves, the more so when there is no capital base (such as land) to cement the ties.

With increasing mobility, individuals Māori are confronted with many options about associates. There is less emphasis on tribal responsibilities and greater commitment to personal ambition and wealth. Consequently, commitment to group goals is less attractive when community status is shifted in favour of individual wealth and prestige by comparison with collective benefit and wellbeing. Under the circumstances, attempts to balance individual benefit and collective responsibility are somewhat a philosophical debate. In reality, individual and whānau Māori will seek a level of agreeable interaction to maximise wealth (in its broadest sense) and to affirm a sense of identity, no matter what the conditions. However, it should also be noted that as tribal wealth escalates, so too does tribal affiliation expand. The Ngai Tahu membership for example increased from 20,304 to 29,133 between the 1991 and 1996 Census.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ Statistics New Zealand, (1998), *1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings - Iwi*, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington, vol.1, p. 19.

Somewhat speculative, but certainly a possibility, the tribal development option appears to be more attractive when the potential for access and participation with the tribal estate presents opportunities for social and economic gains. Even though tribal organisations are principally responsible for the tribal estate, an equally significant imperative is to support whānau, hapū and iwi development. Likewise, non-tribal organisations such as urban Māori authorities are similarly charged to improve the wellbeing of individual and whānau Māori. An individual may be able to choose whether to participate with tribal or urban Māori groups. However, neither tribal nor urban Māori organisations can entirely disregard the responsibility to service individual and whānau Māori who hold an entitlement or preference.

As many individual and whānau Māori are involved with tribal and urban Māori affairs, the onus is on the organisation to demonstrate that it has the capacity to address the circumstances of participants. Clearly, for the most part, individual and whānau Māori are both tribal and urban,²⁵⁹ not one or the other. The proof of allegiance is not about residency but the community of interest that people choose to associate with,²⁶⁰ and the nature of their relationship with that community.

²⁵⁹ M. H. Durie, (1998), 'The Treaty was always about the Future', in K. Coates; P. McHugh, (1998), *Living Relationships - Kōkiri Ngātahi The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 192.

²⁶⁰ Donna Hall, (1999), 'Indigenous Governance and Accountability', *A paper presented at the Indigenous Governance and Accountability Conference held in Wellington 30 September and 1 October 1999*, First Foundation, Auckland.

There is no contradiction in being both tribal and urban or even belonging to both tribal and urban organisations. They are not identical nor do they offer the same types of benefits. If there is apparent competition between the two (tribal and urban Māori authorities) it stems from an excessive emphasis on structuralism, with little recognition of the relationships which give each a sense of contemporary focus.

Tribal organisations are understood to be primarily responsible for the protection and management of tribal resources, which may include wānanga, tribal marae, tikanga, whakapapa, te mita o te reo and whenua tupuna. With growing dissatisfaction amongst tribal collectives, the hapū-based organisation is treated more favourably than iwi organisation for the management of tribal resources obtained through Treaty settlements. Although the government favours iwi based settlements, many hapū groups are concerned about the mandatory centralisation of the ensuing tribal estate, since significant resource management issues are understood to be the concern of hapū.

It cannot be ignored that iwi have adapted to become the most recognised descent groups in tribal, if not Māori society, at least from a government perspective. Indeed, a shift from mere groups of people who share common ancestry to more inclusive and active corporate groups, in response to both Māori tribal initiative and Crown

influence, is a notable account of iwi organisational dynamics especially since the eighteenth century.²⁶¹

More importantly and perhaps more recently, there are concerns about the limitations of iwi organisation²⁶² as the only basis for Māori development when Māori identity is more likely to be recognised as both individual and collective, both tribal and non-tribal Māori, and multi-faceted rather than singular. The cautionary comments made by tribal respondents suggest that the iwi structure, role and functions are not always appreciated, nor are they considered the basis of authority and decision-making for the tribe. The hapū is clearly favoured as a means of controlling iwi centralisation and bureaucracy, and for retaining local level autonomy.

Perhaps the most potent criticism of iwi centralisation is that further disintegration of tribal responsibilities at hapū and whānau levels may occur. Clearly, individual and whānau Māori are not convinced that iwi organisation is the most suitable mechanism for all matters affecting the tribal estate. There is a view that some matters are better organised by hapū while more inclusive tribal resources are best managed by iwi based organisations. Deciding whether hapū or iwi organisation are the most suitable mechanisms relies on sustainable agreements about how best to manage the tribal

²⁶¹ Angela Ballara, (1998), *Iwi - The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 - c.1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 336.

²⁶² A number of respondents were dissatisfied with iwi corporate organisation. Strengthening hapū organisation is viewed by them as the best way to reduce the possibility of unaccountable control by iwi corporate organisations.

estate at hapū and iwi levels, and about the relationship - formal and informal - between iwi and hapū.

*" It is about empowering and benefiting the people. Our (tribal organisation) role is to get in place a model that allows the power to go out not keep hold of it."*²⁶³

The issue is about localising control and management at the hapū level to provide individual and whānau Māori with greater flexibility of access and participation. To accommodate the concerns, respondents expect iwi organisations to minimise centralisation and reinforce hapū jurisdiction. While centralised control of the tribal estate may appear to be a sensible response for effectiveness and efficiency, hapū autonomy over specific resource areas is favoured as a means of checking tribal democracy against unilateral decision-making at the iwi level.

Beyond this, both urban Māori and tribal organisations share responsibilities to service the social needs and aspirations of Māori. For urban Māori, the focus groups are individual and whānau Māori, while tribal organisations include hapū and iwi. The iwi can be treated as the civil society of tribal groups. It represents the tribal public who function within a myriad of conventions based on tribal and western democratic principles. By comparison, urban Māori organisations are not obligated to comply with tribal custom or commit time and resources to the protection and

²⁶³ Respondent is the manager for a tribal organisation.

management of tribal assets. Their focus is much more clearly aligned to the welfare of their constituents and the promotion of a Māori identity, albeit drawing on various tribal traditions.

While the comparison between tribal and urban Māori organisations highlights the relative circumstances for tribal and urban Māori collectives, a more important feature is revealed. Clearly, the tribal estate cannot be overly committed to risk situations, which may disinherit, dispossess or disenfranchise future generations. The organisational challenge is to minimise, if not to eliminate the potential threat to guardianship and to provide for the wellbeing of present and future generations. Importantly, 'organisation' provides a collective means of responding to common goals and aspirations. Whether all tribal members share the tribal estate in an equitable manner is a challenge for tribal organisations whose members are scattered and often lukewarm about tribal heritage.

All Māori have social needs. Essentially, Māori development is not the prerogative of either urban Māori or tribal organisations in isolation from each other. Instead, supportive arguments about self-help and self-management favour both tribal and urban Māori organisations as positive ways of improving the social and economic circumstances of individual and whānau Māori. If another option exists, then it is more likely to be found in government agency and private sector activities.

Tribal and urban Māori collectives are able to choose from a variety of organisational models to manage development activities. Moreover, the culture of the organisation can benefit from tikanga and legal approaches by recognising them as different logics of reasoning and action for achieving what may prove to be common development goals. While the management of these processes is not always successful the remedy may prove to be more about the quality of people interaction rather than an incompatibility of conventions. For example, tribal organisations that are understood to hold guardianship responsibilities for the collective interests of the tribe, in its entirety, often encounter disagreements with central and local government agencies about authority and control issues which are inherent in tikanga and legal processes. Yet, more often than not, it is generally these issues surrounding political power that destabilise interaction rather than a lack of ability to identify common goals or a lack of ability to organise a shared approach to achieving them.

Consequently, the role and functions of tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations are as much about jurisdiction as the protection and management of specific resources, the enhancement of cultural identity, and the servicing of social needs. Recognition within a legal framework would require more than the ability to buy, sell and trade. Moreover, the extent and nature of tribal jurisdiction expected by some tribes cannot be readily expressed within current legislation. In the Crown environment, new legislation would be required. Underlying this claim is the need for unconventional arrangements to fully appreciate the nature and extent of any future relationship between Māori and the Crown, or for that matter with anyone else.

In general, Māori collectives have enjoyed an environment of choice with a range of whakapapa based, Māori owned and operated, and mainstream organisational options to work with. Whatarangi Winiata, Te Ahorangi - Te Wānanga o Raukawa, argues that a variety of organisations have been trialed to meet the identified needs of Māori communities. In the twenty-first century, the question is whether or not Māori are clear about the kind of organisations required for the future, what they are expected to achieve, and what they should look like to make it so.²⁶⁴

Tikanga and Legal Conventions

In the twenty-first century, the application of tikanga and legal conventions will continue to influence the processes, structures, relationships and leadership of Māori organisations. Undoubtedly, many Māori organisations have agonised over the interaction between the practices of tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākeha. While there may be irreconcilable differences nevertheless, both are essentially processes.

²⁶⁴ Taken from discussions with Ihakara Puketapu at Waiwhetu on the 14 November 1996 and with Whatarangi Winiata at Te Wānanga o Raukawa on the 29 April 1999. S. Cornell and J. Kalt (1997) point out that it is worthwhile comparing organisational (frameworks) options in broader terms (rather than focusing only on social and economic areas) to better understand the policy and constitutional framework that each tribe must work with.

Often referred to as tribal customs and protocols, the practice of tikanga Māori is primarily focused on the nature of intended or existing relationships. The practice is more often implicit with consensus being a central tenet. By comparison, tikanga Pākeha is associated with legal matters, international systems and processes of conventional conduct. It is primarily focused on contestation about what is right and wrong. The practice is usefully illustrated by Chatham house rules, which are explicit and based on majority rule.

It would be premature and probably unhelpful for Māori organisations, tribal or non-tribal, to disregard either tikanga Māori or tikanga Pākeha. Limiting the range of process tools to advance organisational purposes may impose unnecessary constraints to achieving desired outcomes. As one respondent said, *"we have an accountability system, not just a pākeha way. But I've seen people say they speak for so and so marae, and the information has never got back. Each of us who take on a role is accountable back to our people.... it might be pākeha but accountability applies equally to us and the way we should do things."*²⁶⁵

The question is not about dismissing one for the other, rather it is about having a number of methods to achieve the goal. In this context, leaders should have the wisdom to know which methods to employ in contemporary circumstances. Sustaining a Māori focus at local, national and international levels demands leaders

²⁶⁵ Respondent is a trustee of a marae reservation trust.

who have an ability to inculcate quality cultural imperatives into social, cultural, political and economic activity. The application of tikanga and law conventions for tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations is presented in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 : Application of Tikanga and Law Conventions

	Tribal Organisation	Non-Tribal Organisation
<i>Tikanga Māori</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhance the tribal estate • Guide tribal activities • Strengthen relationships • Affirm tribal identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guide social, economic and political activities • Strengthen relationships • Affirm cultural identity
<i>Tikanga Pākeha</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate with the public and private sectors at regional, national and international levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate with the public and private sectors at regional, national and international levels

Smart organisations, tribal and non-tribal Māori alike will be goal driven rather than process or structure fixated. And, greater attention will be devoted to the quality of relationships required to achieve the goals.

Tribal organisation will be expected to look after the tribal estate and provide for tribal Māori needs, whilst urban Māori organisations will be expected to build an asset base and provide for urban Māori needs. Clearly, there are development goals, which apply to tribal and urban Māori organisations, and require similar but distinctive capacities. For tribal organisations, cultural retention and growth, resource protection and enhancement, and people development are fundamental aspects. Urban Māori

organisations will be perceived as urban advocates for individual and whānau Māori, their social and economic needs, cultural development, and political involvement.

The significant difference between tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations is the burden of obligation and responsibility to protect and enhance the tribal estate. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of tribal organisations to sustain tribal institutions and the associated resources for future generations. Not surprisingly, most respondents argued that tribal assets should be used for tribal development. Nevertheless, they blame the government and its policies for the social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori. Based on this rationale, respondents do not want the government to be the principal service delivery mechanism for Māori. Instead, they expect government agencies and departments to distribute an equitable amount of government resources to suitable Māori organisations in order to improve the Māori position. Whether tribal or urban Māori organisations are involved, individual and whānau Māori would undoubtedly expect tikanga Māori processes and practices to be skilfully applied in the delivery of services.

Arguably, there may be a reasonable case for tribal organisations to focus primarily on the protection and enhancement of the tribal estate, while Māori organisations that are non-tribal provide social and economic development programmes directly to individual and whānau Māori. For tribal organisations, the core business would be to manage physical resources, investments and associated commercial activities

thereafter, distribute benefits by providing financial support to tribal structures and institutions at hapū and iwi levels.

Individual and whānau access to the tribal estate would occur at the hapū level unless otherwise delegated to a tribal public structure. Non-tribal 'Māori organisations' would be governed by Māori and funded by a mix of Māori, government and private funds to provide social and economic development programmes based on policies that are geared to local Māori needs and opportunities. Individual and whānau Māori access to programme delivery would not be subject to tribal membership; rather the arrangement would provide a vehicle for all Māori resident in a defined area to participate in the determination of policy and implementation at the local level.

For individual and whānau Māori, a significant goal is to improve access to tribal marae, knowledge and understanding, and physical resources. Whilst urban Māori organisations cannot provide direct access, there is no reason why these organisations cannot form alliances which connect tribal members with relevant tribal organisations and institutions. Importantly, the synergy between tribal and urban Māori organisations, rather than fragmentation and isolation, is more promising for affirming relationships and achieving what are essentially shared development goals. In this frame of reference, the application of tikanga Māori by tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations should naturally welcome a whānaungatanga (relationship) approach rather than a competitive approach to Māori development.

From this examination, the contemporary features of tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations, and the interplay between legal processes and systems and tikanga Māori have been described, in particular, the importance of positive relationships, quality leadership, clear goals, Māori identity, relevant processes and suitable organisation. Respondents' feedback has been synthesised to form best practice statements against each of the items presented in table 7.2. These statements represent a 'short version' of respondents' perspectives about the importance of good practices within Māori organisations. The following examples are indicative of the comments made.

*"What are tribal organisations focused on? They should be about outcomes. They have got to be flexible to move 'cause outcomes (will) determine what kind of organisations the people expect."*²⁶⁶

*"The challenge for Māori organisations is to be seen to manage their assets in a prudent way."*²⁶⁷

*"Māori organisations need to achieve three things – political representation, income generation and benefit distribution."*²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Respondent from a hapū that is located in the middle of an urban area.

²⁶⁷ Respondent who is involved in the management of Māori land assets.

²⁶⁸ Respondent who is involved in a tribal claim and the establishment of a tribal authority.

“There are no legal structures that fit what tribes want, they (organisations) should not be the ends they should be the means. We need to understand what the ends are and it should be guided by what the people want not individuals”²⁶⁹

Table 7.2 : Best Practice Statements

Item	Statement
<i>Positive Relationships</i>	Positive relationships between Māori and Māori, Māori and others are fundamental to a cooperative and collaborative approach to positive Māori development
<i>Quality Leadership</i>	Contemporary leaders are skilled with both tikanga Māori and international systems and processes of conventional conduct
<i>Goal Orientation</i>	Smart organisations will be goal driven rather than fixated on structure and processes
<i>Secure Māori Identity</i>	Māori identity and collectivity are diverse, both individual and collective rights and interests are important
<i>Relevant Processes</i>	With relevant application, both tikanga Māori and international conventions are useful for achieving development goals
<i>Suitable Organisation</i>	Choosing an organisational model is easy, constructing a suitable organisation requires clear development goals and principles

²⁶⁹ Respondent who (lives away from tribal area) maintains regular contact with tribal activities.

Māori Tribal Institutions - Contemporary Features

In managing the tribal estate, tribal descent groups may reorganise and reconstruct Māori tribal institutions for social, cultural, economic and political purposes. Realistically, most tribal groups are reliant on the goodwill and resources of the few to realise the expectations of the many. Insufficient resources, personnel and finance often slow the process with time delays and skill gaps. As the burden of responsibility usually rests with the few, attempting to resist external influence, maintain tikanga practices, and respond to the uninitiated may stretch the capacity of some tribal groups. In response, the strategies employed by tribal groups to sustain, to protect and enhance the tribal estate, which includes whare wānanga, rūnanga and marae may err on the side of protecting the physical estate, rather than making it more accessible to the majority.

The physical appearance may be unassuming but the marae, the whare wānanga and the rūnanga are still treated as living institutions of Māori tribal society and development. As such, the institutions provide organisational options for achieving cultural, political, economic and social goals. However, the influence previously enjoyed by Māori tribal institutions has diminished amongst many individual and whānau Māori. Consequently, any further devaluing of tikanga processes may further restrict tikanga practices and participation with Māori tribal institutions. According to one respondent, “ *why should we have that (cultural institution) any more... we are*

being forced to do these things, but what for the world is moving on and we have to take another look at the institutions that were for another time."²⁷⁰

Not unexpectedly, the presence of tikanga based institutions is verified by Māori tribal activities on marae, in whare wānanga and with tribal rūnanga. More surprisingly, the visibility of tikanga practices and Māori tribal institutions at debates with public, non-governmental and private sector corporate groups does suggest a maturing recognition of pertinent tikanga conventions and knowledge.

Durie (1998) observes that a bicultural jurisprudence is emerging in New Zealand, although somewhat belatedly. By example, the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) places additional responsibilities on those who interpret the law to have some understanding of Māori customs and concepts.²⁷¹ Furthermore, it places an equally challenging responsibility on Māori advocates to have a reasonable knowledge and understanding of tikanga Māori in practice.

Although Maharaia Winiata (1967) was primarily concerned with the changing role of the Māori leader in Māori society, he made insightful comments about Māori institutions. According to him, the increasing specialisation of institutions is reflected in the additional classes of leaders that emerge. "The Māori (leader) moves and has

²⁷⁰ This respondent was dissatisfied with the leadership and traditions espoused by older tribal members.

²⁷¹ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 31.

his being in two worlds, and he moves from one to the other within the framework provided by these institutions. He also operates within two distinct and often conflicting systems of value.”²⁷²

Perhaps unacceptable to some Māori today, Winiata²⁷³ argued that Māori people function in a dual framework of organisation where Māori traditionalist society is a sub-system of the wider New Zealand society. European contact has introduced new interests, values and institutions into Māori communities leading to greater differentiation and interaction. With mobility, all Māori, including those who are responsible for protecting and enhancing tribal institutions, can readily access and participate with a wider range of institutions. Unless Māori tribal organisation provides capacity then the transfer of tribal knowledge, skills and understanding is less likely to be controlled and managed in a systematic way. Instead, windows of opportunity may be anticipated to enable the knowledge codes to be transmitted from one generation to the next. For Māori tribal institutions, the form and content of tribal knowledge has traditionally been transmitted as part of the social process. The transfer of knowledge was highly ritualised with order, recognisable formulation and cadence. Indeed, participation was subject to a number of prerequisites including the requirement for both the transmitter and the receiver to be competent in the knowledge form.

²⁷² Maharaia Winiata, (1967), *The Changing Role of the Māori Leader in Māori Society*, Blackwood and Janet Paul, Auckland, pp. 8-10.

²⁷³ *ibid.*

Attempts to participate with Māori tribal institutions may not sustain attention or commitment when other interests are considered readily accessible and more appealing. Durie (1998) describes the Māori nation as a complex system of interacting organisations at local, regional, and national levels. An explanation of Māori participation beyond tribal organisation to urban Māori communities, the church, cultural groups, sectoral interests, political groups and state funded organisations is offered.²⁷⁴

It follows that interaction with a multiplicity of organisations that thrive on inclusion provides opportunities for Māori people to be involved in not only tribal affairs but wider Māori community matters, and general public interests. Māori participation with a wide variety of institutions provides useful experience with tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākeha conventions. What is less helpful, at least in terms of maintaining cultural identity and the retention of a distinctive heritage, while at the same time advancing on social and economic fronts, is participation with only Māori or, the absolute opposite with only non-Māori institutions. Importantly, the point is not to dismiss one or the other but to encourage participation with both.

²⁷⁴ Mason Durie, (1998), *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 229.

The Marae Institution

At the local hapū level, the marae institution provides a window to the dynamics between tikanga Māori and Crown law. The marae tupuna as distinct from marae that perform community cultural needs, but is not part of a tribal estate,²⁷⁵ is acknowledged as a tribal institution associated with tribal whānau, hapū and iwi descent groups. Today, the land area is often confined to a small parcel with various buildings that are communal property of a whānau, hapū or iwi.

*"Hapū is a self-sufficient collective for survival. Focus on marae and its uses to begin with."*²⁷⁶

*"Marae is founded on korero tūpuna (ancestral guidelines), tikanga is paramount, and all this needs to be passed on to others."*²⁷⁷

The marae is the physical presence of a tribal descent group who are joined by a common whakapapa to the ancestors of the surrounding area. On the marae, a knowledge, understanding, and practice of tikanga is accepted behaviour. Nevertheless, two processes function on the marae - tikanga Māori and Crown law. In the marae environment, whakapapa is an important pre-requisite for recognising the

²⁷⁵ Te Puni Kōkiri, (1997), *National Survey of Marae 1997*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington, p. 8.

²⁷⁶ Respondent manages a tribal authority located in urban area.

²⁷⁷ Respondent is active marae participant for a small hapū of a large iwi group.

genealogical connections between hapū members and the physical resource rights and interests conferred by descent - mana whenua.²⁷⁸ On the other hand, there are equally important obligations inherent in tribal conventions of resource trusteeship which are usually carried by tribal members who are directly connected by genealogy and ancestral land interests, and continue to reside within the hapū area - ahi kaa.

Just as important, hapū decision-making processes and procedures - tikanga, provide a tribal means of securing collective direction and commitment. Primacy is given to tribal jurisdiction. In addition, Crown law has an influence over marae activities with local and regional authorities' regulations, by-laws and various statutes affecting the marae domain. The inter-play between tikanga Māori and Crown law in the marae context illustrates the compression and tension generated by tribal members when faced with process, structure, relationship and leadership dilemmas. The situation is indicative of the circumstances, which are encountered by individual Māori and collectives as they participate in and apply both tikanga Māori and Crown law processes.²⁷⁹

There is usually common ground between Crown law and tikanga Māori advocates when discussing values, principles and goals. However, if historical encounters between Māori and the Crown are a fair representation then differences are seemingly irreconcilable when discussing authority, control and management. Interestingly,

²⁷⁸ Discussion with Terry Ryan, Ngai Tahu Whakapapa Unit, on the 20 April 1997.

²⁷⁹ Discussion with Ihakara Puketapu, Te Atiawa ki Waiwhetu, on the 14 November 1996.

there is usually no indifference to what is important until issues of jurisdiction are confronted. Tribal groups have historically countered attempts by other tribal groups or anyone else, to subordinate tribal jurisdiction on the marae. This tension is principally about tribal control and authority challenging central and local government jurisdiction.

The marae has two organisational models interacting on a regular basis. In tikanga terms, the marae is the communal institution of a Māori descent group, usually a hapū, although whānau and iwi are known to have marae tupuna.²⁸⁰ As a hapū based marae, there are likely to be many whānau who can readily show a whakapapa connection. Some will live on whānau or hapū lands and usually, but not always, participate regularly with hapū development activities. Some will live locally but may not reside on whānau and hapū lands, and as a consequence their participation with hapū development activities is regular but not as pronounced as those who usually live in the hapū area. Others live in urban areas some distance away including overseas. They are generally passive participants maintaining some form of contact with other whānau members who either live close by or reside in the hapū area.

For those living within the hapū area, there are expectations to be responsible for the maintenance and development of the marae, to look after tangihanga and hui also. Hapū leadership roles involve the management and functions of oratory - the paepae,

²⁸⁰Ministry of Māori Development, (1997), *National Survey of Marae 1997*, Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington, p. 8.

the ancestral house - whare tupuna, and the dining room - wharekai. Elders who look after marae rituals and procedures, as well as the support workers, are usually organised according to tribal status and skills, although variations are not inconceivable. Whilst the format is predictable, the content is not, and circumstances can incite a departure from the usual practice. In the main, those who keep the home fires burning, ahi kaa, are expected to facilitate if not direct marae proceedings.

Participation with marae activity is treated as an integral part of the social learning process for the hapū. The approach is used to transfer knowledge and understanding of marae organisation from one generation to the next. The actual event is the learning experience where listening and observing through participation are favoured.

The hapū is recognised as a genealogically connected community of individuals and whānau. Tribal democracy is evident at hui though not always in an explicit form and often in seeming contradiction to the simple 'show of hands' rule. The interests and on-going relationships of the hapū collective are central to decision-making processes.

Tribal rights are openly protected and transferred from generation to generation. The management, use and development of hapū land and other resources are treated as the responsibility and prerogative of the hapū collective. Local and regional councils and government agencies are regarded as secondary interest groups to hapū decision-making processes although an appearance by invitation at hapū hui is not uncommon.

In Crown law terms, the marae is a defined area of land with a Māori land title, usually a reservation gazetted under Section 338 of the Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. While the land may not be rateable, the local council will charge for services provided to all ratepayers collectively and distinctively. For the marae, refuse and ratepayer contributions to civic amenities are likely charges. There is also a range of legal compliance matters that affect the marae including health and safety, conservation and environmental protection.

The marae land and facilities are governed by a marae trust, and there is usually a committee whose members are responsible for the administration of marae affairs. Formal meeting procedure with majority decision-making is executed to varying degrees, and often the tension between marae custom and participatory democracy surfaces. In summary, the marae institution is a contemporary microcosm, which consists of dual processes that conflict and coalesce from time to time. With both tikanga Māori and Crown law conventions, the disagreements between the advocates of tikanga and legal approaches can be easily resolved unless grounded in issues of control and authority.

When hapū members are not only kaumatua but also trustees or committee executive members, then dual roles and responsibilities being vested in the same people may compromise the application of tikanga. Indeed a small residential population may require such an approach nonetheless, it may be sensible to avoid the situation.

While the one person - one role strategy has some appeal, the dual role arrangement may be welcomed if the appointee is able to distinguish between dual systems and processes, and still achieve agreeable results. In practice, however, such distinctions are blurred and the result is a mix of two systems. To the casual observer it may be bewildering and lack transparency. But, in practice, there are merits in each marae - or hapū for that matter - grappling with the duality in their own way. It is after all the reality for Māori organisations though the membership may, from time to time, demonstrate an inability to balance this duality in practical ways, and remain consistent with what they espouse to be hapū or marae based development.

In comparison with other tribal and non-tribal organisations, the marae is a historical and yet, contemporary institution. Consequently, it provides a useful example of Māori organisation that has been adapted to circumstances over time and space. As such, this discussion about the contemporary features of marae and respondents' comments is the basis for the items and best practice statements that are summarised in table 7.3.

Table 7.3 : Best Practice Statements for the Marae Institution

Item	Statement
<i>Positive Relationships</i>	Positive relationships between tribal and urban Māori members, and with public and private sectors are fundamental to a co-operative and collaborative approach to positive hapū development
<i>Quality Advocacy</i>	Hapū leaders can balance and apply the conventions of tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākeha to manage the day to day affairs of the hapū
<i>Goal Orientation</i>	The hapū organisation for the marae is focused on achieving hapū development goals, which are clearly defined
<i>Secure Māori Identity</i>	Access to relevant hapū knowledge and skills through active participation requires active sponsorship and management
<i>Relevant Processes</i>	The practice of tikanga is the accepted and primary behaviour on marae

Each of these statements reflects a range of comment about particular issues raised by respondents when talking about the organisation of tribal affairs. For example, the poor relationships between people suggest a need to build positive relationships. One respondent summed it up this way, *“not many of those people come to the marae whether there’s a tangi, whether there’s a hui.... a lot of them here don’t go to the marae but they’ve got a lot to say and very often I find them quite staunch about being Māori... you know...”*²⁸¹

In addition, there were respondents whose experiences did not give them confidence in tribal leaders. Their feedback highlighted the need for good advocates who can deal simultaneously with tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākeha conventions. The range

²⁸¹ Respondent from a hapu with few people looking after the marae.

of comments is captured by this example from one respondent, *"sometimes you don't pick up the hidden agendas before the meeting. There were all these people suppose to turn up to support one person but only himself and his daughters turned up first. He'd gone around collecting different ones to support him but none of them came to support him in the end. Everyone seemed to know that something was up. Anyway, the ones who he got to support him didn't in the end. They supported (name)I think because (name) was selfish and did things for the wrong reasons. (Name) has always be good and helps out here (the marae). The people trust (name) and (name) knows how to do things (referring to tikanga knowledge and personal skills)... that counts."*²⁸²

One of the contentious issues was about knowing when to use tikanga Māori and Pākeha conventions. Respondents raised the need to look after tikanga Māori in tribal situations. However, respondents cited tribal rituals to be the only situations when tikanga Māori is used exclusively. On the contrary, the inter-change between tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākeha is understood to be more the rule than the exception. According to most respondents, the application of tikanga Māori and the application of tikanga Pākeha depends on the capacity of those involved being able to engage competently. The situation is illustrated well by this comment from one of the respondents.

²⁸² Respondent is a kaumatua from a rural-based marae. The people had just elected new Trustees.

*"It came quite interestingly in the meeting when we asked which rules are we going to use here the Act or our own tino rangatiratanga so one of the things most browns me off is when your people choose you and you still have to get the rubber stamp by the government."*²⁸³

Many respondents talked about the marae as a learning place. According to some respondents, marae learning happens just by 'being around' (the marae). The idea suggests that the more you participate the more you pick things up. In other words, these respondents believe that learning by acquisition through social contact is normal rather than through a strictly formal education process. Others were more interested in participating with hapū wananga about the marae, the lands, the old people and the korero that belongs to the marae. This is essentially about identity and a sense of belonging. From respondents' comments, there were a number of key reasons for securing the tribal/Māori identity; (i) hapū and iwi survival (ii) maintenance of tribal values and customs, (iii), educate close to the whānau and hapū (iv) carry inherent responsibilities (v) continue building Māori knowledge. This comment emphasises the point, *" we need to challenge Māori with matauranga Māori. At the moment, Māori are mainly being challenged with matauranga Pākeha. If Māori knowledge is based on handing it down then we need ways to encourage this to happen and to focus on developing people who will in turn develop hapu and iwi."*²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Respondent from a marae with lands that are administered by an Ahu Whenua Trust under the Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993.

²⁸⁴ Respondent involved in education planning based around the strengthening of hapū.

In terms of goal orientation, the most telling yet simple statement came from a respondent who is involved with the day to day affairs of her marae and clearly focused on the mokopuna generation. Her comments exemplify the focus of many respondents who, time and time again, referred to people as the reason for development. She says, "*the marae is about people... the marae is for the people ...where we can hui ...hold our tangi ...talk about what is needed and what to do. The marae looks after people and lets them be there*"

Respondents referred to 'the inability to do things' as a shortcoming. They did not say there were no skills amongst the people instead they talked about fulfilling tribal responsibilities as much as achieving greater independence. Emerging from these comments are the very focused ideas of some respondents to ensure that non-Māori hand over 'things' to Māori. In comparison, other respondents are more concerned about being able to learn about themselves to fulfil what is important to them as a people. In a sense one approach is about a transfer of power and control from someone else to Māori. For example, the transfer of political power from the government to Māori peoples. The other approach is about recognising the power that you already have. For example, applying tikanga and using tribal institutions for tribal development. These matters lead to a discussion on development capacity and building capacity.

Development Capacity

One definition for capacity building or development capacity is the process by which individuals, community groups, organisations and nations develop their abilities to perform functions, solve problems and achieve desired outcomes.²⁸⁵

Consistent with this, capacity for development means having appropriate ownership arrangements, good governance, effective management and stakeholder involvement.²⁸⁶ Respondents mentioned the importance of these aspects with comments about the control of tribal resources, the interference of trustees in management activities, and the lack of information given to the members of the organisation. More important, beneath the surface of their comments can be found the basis for their reasoning and actions.

Loomis, Morrison and Nicholas (1998) stated that capacity for development is sensitive to values, ethics, cultural norms and traditions.²⁸⁷ This sensitivity may provide both analytical and initiative guidance about the appropriateness, relevance and application²⁸⁸ of various structural, process and relationship options to achieve development goals. Understandably, therefore, capacity for development is susceptible to a range of dimensions, which include perceptions, attitudes, practices

²⁸⁵ T. Loomis; S. Morrison; T. Nicholas, (1998), *Capacity Building for Self-Determined Māori Economic Development*, Working Paper No. 2/98, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *ibid.*

and methods. In other words, development capacity is just as much about the culture of the organisation as it is about the structure of the organisation.

The separation of commercial and non-commercial, governance and management, member entitlements and employee responsibilities becomes more complex when the existence of cultural heterogeneity within contemporary Māori organisations is realised. If these distinctions relied solely on the strict application of management theory then internal and external resistance would not be problematic instead, Māori organisations, both tribal and non-tribal, would be more likely to comply with standard practice. But the circumstances are not so straightforward.

For example, there are people in Māori organisations (according to some respondents), that resist employing 'outsiders' (people not in the group), resist being transparent and accountable for financial decisions and are reluctant to obtain independent advice. There is a pattern of chaos expressed in the oscillation between tikanga Māori and legal conventions, which is encouraged to prevent intrusion from 'outsiders' by securing a sense of internal control over the organisation. In essence, a culture of protectionism ensures a sense of comfort and security when the members of the organisation believe that helping their 'own' is the business, when they feel threatened or assume they are being targeted unfairly. Perhaps, more so reactionary, the organisation's staff tends to minimise negative contact and maximise access and

²⁸⁸ See Table 4.3 : Māori Development Criteria, in Chapter 4.

participation for those that support the organisation. Nonetheless, respondents noted that when people are perceived as threats, assistance is sometimes impeded, even if they have entitlement. Although the situation is fundamentally a culture of resistance, it is exclusive.

"There are competing interests driving the talks for (tribal) resources across gender, age and hapū. I'm not going to make rash decisions so you've got to watch different ones and what they want to do cause they'll get out of hand."²⁸⁹

According to the feedback received from some respondents, there are individuals in Māori organisations who choose to be inclusive with an open - participatory approach. People who embrace openness are unfazed by change and are always thinking about how to deal with the next issue.

In sharp contrast to the culture of resistance, the organisation's staff does not feel threatened by external rumblings, instead, they welcome the opportunity to address issues when they are proven to be reasonable and fair. Importantly, the staff is confident in their own skills and ability to respond appropriately to constructive and unwarranted criticism. Similarly, they do not flinch when unfairly treated or publicly criticised. Moreover, both tikanga Māori and legal conventions are usually well

²⁸⁹ The respondent is an employee of a tribal organisation.

delineated, and suitably applied in appropriate circumstances. As a culture of openness, it is inclusive.

“ Got to maintain a good system to communicate with whānau and hapū. But, you know, some people are gate-keeping – we need to consult with each other. ”²⁹⁰

Somewhat at variance to both the exclusive and inclusive organisational cultures, there are also individuals in organisations who are more often than not, non-committal about most things. A key feature is detected in staff members who generally hope that controversy and provocative issues will simply go away. Similar to the culture of resistance, tikanga Māori and legal processes and procedures are, more often than not, surrounded by confusion. However, in this case, tikanga and law are organised to be deliberately vague thereby ensuring that the instigators cannot be restricted for any reason. Respondents' comments would suggest that people are most likely to be drawn toward the approach when they are not confident about the motives of individual and collective stakeholders who chose to be disruptive rather than helpful. Perhaps more intriguing, there are concerns raised by respondents who believe various individuals and collectives are intent on destabilising 'the organisation' to replace those currently at the helm with 'their' leadership and organisational plan, and with little regard for the goals of the organisation.

²⁹⁰ Respondent (large iwi group) who wants more involvement of rangatahi and those living away from the tribal area.

Are we supporting mediocrity – losing the competitive edge -, we've lost the whole point of the hunt, to have a go at it, to question things, and its not good."²⁹¹

The approach can be described as a culture of least resistance because much of the time is spent avoiding harshness and attempting to remain neutral in an environment of ideological conflict, where people are agitated with the way things are being done. As a culture of least resistance, it is essentially non-committal. The features for these descriptions of Māori organisational culture are summarised in table 7.4.

Table 7.4 : The Cultures within Māori Organisations

Organisational Culture	Features
<i>Exclusive</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can be overly protective Resists association with 'outsiders' Sparingly invites independent advice
<i>Inclusive</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open to advice from within and outside the organisation Ensures access and participation to everyone who is entitled Always thinking about how to do things better
<i>Non-committal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Avoids conflict Attempts to remain neutral on all matters Always looking for the path of least resistance

²⁹¹ Respondent (tribal elder) who has been involved with Treaty claims for a long time.

The revolving nature of the cultures in Māori organisations is a critical point revealed in respondents' feedback. While respondents' expressed utopian ideas about the 'perfect organisation' there were differences when asked about what they were actually faced with. For most of them, having an organisation whose members are able to practice unity in vision, goals and aspirations, are empowering and receptive to change with 'awesome'²⁹² leadership and certainty of purpose for the 'people' rather than in spite of them, is yet to be achieved.

Nonetheless, if respondents' comments are used as a benchmark then the current generation of Māori involved in tribal and non-tribal Māori management roles are focused on achieving a better organisational response to Māori development goals and aspirations while knowing the journey will not be easy. One respondent summed it up this way, *"I said to my cousins don't get caught up in that. Look at what we've got to do yeah. Don't let them pass their fighting on to us, that's not where it's at. We need to hear other views even if they're not the same as ours."*²⁹³

Apparently, there is a political shift being experienced by those involved in the governance and management of Māori organisations. Whereas, legal entities established by Māori collectives were primarily focused on achieving social, cultural and economic outcomes for Māori, the Māori organisation is increasingly susceptible to political intervention from not only Government but more so Māori. Consequently,

²⁹² Emphasis taken from a respondent's comment.

²⁹³ A respondent who is wants to get things done at the local marae and with broader tribal issues.

political interference in the day to day affairs of Māori organisations may present risks, which eventually need to be managed.

Underneath the rhetoric of political expression is a basic human endeavour to control one's own destiny. Often perceived as ambition for power and control over others, the perception fails to capture the fact that it is the others that no longer want centralised control over their lives, and who expect to achieve a level of autonomy that makes sense to them.²⁹⁴ It is little wonder that most tribal organisations are faced with changing the way they do things.

The shift in organisational thinking amongst Māori is due in no small part to political movement at the local level, within Māori communities throughout the country, and probably supported by national and international trends. For example, with ethnic groups in some European countries seeking political autonomy, Commonwealth countries like Australia questioning the value of the monarchy and the coup d'état in Fiji, the political environment of Māori organisations is but another example of relationships that are being reconstituted around the world. The question for Māori as individual and collectives, no matter what their affiliations, is whether or not to knowingly participate with the tide of change being experienced by other nations.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter Four, p. 122.

Indeed, respondents highlighted the philosophical discord that has penetrated Māori society, the personality clashes, and the siege mentality adopted by some Māori organisations when continually confronted with people who believe they are being dispossessed rather than being welcomed to participate. For example, one respondent had this to say, *"yeah, there are those denouncing their nephews and their cousins who are (reference to a marginal group) and saying they're anti tribal, just a pack of layabouts and criminals. As far as I'm concerned, they shouldn't be allowed to come to marae meetings or participate in tribal things because they haven't made a commitment to being Māori."*²⁹⁵ However, the situation does seem to be rarely appreciated given that some respondents assumed that *"most people are too busy doing it and don't have time to think about such things... the criticism doesn't stop but you've got to get on with it, there's too much to be done and not enough people to do it."*²⁹⁶

The predicament further highlights why underneath the surface of the organisation there exist internal groups and individuals who network in ways that reflect the unstable nature of the organisation's internal and external relationships. Whether the people in the organisation favour an exclusive, inclusive, non-committal approach or a combination of all three, the situation is fundamentally about providing some degree

²⁹⁵ A respondent who is concerned with tribal relations who have not demonstrated any intention to get involved but expect to have a say about what is going on. A number of interviewees comment this way.

²⁹⁶ This respondent is an employee of a tribal organisation that is working on post-settlement issues.

of internal certainty to fulfil the organisation's role and functions in a dynamic environment.

The cultures of Māori organisations are indicative of expectations, some reasonable others not so, to perform with openness, transparency and accountability. Yet, the desire is viewed by most respondents who are employed by a Māori organisation as a threat that is continually repackaged and sent in ways that often leave the recipients unwilling to examine the contents. Although limited to the respondents and their comments, the descriptions of the exclusive, inclusive and non-committal cultures are nonetheless reflections of individual and group responses to contemporary circumstances. Consequently, the descriptions are relative to the conditions faced over time by the organisations' principals and staff.

Moreover, the examples in table 7.5 are representative but certainly not comprehensive accounts of the interactions and the quality of relationships experienced by respondents with others such as the Government, Māori, the private sector and non-government organisations (NGOs). By explanation, the changing patterns of relationships between the Crown and Māori, and likewise with other groups such as the private sector and non-government organisations, is not always about competition. Nonetheless, one reason for interaction between the parties is grounded in competing interests.

If mutual interests and benefits are identified then relationships may be forged as illustrated in table 7.5. Notwithstanding the value of agreements, respondents' feedback does suggest that 'uncertainty' may not be completely removed. Instead, their comments infer that agreements with government and the public sector are about creating a 'temporal state'; a kind of 'holding pattern' in order to maintain the vision of Māori independence.

*"We should not cede our self-determination to others for any reason... even though we have deals with others we should do it ourselves... groups like (name) are right to push it and protect our rangatiratanga no matter what."*²⁹⁷

By implication, present-day agreements may not be the ends but the means to achieve tribal/Māori autonomy. Underlying respondents' comments is an 'unwillingness' to 'lay down' (to acquiesce) nevertheless, interactions with the Crown, private sector and non-government organisations are treated as opportunities to progress Māori development goals and aspirations.

"Decisions are being made without the people knowing what is being discussed (with the government and local bodies)...no wonder the rangatahi get @#\$ with the process and representatives. Its not good... we should focus on people development, and self-

²⁹⁷ Respondent who is dissatisfied with the activities of the Crown, local and regional bodies and tribal authorities (legal).

*esteem, but earn it not expect it... that's being independent... you do it, don't wait for it to be given... do for yourself.*²⁹⁸

Table 7.5 : Examples of interaction between Māori Organisations and others

External Cultural Imperative	Confrontation	Mutual Benefits
<i>Government</i>	Ownership of Conservation Estates and National Parks Representation and Mandate	Treaty Settlements Māori Delivery Systems for Health, Education and Social Welfare
<i>Māori</i>	Pre-settlement fisheries allocation Overlapping claims Representation and Mandate	Opposition to the Crown Kohanga Reo Māori Sports Awards
<i>Private Sector</i>	Tourism Opportunities Producer Boards Commercial Fisheries	Joint Ventures eg. Fisheries Scholarships Employment and Training
<i>NGOs</i>	Recreational fisheries Māori forestry activities Management of waterways	Hikoi of Hope Causes against injustice Constitution of the Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand

Building Capacity to Respond

There were four capacity themes revealed by respondents' comments: Māori identity, organisational reform, wealth maximisation and inclusion. Each theme was constructed from respondents' views about the environment of the organisation. The

²⁹⁸ Respondent is a kaumatua from a large iwi.

issues raised by them about development capacity probed the structural elements, relationships and processes of their respective organisations. While development capacity and goals were considered manageable, respondents were unsure about their ability to contend with the variable characteristics of the organisation's environment.

Respondents argued that the location of affiliates, socio-economic status, history, and other external forces couldn't be ignored. In their opinion, such variables affect the organisation's purpose therefore, it is important to account for them. Respondents do not necessarily desire absolute control and authority but they do want local autonomy (at hapū level for some, and whānau for others) and beneficial relationships with better communication between Māori and Māori, and Māori and others. Furthermore, they want to be Māori in ways that make sense to them and improve their social and economic position.

Respondents believe that centralising the trusteeship and management of all tribal lands should not disconnect ancestral obligations to the land. Some respondents argued that all tribal land should be returned to hapū while others reasoned for certain lands and other physical resources to be held in trust by a suitable organisation on behalf of all tribal members. While there may appear to be no clear agreement about who should be responsible for managing, if not achieving various development goals and objectives, there is a clear message from all stakeholders who expect to be involved in the decision-making process and implementation. The demand is

indicative of comments by respondents who argued that a lack of transparency over time has resulted in mistrust even though it may be unfounded.

For example, one respondent said, *"like heaps of people actually wanted to participate in the talks and I know for a fact that's really quite unrealistic. You can't just bowl down there.... it just doesn't work like that. I mean they were unhappy 'cause they didn't know what was going on behind closed doors."*²⁹⁹

The stakeholders of positive Māori development can be described as either individuals and groups who make demands and anticipate benefits from the organisation, or those who contribute and seek to enhance the organisation's purpose. Respondents' comments would suggest that Māori-Crown, Māori-Māori, individual-collective, and hapū-iwi dynamics form the basis of contemporary stakeholder relationships, at least for tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations. Certainly, all interest groups and individuals may expect a level of interaction (consultation, mediation, negotiation, and information) that maintains good communication and suitable relationships.

One respondent described the issue in this way, *"they would still have an affinity...you know it's like the invisible umbilical cord that people talk about, that would be there and never cut off, to ensure there's a flow of communication - it might just be a panui, might just be a letter every now and then or an advertisement in every*

²⁹⁹ Respondent who is a hapū representative to the group charged with managing a tribal claim.

paper throughout Aotearoa."³⁰⁰ But, perhaps the way forward is to identify the interests of the various stakeholders before deciding how best to proceed. A process tool for identifying stakeholder interests is presented in table 7.6. The tool can be used for the following purposes; (i) to compare stakeholders' interests, (ii) to analyse the compatibility and interconnectedness of stakeholder contributions to each goal, (iii) to determine what level and kind of participation should be encouraged from each stakeholder.

Table 7.6 : Māori Development Stakeholders

Development Goals	whānau	hapū	iwi	Māori	Crown
<i>Affirm the Māori Identity</i>					
<i>Protect the environment for future generations</i>					
<i>Maximise wealth (in broadest sense)</i>					
<i>Confirm local autonomy</i>					
<i>Build beneficial relationships</i>					

³⁰⁰ Respondent who is involved with social programmes on behalf of a tribal organisation.

Tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations have obligations and responsibilities that can be accorded tikanga Māori and legal status. Ultimately, context and circumstances, and perhaps a dose of common sense will influence the choice of suitable conventions. If such an approach were adopted then there can be little doubt that Māori organisations should be responsive to the variable conditions that all Māori are faced with. Therefore, the goals of positive Māori development may best be served by a variety of Māori organisations whose officials and wider membership engender a culture of access and participation. These organisation types would (i) build confidence in the organisation's contribution to the wellbeing of people, (ii) protect and enhance the communal estate, and (iii) strengthen collective ethics, values, and principles.

By definition, tribal organisations would be expected to operate within a tribal framework, which is not restrictive and recognises the complexities and opportunities that are presented at local, national and international levels. It would seem reasonable to expect tribal Māori to organise and operate as a tribe. Likewise, one would expect a tikanga based approach to the management and governance of the tribal estate though legal conventions may be applied in a manner that complements tribal tikanga rather than dismisses it. A tribal organisation may principally operate within tribal boundaries however, it is just as conceivable for outreach satellites to be organised throughout the country to maintain good contact and service all tribal members.

In comparison, non-tribal Māori organisations would be expected to operate within a Māori paradigm, which does not reject the opportunity to incorporate tikanga into management and governance processes and systems. The assets held by the organisation would be used to accomplish shared goals and aspirations, and to initiate positive programmes and projects for Māori communities. Importantly, there are good reasons, including flexibility and coverage, for tribal groups to form alliances with non-tribal Māori organisations, which reach out to tribal members who live outside the tribal area.

For those who possess a reasonably secure Māori identity, with access to tribal and wider Māori institutions and resources, there are likely to be few barriers, if any, to participation in tribal and wider Māori affairs. When the Māori identity is not so secure then access and participation with non-tribal Māori organisations may prove to be less daunting than tribal organisations, which suggests that initiating contact should not be left solely with individual or whānau Māori. According to one respondent, *“I think its a two way street but the people who feel they don't know where they belong, are least able to make a connection, they're the least educated but they're not dummies.”*³⁰¹

It would seem reasonable to suggest that both tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations can make a significant contribution by working collaboratively to ensure

³⁰¹ This respondent works alongside Māori (adult students) who participate infrequently with their marae.

all Māori are able to secure access and increase participation with their tribal groups and preferred Māori organisations. One way to achieve this could be to adopt an “aggressive outreach” programme with suitable systems and processes that could be accessed by all Māori and coordinated by Māori organisations throughout the country.

With Koro Wetere, Danny Te Kanawa³⁰² of Ngati Maniapoto presented such a proposition at meetings around the country. The concept involved the establishment of a Māori registration database with both national and regional systems. It was premised on the assumption that Māori are disadvantaged by not having Māori-controlled systems to address access and participation issues. According to Te Kanawa, innovative Māori systems which reduce, if not eliminate, the potential for Māori to be locked out of tribal and wider Māori society should be founded on the philosophy and principles of inclusion, and acknowledge individual and collective entitlements and responsibilities. The concept relied on access to the Māori electoral roll even though a reasonably large number of Māori have elected to be recorded on the general roll. Clearly, if all Māori are the target groups then reaching Māori whom are ‘hard to reach’ is fundamental to fulfilling positive Māori development goals.

Overall, respondents spoke about the need for Māori organisations to be recognised by others in legal and tikanga terms, and the need to practice good leadership. Recognition in legal terms was thought to be limiting and non-responsive to Māori

³⁰² Discussion with Danny Te Kanawa, Ngati Maniapoto held in Hamilton on the 26 March 1998.

dynamics. According to respondents, it is not enough to obtain a legal status without being sanctioned by tikanga processes and decision-making. On the other hand, when authority is authenticated by tikanga and then provided with legal confirmation, recognition within the tribe and by others, including the Crown, private sector and non-governmental organisations is firmly grounded. Moreover, respondents noted that tribal rather than non-tribal Māori organisations were more likely to experience this.

In summary, respondents argued that various Māori organisations need different kinds of capacity to operate successfully. When development goals and the variable characteristics of the organisation's environment are known then the kind and level of development capacity that are needed in order to respond, can be identified. Diagram 7a presents a matrix, in the form of a triad, to show the interconnectedness between organisational capacity, development goals and the variable characteristics (geography, demography, history, asset base, adaptability etc.), of the organisation's environment. The model shows that as the range of development goals increases so the capacity to respond and, similarly, the variable characteristics are more likely to be altered. In other words, the capacity requirements (table 7.7) are located in relation to variations in the organisational environment and development goals. While the beginnings of an analytical model are revealed further investigation would be required for the model to be useful beyond a contextual marker.

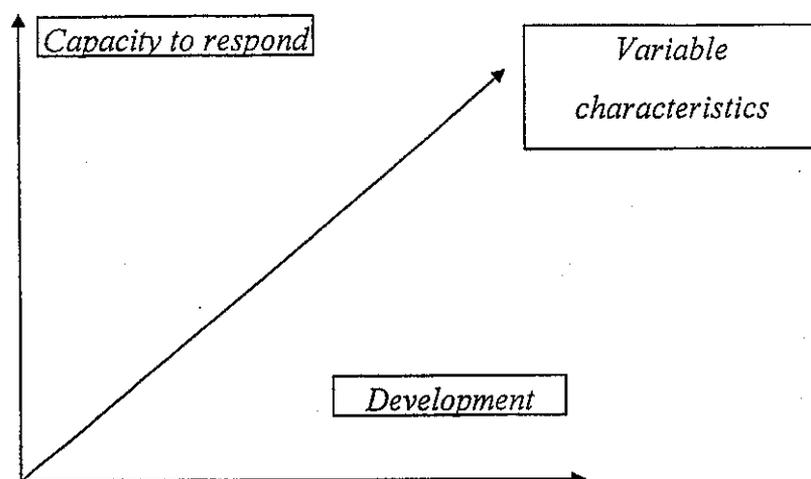


Diagram 7a : Relational Model - Development Capacity

For Māori organisations, there are capacity features that are generic to all organisations.³⁰³ However, there are also capacity requirements that are particular to Māori organisations. Table 7.7 presents an overview of the capacity features that were identified by respondents as being particular to Māori organisations. The table summarises the main points raised by respondents about the development capacity according to four main themes. Importantly, the table does not claim to be representative of all Māori organisations but it is indicative of the capacity features identified by the respondents. This perspective is summed up by one respondent who said, *“we need readiness to respond to change without giving away the reason for our being”*³⁰⁴

³⁰³ For further comment see T. Loomis, S. Morrison, and T. Nicholas, (1998), *Capacity Building for Self-Determined Māori Economic Development*, Working Paper No. 2/98, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

³⁰⁴ Respondent is the manager of a tribal organisation for a small iwi group.

Table 7.7 : Capacity Requirements for Māori Organisations

Capacity Themes	Māori	Iwi	Hapū	Whānau
<i>Māori Identity - the capacity to:</i>				
access the tribal estate		√	√	√
affirm whakapapa connections		√	√	√
participate in tribal affairs		√	√	√
secure self-identity as Māori	√			√
<i>Wealth Maximisation - the capacity to:</i>				
deliver social and economic programmes	√	√	√	
protect and enhance the tribal estate		√	√	√
manage the communal asset base	√	√	√	
distribute benefits	√	√	√	
access the world economy	√	√	√	√
<i>Inclusiveness - the capacity to:</i>				
participate in tribal democracy	√	√	√	√
participate with preferred organisations	√	√	√	√
support local autonomy	√	√	√	√
participate in wider society	√	√	√	√
<i>Organisational Reform - the capacity to:</i>				
fulfil tribal obligations		√	√	√
pass on tribal knowledge and skills			√	√
reconstruct tribal institutions		√	√	
build positive relationships	√	√	√	√
manage tikanga and legal processes	√	√	√	√
operate as a tribe		√	√	
be recognised by others	√	√	√	√
practise good leadership	√	√	√	√

Summary

Māori organisations operate in an environment where some issues of organisational culture, development capacity and management practice are particular to them. Whilst there exists similarities to other organisations, there are variations which confirm the need for a Māori centred approach to development. Furthermore, best practice statements can be constructed to address the issues that are specific to Māori organisations, whether they are tribal or non-tribal.

If the deconstruction of colonial influence and the construction of Māori organisation is the means for advancing the goals and aspirations of Māori people, then organisational culture, development capacity and management practice need to be translated to give sense and explanatory power to the world view of Māori people and the organisations they choose to create. A key observation is the certain interaction between tikanga Māori and legal processes, which can produce mutual benefits or result in confrontation. Consequently, how tikanga Māori and legal conventions are managed will significantly influence the kind of progress made by Māori organisations.

The contemporary features of Māori organisations confirm the existence of cultural heterogeneity - differences in reasoning and action, - and recognise how a 'them and us' logic fails to realise that Māori people are both tribal and urban, individual and collective, not forgetting iwi and hapū. In contrast, the logic associated with inclusion explains why Māori people may choose to associate with a variety of Māori

communities rather than confine themselves to one community of interest. All things being equal, the situation is indicative of individual Māori who are able to choose whether or not to participate with tribal groups, non-tribal Māori collectives or both.

With the demands of various Māori stakeholders to access and participate with tribal and other Māori organisations, greater transparency and accountability continue to change the way Māori organisations operate. Consequently, both tribal and non-tribal Māori organisations are expected to improve their responsiveness by clarifying development expectations of stakeholders by translating reasonable expectations into development goals, by understanding the variable characteristics that exist in the organisation's environment, and by identifying not only capacity requirements but how to achieve them.

Upon reflection, two principles have emerged from respondents' feedback. First, respondents' comments highlighted that individual and collective Māori jealously guard the principle of choice³⁰⁵. The power of choice has meant Māori people are no longer prepared to just accept decisions or direction. Today, all things are presumed to be contestable and so Māori are more questioning and openly competitive about what is important to them personally, to their whānau and to their wider community of interest.

³⁰⁵ This is highlighted in Chapter Six, pp. 228-229.

Any form of Māori organisational leadership that expects consent without rigorous scrutiny, good intentions or not, is perceived as lacking in accountability and transparency though what is really meant by those who espouse the view is not always explicit. There is a difference between the expectations of those who demand things and those who are responsible for delivery.

Yet, both groups of stakeholders represent two sides of the same coin. More and more, as various respondents commented, the unwillingness of Māori people to appreciate another point of view was evident. It becomes a concern when it negatively impacts on the relationships between Māori and Crown, but perhaps more so between Māori and Māori. Second, the principle of commitment³⁰⁶ was raised by a number of respondents who talked about what they do rather than what others are doing. In these examples, comments about personal responsibility, tribal obligations and unified Māori self-determination were common themes. What is clearly evident, within the parameters of this study, is the shifting ground phenomenon that Māori people are instigating as they disclose more heterogenous behaviours. Indeed, the situation is not unfavourable but it certainly has not settled down nor have contemporary Māori forums demonstrated the capacity to harness all the intellectual and emotional energy that is being released. Notwithstanding the dynamics, the situation can be viewed as a phase of Māori development that will eventually complete its cycle.

³⁰⁶ This is highlighted in Chapter Six, pp. 229-230.

Although not always explicit in respondents' statements, there is a background resonance calling for a better understanding of the worldviews shared by Māori people. The chant may differ in pitch and content from one discipline to another, whether it is education, health, science or art, but the purpose is fundamentally the same. Māori are involved in an intellectual voyage, as much as an emotive one, to broaden the conceptual constructs and reference points for positive Māori development in all fields, and clearly in organisational theory and practice. Perhaps, a very small step but certainly movement forward, the analysis and comments presented here contribute to this endeavour.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

This study is primarily about Māori organisations entrusted with Māori cultural, social and economic advancement. It does not prescribe a universal model for Māori organisation or Māori development. Instead, it emphasises the need for multiple approaches capable of responding to the organisational and developmental issues challenging Māori people. Particular attention is given to the modern contexts within which Māori development is promoted. By drawing on international perspectives of development theory and practice, the influence of various approaches upon 'Third World' countries, 'under-developed' nations and indigenous peoples are appraised. With insights principally gained from international experience about development and its application generally, the circumstances that surround Māori development and the parallels between international and New Zealand development models are examined. In addition, alternative development ideas and practices are explored because they represent examples of counter and complementary arguments about development theory and practice.

This line of inquiry is based on the premise that Māori people share commonalities with other ethnic groups whose members face similar issues though the connections may only exist at the level of philosophy and core principles. To facilitate the study, a multi-disciplinary approach that reflects the recognition of the interconnectedness between all living things is adopted. While the framework is generally associated with ecological, environmental and indigenous peoples' research communities, the

influence of scientific observation and deduction in nuclear physics, biology and other related disciplines is not discounted. On the contrary, it is argued that alternative development ideas and practices may prove to be useful to Māori and the communities of interest with which they choose to be associated. The dominant focus is on the structural adjustment period (ie post 1984) and two key aspects are highlighted: the disparities between Māori and non-Māori on the one hand, and Māori development approaches (largely directed by external forces though with Māori participation) on the other. While the international economy and global consciousness cannot be excluded completely, nor is it necessarily desirable to do so, what has been missing from the debate (at least in the New Zealand context) is a Māori centred approach to development that synthesises the key aspects of historical lessons and the characteristics of Māori endeavour.

Certainly, one of the more significant features is the fluctuating relationship between Māori, the Crown and third parties. Self-reflection by Māori upon the dynamics between hapū and iwi, individual and collective, tribal and non-tribal, and Māori and the state to a lesser extent, will inevitably lead to these relationships being reconstituted.³⁰⁷ More important, Māori organisations are being challenged and are challenging themselves to promote relationships that will further protect and enhance what they hold in trust for future generations.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ S. Cornell and J. Kalt (see the introduction of this thesis, p.14) forcefully argue this point from the Native American context. In their view, this is about "nation-building".

³⁰⁸ See Introduction, pp.5-12. There are opportunities to learn from international experience, particularly amongst indigenous peoples by studying the trial and error of others.

Over the next ten years, the primary debates will, not so much, be about relationships with the Crown but about relationships which Māori communities and their organisations will develop with each other. As competition and competence increase, and opportunities no longer rest solely on tribal collective strength then the interplay between Māori organisations and Māori stakeholders will initiate new alliances. Consequently, it may be unwise to become preoccupied with organisational hierarchies in a western sense and lose the cultural edge to achieve what is desired.

This study is grounded in the voices of Māori organisations, recorded by observation and discussion with a wide range of respondents.³⁰⁹ With the assistance of multiple perspectives, including the body of knowledge derived from Māori values, philosophies and conventions, the implications of respondents' feedback and the search for Māori development strategies are considered. For example, whereas individualism is fundamental to neo-liberalism, collectivism is closely associated with tribalism and kaupapa Māori initiatives. It incites a transformation of relationships between Māori at local, national and international levels.

³⁰⁹ The approach can be perceived as a challenge to recapture terms, meanings and practices from the state and other parties that wish to own and control the meaning and practice of the Māori development context. However, there is always the potential to unwittingly replicate the 'power' that is not desired. This is discussed in Chapter Three, p. 94. Māori may claim to behave in different ways to the coloniser, and this may be observable, but this may not be so in all cases.

Two of the key resources for advancing this are whanaungatanga – working together through tribal and wider Māori institutions - and manaakitanga – a responsibility to care for each other. Their value is maximised with the application of customary practice and the legitimisation of Māori institutions in all spheres of Māori endeavour. In other words, the legitimacy of Māori institutions depends on the level of compatibility with the values and culture of the people they represent.³¹⁰

Departures from collectivism may unduly destabilise the values, philosophies and practices of Māori organisations and their relevance to Māori peoples who behave collectively. On the other hand, individualism may not be so much repressed but reliant on the contribution made to the common goals and aspirations of the particular Māori community of interest. What is important here is the contribution that Māori perspectives and the collectivities within which they are nurtured may offer to development and organisational options for Māori, and how these contributions can be applied beyond the marae.

Another example reflects two issues that were uncovered during the data collection – the need to counteract the Māori politics associated with development and organisational issues, and the need to ensure the privacy of contributors. Somewhat noticeable, knowledge and application of whakapapa (genealogical relationships) and wider tribal connections do enhance access to tribal bodies of knowledge.

³¹⁰ See Introduction, pp.5-12. Several writers have highlighted the importance of culture to development theory and practice. See also Chapter Five, pp. 176-182.

Consequently, customary conventions, tikanga, are likely to guide research behaviour just as much as academic protocol.

Both tikanga and academic conventions are important however, knowing when and how to apply them is the way forward.³¹¹ With Māori communities, the researcher is expected to ensure that respondent feedback is not used in a way that may disclose matters or circumstances that would otherwise interfere with the relationships of respondents. Nevertheless, this is usually unsaid and commented on after the fact. It may in principle be similar to academic protocol, however it is derived from tikanga logic.³¹² It is expressed in tribal relationships that are often guarded though best understood by revealing the meaning behind respondents' comments. In practice, it means the researcher should not present information in ways that knowingly disrupt the basis of respondents' relationships. But the researcher should take account of respondents' views against the broader circumstances surrounding the issues and trends that are raised. It is an acknowledgement that research with Māori communities involves consideration of Māori conventions as much as the protocols of Western academia. As a result, a Māori centred approach to development is proposed. An important feature is the translation of alternative ideas and practices of development, which are relevant to Māori. Moreover, organisational theory and practice, and contemporary development is given explanatory power in ways that reflect Māori experiences and aspirations.

³¹¹ See the Introduction, p.5.

³¹² See Chapter Five, p. 182.

This thesis reaches five major conclusions. First, Māori development requires an organisational infrastructure that is capable of converting aspirations and plans into realities. It is an obvious conclusion but one which needs to be emphasised, given the findings in this thesis which cast some doubt on current organisational capacities. Moreover this conclusion is premised on the assumption that positive Māori development is incompatible with dependency on the State or on other major interest groups, and as a consequence Māori themselves must be able to provide the necessary structures and expertise.

That is not the same as going it alone or working in opposition to others. Indeed the proposed framework cautiously acknowledges the influence of international activity and national relations, even though the historical record is somewhat chequered. The key is to be found in a combination of Māori control and Māori expertise. Without either, the prospects of positive Māori development will not be realised. Further, a Māori organisation which does not accord with the values and beliefs of modern Māori society, and use them to underpin the company's philosophy, has the potential to do a disservice in so far as it might well achieve economic or social gains but in the process compromise a Māori identity.

The second conclusion is that the discourse of philosophical homogeneity being offered to Māori communities is losing its appeal amongst Māori who do not see themselves as clones of each other. Consequently, heterogeneity is a reality for all Māori who though sharing historical circumstances have wide-ranging views about

what to do about them. For example, tribal organisations may need to be sensitive to organisations of government, non-Māori and non-tribal Māori organisations even though such interaction has not always been perceived as helpful in recent years.

Given the nature of Māori society in modern times, organisational heterogeneity is a relevant option for addressing the circumstances of Māori individuals and groups who choose to organise themselves according to their circumstances. Because structures are treated as a means to an end, not an end unto themselves, it is useful to understand what the ends are before deciding what kind of organisation will be required.

As development occurs at all levels, it is appropriate to pursue social, cultural, economic and political goals by identifying what is relevant at each level. Underlying this proposition is the basic assumption that development can be applied in different ways at different levels for different reasons though sometimes shared, if not in practice, then certainly in principle.

A third conclusion from this thesis is that the goals of Māori development are more important than the organisational structures that drive them. A recurring theme throughout the thesis has been the excessive focus by Māori organisations on structures at the expense of realising their objectives. Structures should be the servant of aim. Too much energy and too much dissent hinge on the search for structures that say more about the past than the future. It is unhelpful to suppose that the structural arrangements that guided Māori in the centuries past will provide the best models for

today and tomorrow. As goals change, so structures must move with them. The identification of key goals is likely to be a more useful pursuit than the slavish commitment to structures that are a decade, or a generation, or a century, out of date. It does not matter whether the organisation is tribal or non-tribal, there must be a capacity for change while at the same time an ability to build an organisation on defined values in order to achieve future oriented goals. Different levels of organisation are required for advancing different development goals and aspirations. Māori collectives must decide what kinds of organisations are needed to achieve the kind of advancement and participation desired at local, national and international levels. There will not be one model that fits all.

Organisations should be treated as vehicles to enable Māori to journey from one point in time and space to another. While the journey may involve numerous stages and a variety of pathways, self-determination is currently the most talked about vehicle for the advancement of Māori aspirations. Māori must engage in organisational reform at local and national levels. Current legislative and tribal specific options may be useful, however they should not restrict Māori from constructing organisational arrangements that meet Māori standards by design. Consequently, Māori may seek legislative changes to legitimate, at least in law, the kind of organisational arrangements that can safely transport a Māori worldview beyond the marae. Somewhat akin to the journey undertaken by the waka migration, the ultimate intention is to ensure that development does not compromise those fundamental values and practices which lie at the heart of being Māori – nor for that matter be blinded by them.

The fourth conclusion is about relationships. It follows from the earlier conclusions that there is no single organisation or body that can achieve the many goals of positive Māori development. Many debates centre on which group has the greater right to exercise a particular role and often there are assumptions of a right one and a wrong one. Māori society is too complex to be captured by such narrow positions. In fact, it is in the relationships between groups that the dynamic nature of contemporary Māori can be felt.

Focusing on the nature and value of relationships, rather than structures, offers greater potential for useful alliances, cooperative ventures and sharing of scarce resources. Consequently, Māori organisations need to demonstrate their capability to function in a legal context while maintaining shared Māori values and principles, including the much-revered principle of whakawhanungatanga – the establishment of common bonds and alliances.

A fifth conclusion is linked to the need for Māori organisations to be able to reflect and respond to a Māori identity. Responding to the Māori identity is a fundamental strategy for Māori. With its complexities and implications for access and participation, the Māori identity needs to be better understood in modern day contexts. It is no longer reasonable to isolate the collective tribal identity or the individual Māori identity. A reality check would suggest that being tribal and non-tribal represents a duality which touches all Māori notwithstanding the exclusive image ascribed to tribalism by some commentators. Whakapapa is a pre-requisite for tribal

inclusion but participation in wider society does not require such credentials. For this reason, the complexities of Māori identity are central to Māori development goals and objectives especially when interaction extends beyond tribal parameters. As Māori development is predicated on the assumption that Māori people are principally involved then the diverse nature of the Māori identity in contemporary circumstances is inextricably connected to all the dimensions that encapsulate what being Māori means.

In Chapter Four a Māori development framework was proposed. By way of a sixth conclusion it is reformulated here. Māori development is best conceptualised as a matrix of variables that are concerned with the translation of Māori ideals into Māori realities. Due regard for the broader parameters of Māori development is necessary while sustaining core values, principles and processes that make sense to Māori communities. In other words, the patterns of historical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political relationships, which are formed within a myriad of Māori experiences, will significantly influence the achievement of positive Māori development goals and aspirations.

Māori development need not be confined to either the past or the present. Indeed, Māori must be to the fore in both development planning and implementation. The Crown too will be expected by Māori to fulfil its Treaty obligations, however the Treaty of Waitangi is not likely to be the only mechanism for Māori-Pākehā relations in the future. In any event, while the Treaty is important it provides but one set of

parameters within which Māori development can take place. Māori development extends beyond the marae gate. Local and national relationships will be nurtured but they will certainly be different from what is currently known. International exchanges for various reasons will become natural extensions of historical endeavours by Māori to access and participate with the world.

Moreover, Māori heterogeneity will evolve approaches to Māori development that reflect the complexities of modern day Māori society. In other words, notwithstanding the kind of alliances that will be formed with external groups at local, national and international levels, a key indicator of positive Māori development will be the quality of relationships between Māori and Māori.

A Final Comment

*Purutia te whakaaro, manaakitia te tangata*³¹³

When this advice was given, the words were offered to affirm a cultural principle. The people were advised to keep their thoughts to themselves and be hospitable to others. However, there is another level of thought provoked by these words. An uncle explained that what is important should be looked after but there is also a need to share with others the knowledge and skills that have been created. To elaborate, he

³¹³ Advice given by a kaumatua from Whanganui, New Zealand.

presented an example of tribal knowledge that should not be passed on randomly. Others may hear about it on many occasions but only those who can uphold its purpose and contribute responsibly to the collective should share the depth of understanding.

During a visit to America, I was fortunate to discuss the same advice with a shoeshine stand operator. Having observed him at work, I decided to have my boots cleaned. With eloquence, he captivated both customers and onlookers, he demonstrated how to look after people and he offered his services without giving away his trade. In his own words, "my trade is not for sale but my services certainly are." I found him particularly lucid about his philosophy of life and the thinking tools given to him by his father and grandfather before him. Notably, it is his intention to transfer the trade 'secrets' to his children.

In both cases, participation with others is welcomed within an environment of inclusion. However, there is a philosophical space - an exclusive zone, where access and participation is by selection. Understanding this means that 'organisation' is about managing the interface between the zones.

Ko te taha katau ki a koe,
Ko te taha maui ki a ia,
*Ko te awarua waiho ki a au*³¹⁴

During a visit to Whanganui in the nineteenth century, Te Kooti Rikirangi uttered the original words that have been adapted here. He referred to the inter-relationship between his faith and the other religious groups that served the tribal communities along the Whanganui River. In essence, he acknowledged the existence of the others while seeking a humble presence amongst the Whanganui people. Indeed, the inter-relationship between these religious groups is one of co-existence and shared service to Whanganui marae and peoples. Today, tangihanga (tribal funerals) often involve the clergy from various denominations. While others are included in the proceedings, the home people, according to their traditions and customs guide the process.

This kind of interaction is only possible when there is an inclusive zone, a space and time for everyone to participate in some way. Māori development is not the prerogative of any single group or organisation, and in that sense there is an inclusion zone within which tribes, urban collectives, hapū and national Māori organisations can come together. At the same time each organisation has its own exclusion zone; often masked or perhaps only inferred. The aim should not be to credit the one, and discredit the other. More important is the need to examine the relationships between

³¹⁴ Adapted from a statement made on a marae in Whanganui, New Zealand.

the many organisations committed to Māori development, to identify the zones of inclusion, and to be more explicit about zones of exclusion.

This thesis does not reject structuralism but it does present arguments to balance the pragmatism and the fundamentalism that guide Māori organisational ideas and practices. There is no compelling reason to completely reject one or the other, as both are essentially responses to the same issues though from different perspectives. What is perhaps unsettling is the strength of competition and the dynamics of cooperation between individuals, tribal groups or even tribal and non-tribal Māori. Māori are engaged in the discourses of deconstruction and reconstruction as both recipient and instigator of Māori organisational reform.

The situation is a natural response to adaptation, however a cautionary note is voiced by acts of protectionism and exclusiveness to ensure the very essence of being Māori is sustained. Resolution may not be immediately at hand but the determination to be Māori, to organise as Māori, and to develop as Māori remains an underlying unifying force.

*Taea te tangata ki te waewae tātahi awanui
i runga i te mārama o te takotoranga toka³¹⁵*

³¹⁵ A Whanganui statement about being able to traverse the most difficult of issues when you are aware of the pathways to resolve them.

Appendix One : Questionnaire Survey

With the support of work colleagues, the survey questionnaire was administered. Twenty-eight claimant groups agreed to participate with the understanding that no references would be made to them directly. Consequently, the research results in Chapter Six represent the sum total of the responses. Where direct quotes have been used, the respondents are not named and any references to location, people or organisations have been removed. Because I am aware that the personalisation of issues and comments is a possibility, every effort has been made to depersonalise the discourse and focus on the strength of statements in the context of the thesis. As the researcher, I accept full responsibility for this approach.

Notwithstanding the general details, a compilation of the questions is presented here:

Section One: General Overview

1. Draw the organisation structure and describe it.
2. What type of structure is it ? (Trust Board, Incorporated Society, Company, Charitable Trust, Marae Reservation Trust, Maori Land Trust, Maori Incorporation, Whanau, Hapu, Runanga...)
3. How many members does the claimant represent ?
4. What is the mandate process of the group ?
5. How successful has the mandate process been ?
6. What assets does the claimant group manage ?
7. How is tikanga and legal matters managed ?
8. How does the group manage assets ?
9. What is the group's main source of funding ?

Section Two: Reason(s) for establishing the organisation

1. What influenced your choice of organisation ?
2. How did you make your decision ?
3. Describe any problems ?
4. How did the organisation overcome difficulties ?
5. What do you believe have been key decisions and actions ?
6. What outcomes were achieved ?

Section Three: Management Structure

1. Describe the management structure ?
2. How often do you meet ?
3. At what level of management are various decisions made ? (eg, strategic, financial etc.)
4. Describe how you believe the structure actually works ?

Section Four: Organisational Goals/Objectives

1. How was the constitution, charter, trust document or memorandum of association developed ?
2. What was the organisation set up to do ?
3. What are the organisation's goals ?
4. What do individual Maori, whanau, hapu and iwi expect of the organisation ?

Section Five: Treaty Claims Process

1. What is the process ?
2. What do you know about the government agencies involved ?
3. Are you confident with the process ?
4. Do you rely on consultants ?
5. How does the group interact with local and central government ?

Section Six: Management Capability

1. Do you have what is needed to manage the claim ?
2. If not, what is required ?
3. What do you currently have ?

Section Seven: Overview

1. Has the organisation achieved what is expected by members ?
2. What has worked and why ?
3. What areas have been difficult ?
4. What factors have contributed to successful outcomes ?
5. What factors have contributed to unsuccessful outcomes ?
6. What would you want to do better ?
7. What changes would you make ?

Appendix Two: Interview Schedule

The schedule was used for indepth (one to one) interviews and focus group interviews. It provided a guide rather than a prescriptive set of questions to be asked. In all cases, the interviewee latched on to a line of questioning that favoured personal interest and personal background in certain issues and other related matters. Over ninety interviewees participated. For similar reasons to the questionnaire survey, the interviews were conducted with the understanding that any references to location, people or organisations would be removed. Nevertheless, a few of the interviewees were happy to contribute and have their comments noted. Based on relevance, a few references in Chapter Seven are included with direct acknowledgements to the respondents. As the researcher, I accept full responsibility for this approach.

Governance and Management Interviewees

1. What does Maori development mean to your organisation ?
2. What are the differences between your organisation and others around you ?
3. How do you respond to the variety of interest groups ?
4. How do you manage tikanga and legal processes ?
5. What do you expect of the organisation's leadership ?
6. How do you resolve disagreements about mandate and representation ?
7. Why was the organisation set up ?
8. Who are the beneficiaries ?
9. What do they expect ?
10. What are the unreasonable expectations ?
11. How does the organisation assist marae, hapu, whanau to achieve their goals ?
12. How do you know the organisation has done a good job ?

Beneficiaries, interest groups, other stakeholders

1. What are your needs and aspirations ?
2. What do you expect from the organisations you are associated with ?
3. How do you access and participate with them ?
4. What are the problems ?
5. What are they doing well ?
6. What processes and staff behaviours are helpful ? What isn't ?
7. What do think about whanau, marae, hapu, iwi and urban Maori development ?
8. Who should look after the resources ?
9. What importance do you give to tikanga and legal processes ?

Glossary

ahi kaa	fires of occupation
hapū	sub tribe
hui	meeting or gathering
iwi	tribe
kaitiaki	guardian
kaumātua	elder, male or female
kohanga reo	language nest
mana	authority, power, prestige
mana whenua	authority over land
mana moana	authority over coastline and deep sea areas
mātatoru ō te tāngata	population census
Māori	person of the Māori race of New Zealand; and includes a descendant of any such person
marae	courtyard in front of meeting house
mātua	parent
non-tribal	not of a tribe but still of a Māori collective
non-Māori	not of the Māori race, or not Māori
rūnanga	council
tāngata whenua	indigenous peoples of New Zealand
tangihanga	funeral
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World
Te Ao Pākeha	The European World (non-Māori)
tiaki	care for, help
tikanga	customary values and practices
tino rangatiratanga	full authority
tribal	of a tribe
tupuna	ancestor
whakapapa	genealogy
whakawhanaungatanga	networks, relationships
whānau	family (extended)
whanaunga	person related by blood
whāngai	person adopted in accordance with tikanga

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