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Te Paewai o te Rangi

A Framework for Measuring Iwi Outcomes

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James Tautari Hudson

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He Poroporoaki

E mihi ana ki a rātou

Kua ngaro i te tirohanga tangata.

Ki taku kuia, ki a Te Kani Cecilia Kingi,

Te whakaruruhau o te whānau.

Ki taku matua, ki a James Robert Hudson,

Nana nei au i poipoi mai rano. Taku tau kahurangi

Ka riro ki Paerau

Koutou ngā kurupounamu

Whakangaro atu i a koutou,

Haere, haere

Moe mai i roto i te Ariki.

Abstract

This Study is about the measurement of iwi outcomes and how progress, from an iwi perspective, might be considered. A conventional response to this question might simply reflect on established measures and indices – financial gains, land holdings, economic development opportunities or perhaps social statistics, health profiles or employment figures. However, the extent to which these types of measures, statistics, or indices match the needs and expectations of iwi is less certain. At the heart of this Study is the notion that iwi outcomes cannot easily be measured, and that while conventional tools or indicators can be useful, they may fail to capture the more subtle and less measureable aspects of iwi development. Although difficult to collect, measure, or compare, these nebulous characteristics of iwi progress may in fact hold greater relevance to the aspirations of iwi members and Māori communities.

In exploring this issue, a range of research methods and techniques have been applied, including reviews of literature, consultations, presentations, and key informant interviews. The methodological approach also garnered data from the analysis of two major tribal case studies – Ngāti Tūrangitukua (Turangi) and Ngaitai (Tōrere).

Findings from the research reveal that in many ways Māori notions of progress or development are consistent with universal markers or indicators, such as economic

growth and prosperity, social development, health and well-being. However, a range of aligned measures, indicators, or preferences also exists. Many of these are unique to Māori and can be described as culturally specific. When these culturally specific and universal measures are combined, a more comprehensive measure of iwi development is possible.

The research has resulted in a framework – *Te Paewai o te Rangi* - that integrates principles, outcomes, constructs, indicators, and measures relevant to iwi. The framework's name translates loosely to the horizon that can be viewed by sea vessels navigating journey's across the ocean. The name was suggested during korero with whānau. The name was viewed as appropriate to convey the imagery of iwi navigating their way through a multiple of contexts into the future.

The framework and measures are designed to be used alongside more conventional indicators so that a more comprehensive impression of iwi development can be obtained. It is an integrated tool in that each component is linked and consistent with broader principles relevant to measuring iwi outcomes.

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And to my son, Tuhirangi. You have always – and I *will* always – inspire me with your indomitable spirit for exploration and experience. I will always be grateful for you.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to James Robert Hudson.

My father.

20 November 1948 – 2 July 2010

Preface

The impetus for this Study arose from a first meeting with (the then) Professor Mason Durie and a discussion about iwi moving into the future. I discussed my interest in exploring the ways in which the developmental aspirations of iwi could be nurtured, and how more holistic and integrated measures of progress could be developed. It was at this point that he introduced the notion of outcome measurement to me and the need to assess progress in ways that were more sensitive to the cultural aspirations of iwi, and which were better able to complement the more usual markers of progress, such as wealth creation, land holdings and resource capacity.

Mason explained how his interest in outcome measures and indicators went back to the days when he first attended medical school. He described arriving home in the holidays with his physics and chemistry textbooks and seeing his father with a puzzled look on his face. He recalled his father asking him, *“Do you think that all of that stuff you’re doing will make any difference?”* Mason replied, *“How do you mean?”* His father in turn asked another question, *“Will you be able to dig a posthole any quicker than you can do it at present?”* Mason responded, *“Dad, I think that’s the wrong indicator because the indicator that I’d be using, whether it makes a difference, is that I never have to ever dig a posthole again.”*

Mason explained to me that getting the right indicator for the right task was the important thing and that he thought about this idea frequently when treating his patients. The predominant question in his mind was, *“Does this treatment make any difference?”* He suggested that physicians should have thought about it more often but in reality didn’t; they would often just simply go through the process and say *“See you again next week.”* However, the experience sparked his broader interest in what indicators would be relevant, how he would know he was making a difference and whether or not conventional measures such as symptom ablation were appropriate, valid, or sophisticated enough?

While influenced by these early experiences, Mason didn’t reflect on these concepts again until his appointment to the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1986. A paper submitted by Whatarangi Winiata on the Quantification of Iwi Resources reignited these initial concerns on how progress, efficacy, or development might be considered and that conventional measures were frequently incomplete. Moreover, that cultural perspective was often missing or more alarmingly disregarded. From his perspective, more was needed to better understand how efficacy was determined and what measures were ultimately appropriate.

While these issues and conversations provided an impetus for the Study and a level of confidence that the research would have utility, the hypothesis was still unclear and a research question still elusive. An interest in designing a tool for iwi outcome measurement had already been established but a number of approaches were possible – various questions could be asked and examined, and a range of sub-themes possible. However, after careful consideration (and particular advice from

my supervisors), it was suggested that a single question be examined – *How can a framework for measuring iwi outcomes be constructed?*

This question, while simple enough, would provide an appropriate platform for the Study. It could be examined in depth, from multiple angles, and in ways which satisfied the requirements of a doctoral study. At another level, the question would also be of interest to iwi and Māori and therefore satisfy an aligned but no less relevant objective – to make a measureable contribution to Māori development and the advancement of Māori people.

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Chapter One

KA TĪMATA TE HUARAHĪ: THE JOURNEY BEGINS

He hokinga mahara, he kitenga huarahi

A memory from the past, a pathway to the future

While this thesis is firmly focused on providing a platform for future growth and development, its foundations are in many ways rooted in the past and within Māori notions of looking back in order to navigate forward. At the heart of this idea is the assertion that much can be learnt from past experiences and endeavours – both successes and failures – because they inform how decisions are made and what actions are appropriate. For this thesis, the approach also serves to better understand how Māori and iwi have evolved over time and how to better frame concepts of development and outcomes.

A look into the past reveals that Māori have always had an interest in progress and development, and that measures of development, while less obvious than today, would have certainly informed Māori planning and community endeavour. History is replete with examples of innovation and initiative – traditions and philosophies – that were shaped by broader desires for advancement and that serve as enduring reminders of a capacity to plan to grow and to evolve. While colonization during the early part of the

1800s was characterized by land-loss, depopulation, and cultural decay, it also revealed the ability of Māori to face and overcome adversity. In spite of the fact that by the end of the 19th century the Māori population had declined by more than two-thirds, a range of Māori-initiated development strategies had been employed that eventually saw the population recover, grow, and arrive at a point where they are now more populous and living longer than at any other point in history. Although many significant challenges remain, it is clear that Māori have aspirations for growth and development. Moreover, Māori themselves are well positioned to initiate and drive this work, and to locate what outcomes are appropriate, and what strategies are most suitable.

The idea of adopting a more deliberate and Māori-focused approach to development was also central to the 1984 Hui Taumata, the Māori Economic Summit. Hui Taumata proved the contemporary thrust through which Māori enthusiasm for the future could be harnessed, and similarly, signalled a move towards policies that empowered Māori and utilized more traditional structures and concepts. Before this, the government had adopted a more custodial approach to Māori development, an approach where assimilative policies drove the broader agenda and where any notions of self-determination were quickly dismissed.

Following Hui Taumata, many government functions were devolved to iwi, hapū, and urban Māori authorities, which helped create an environment where Māori could take the lead in initiatives of significance to their own development. Iwi, in particular, embraced this new system and have since played an increasingly significant role in the delivery of health, social, and educational services to Māori (Māori Health Committee, 1987). The health reforms of the early 1990s were particularly useful in this regard

offering a useful mechanism for the development of iwi-based health services and likewise serving as an anchor for iwi entry into housing, welfare, education, and aligned areas of social development. Treaty of Waitangi claims settlements, too, provided an opportunity for many iwi to venture into a range of commercial activities, to build wealth, re-acquire traditional landholdings, and to further bolster cultural capacity. The end result is that iwi became major players across various social and economic domains with many extending their reach towards international opportunities and investments.

At one level, the re-emergence of iwi across these sectors has created some optimism in the potential of tribes to guide and manage their own destiny and, likewise, to facilitate the future aspirations of their people. However, notwithstanding these gains, the extent to which these investments actually align with the broader goals of their people is not always clear. The rationale and objectives that underpin these developments are often derived from an identified need, disparities across a range of indices, and a desire to improve the socio-economic position of Māori (M. Durie, 1992). The outcome benefits of these initiatives can be difficult to measure, though there is increasing evidence that points to the value of iwi-based interventions and, in particular, approaches that recognise the role of 'culture' to service delivery (Hall, Masters, Tarlo, & Andrews, 1984). This evidence has allowed developments (particularly in terms of service delivery) to evolve in an informed manner – where needs, priorities, and models of practice are based on the best available information and quality research, ultimately providing an informed approach to investment, effort, and resource allocation.

However, in spite of these investments and advancements, it is often unclear whether or not these match the expectations of iwi members. And, while certainly economic and

social growth is something that is universally celebrated, questions remain about the scope of these endeavours, and whether other measures of progress or outcome are warranted. For example, many tribes are actively concerned about aspects of iwi identity, environmental sustainability, marae well-being, whakapapa, or knowledge of tribal tikanga and kawa (M. Durie, 2005c). Yet there are insufficient systems through which priorities and needs can be identified, distinctive approaches codified, or the impacts of programmes assessed from cultural, social, environmental, and economic perspectives. For these reasons, this thesis, while fundamentally driven by academic principles, has the potential to inform these debates, to better guide tribal investments, and to ensure that their activities are able to match the expectations and experience of their members.

Rationale for Measuring Iwi Development

The précis above provides a broad indication of why more accurate and considered measures of iwi progress are needed in order to reflect the contemporary environment. The idea of measuring progress is not entirely foreign to Māori. Māori cultural traditions and philosophies have been viewed as “natural carriers of accounting and measuring progress” and the likes of karakia and mihi viewed as vehicles for the expression of knowledge that Māori ancestors have passed on to present generations (Colman,

2006).¹ It has also been identified that Māori have a tradition in which planning was (and remains) implicit in iwi and hapū activity (Winiata, 1998).

More recent interest in Māori statistical data has been accredited to the 1961 Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). While official Māori statistics had been collected since the late 1850s, the Hunn Report provided comprehensive statistical analysis with findings that highlighted the deprived state in which Māori people were living at the time. These findings generated widespread concern and mobilised Māori support for the recommendations that were eventually reflected in government policy. Later, the devolution policies of the late 1980s and early 1990s reinforced the notion that Māori should be in control of their own development. Government departments had an

important facilitating role by ensuring their policies enabled Māori to transition into a self-management mode. This, too, focused attention on the need for robust data to underpin such policy development, and government statisticians became even more aware of the need to upgrade official Māori statistical data (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Notwithstanding developments in the collection of Māori specific data, significant challenges remain and Māori have not always been satisfied with the scope of

¹ According to Colman, implicit in this reflection on whakapapa is the most important question of all: "What kind of world are we leaving our children?"

what has been collected and the extent to which this information is able to match iwi needs.²

Current Data Limitations

Useful data relating to Māori populations has been gathered as part of various surveys and research initiatives. While these do not always have a focus on Māori, they can often be used to examine issues of relevance to Māori in situations where ethnicity data is collected. Life expectancy projections can be made as can assessments of morbidity and mortality rates, unemployment, levels of income, or educational achievement. More often than not, these data are aggregated and used to create a picture of how Māori compare with other ethnic groups and where development or further investment is needed.

However, comparing Māori with non-Māori has limitations in that disparity and comparative indicators have been criticised for being overly simplistic, deficit-focused, or unable to offer useful and informed solutions (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1999). Benchmarking Māori performance solely against non-Māori progress often misses the essence of being Māori and the unique and distinctive approaches that are inherent within iwi developmental approaches. And a focus solely on disparities discounts Māori ambitions or assumes they are the same as non-Māori (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1999).

² Personal Communication: Statistics NZ Māori Advisory Committee Member 2013.

While these types of challenges have been discussed and debated for some time, attention has more recently shifted to the type and range of indicators that are currently used and the proposition that they do not always align with the aspirations or needs of iwi and the broader notions of Māori development. To this end, data focused on Māori-specific indicators, such as those that measure Māori expression of their culture and values, are not always available. The assumption being that collecting and presenting this information would therefore create a more complete picture of the Māori population and Māori aspirations (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

The lack of data on Māori-specific indicators and poor quality information has been noted for a number of years (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Statistics on Māori have very rarely been gathered in ways which are designed to specifically meet Māori needs (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Rather, Māori data has often resulted as a by-product of official statistics where ethnicity information has formed part of the general collection. As a result, Māori statistics tend to be presented as the product of non-Māori analytical frameworks that fail to incorporate Māori realities and philosophical underpinnings. This is one of the key concerns upon which Māori have questioned the relevance of official data collections (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

For iwi, these issues are likely to be magnified because their aspirations are not necessarily aligned to wider Māori developmental trends and will therefore fall outside conventional data gathering practices. While there is certainly interest in collecting data on iwi employment, education, housing, and health (for example) there is equal interest in collecting information on tribal identity, cultural capacity, knowledge of whakapapa, and the state of iwi-specific physical resources. Indeed, tribal development frameworks

often include both conventional and cultural aspirations and domains. However, substantive data to populate cultural domains currently do not exist or are of questionable quality.

Certainly, the most notable gap with respect to Māori-specific indicators relate to cultural domains. While some data exist on well-being indicators (however imperfect), there are particular gaps in areas of cultural well-being (Quality of Life Project, 2007). Notwithstanding the availability of data on matters relating to Māori natural resources, or land ownership and tenure, there are other domains, such as cultural identity, where official data sources are limited – if they exist at all. The lack of data is partly due to definitional problems with Māori concepts such as ‘identity’ or ‘cultural affiliation’. Moreover, for specific sectors such as business, data on ethnicity is not always included in regular surveys, such as those relating to Māori exports or Māori participation in the general election roll (Walling, Small-Rodriguez, & Kukutai, 2009). More recently, Statistics New Zealand has attempted to bridge this information gap with its *Te Kupenga* post-census survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). However, while detailed information from this survey is not yet available, it is unclear as to whether or not the information will be collected regularly, the extent to which trends can be established, how valid many of the proxy tools are, and (given the sample size) how reliably the survey will be able to capture the perspectives of individual iwi.

Finally, a related challenge concerns the way in which data are gathered and analysed, where emphasis is more likely to be placed on *individual* rather than *collective* analysis – a position which is in many ways out of sync with Māori realities and Māori interests. Iwi, hapū, and whānau are still the principal forms of Māori organisation and such

collectives continue to be major operating units within te ao Māori, the Māori world (Winiata, 1998). Durie outlines the importance of ‘collective strength’ within the context of endurance - collectivity being an important indicator of Māori endurance (M. Durie, 2005b). Despite recognising the importance of collectives to Māori endurance and Māori well-being, there is evidence that collective capacities are underdeveloped, particularly at the level of whānau with respect to caring (for children), managing resources (such as customary land), and transmitting positive values that promote healthy lifestyles and secure cultural identity (M. Durie, 2005b). Given the collective approach to societal development, and the tendency to employ a group identity to add value to personal lives, it may prove useful to increase efforts to develop more in-depth and robust measures to assess these types of matters, to adopt a more collective approach, and to gather information which better reflects Māori interests and Māori realities. It is in this regard that this thesis has the potential to make its more seminal contributions to Māori development and pathways to more improved data collections.

Iwi Data

While statistical data on Māori-specific indicators is limited, iwi-specific data is even sparser. National surveys, such as the Te Reo Māori survey (Kalafatelis, Fink-Jensen, & Johnson, 2007), offer some information, but this is not always rohe- or iwi-specific, or are based on finite samples, or are infrequently updated. While better access by iwi to existing government data would enhance iwi planning and policy development, iwi can often require additional specific data more specific to their unique tribal and regional contexts and furthermore do not always have the resources (or personnel) available to

conduct this work. As a result, iwi have limited data available to them to determine or assess specific cultural needs - whether or not existing programmes (for cultural development for example) are having the desired effect, and what long-term planning decisions ought to be made. An associated concern is that the outcomes from current investments are often unknown and the potential for inefficiencies is significant.

Despite interest and investment in (cultural) areas of iwi development, there is also a paucity of evidenced-based research to inform or support such investments. The result is that often important decisions are made based on anecdotal reports, aggregated data, assumptions, or hearsay. Many iwi, for example, are concerned about aspects of iwi identity, environmental sustainability, marae well-being, whakapapa, or knowledge of tribal tikanga and kawa. Yet there are insufficient systems currently available through which priorities and needs relating to these areas can be identified, distinctive approaches codified, or the impacts of programmes assessed.

Rather, greater emphasis has been placed on process as opposed to outcomes and, as a consequence, it is not always possible to know whether iwi investments actually benefit hapū, whānau, and individuals members. Or, the very least, match the expectations of their tribal members. Information systems have been more likely to record the effort that went into programmes rather than the results that flowed from them (M. Durie, Fitzgerald, Kingi, McKinley, & Stevenson, 2002). With such a diverse range of requirements, environments, and situations, appropriate iwi-specific measures of outcomes have yet to be constructed and, as yet, no tool has been appropriate in every situation or with every type of iwi organisation.

Informing Iwi Development and Measuring Iwi Outcomes

This thesis has the potential to address many of the concerns noted previously and to assist iwi with policy, planning, and service delivery. Well-constructed, iwi-specific measures of outcomes can provide significant opportunities. An obvious benefit of constructing a measure capable of gauging iwi progress is the application of collected data for iwi and hapū planning, policy, and decision-making. Iwi and hapū planning presupposes the feasibility of those involved being willing and able to define their objectives, specify their goals, effect strategies to achieve their goals and to move towards their objectives, and measure their degree of success (or failure) (Winiata, 1998). The assumption is that if iwi and hapū have a quantifiable system for measuring their resources (both tangible and intangible), they will then be in a better position to plan, to develop the resources and become "wealthier, more attractive and more productive" (Winiata, 1998).

Iwi-specific measures can also be used to assess the effectiveness of iwi-provided services and programmes and can facilitate quality review. They can help inform and prioritise funding decisions and can highlight areas for future research. For iwi members, this type of information can also empower and provide for greater involvement in hapū and whānau autonomy within the wider iwi development context. At a service level, iwi-specific measures may similarly be used to design effective services and assist with staff development and deployment, monitoring, quality assurance, and the identification of particular service areas that require enhancement or modification.

In addition to measuring against planned and identified goals, indicators and measures can provide insight on the existence of opportunities for iwi to enhance their well-being. They can locate areas of concern where immediate intervention may be required and identify situations where iwi well-being may be impaired (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). These approaches may prove particularly useful for iwi who have settled Treaty of Waitangi claims, including those relating to lands and fisheries. A benefit of this type of measurement approach is that iwi have a sense of defining and mapping their own destiny. Iwi can define what is important to them and, in doing so, what should be measured. Rather than being reactive to the latest government policy or opinion poll, iwi can have a clear vision of their pathway forward, identify what is occurring, assess the extent to which it aligns with their own aspirations, and take action accordingly.

Chapter One: *Summary*

This chapter has described the background to this thesis and the various conversations which led to the research question – *How can a framework for measuring iwi outcomes be constructed?* It is based on the premise that while conventional indicators (such as social and economic progress) have been useful measures of progress, equal emphasis should be placed on locating those features that are unique to iwi and that are able to provide a more comprehensive measure of iwi progress.

The chapter has further reinforced the notion that Māori interests in measuring growth, development, and progress is not new and that aspirations for iwi advancement have fundamentally shaped Māori history and Māori endeavour. These interests, within a

contemporary context, are no less relevant, however data limitations and a lack of an appropriate analytical frame has in many ways prevented the construction and design of appropriate measures or tools. While information of interest to iwi exists, it is frequently incomplete, unreliable, or out of step with iwi aspirations and investments.

It is within this context that this thesis has taken shape and where its ultimate utility and value will sit. If the research question can be answered, and the multiple issues that inform its analysis can be considered, the potential outcomes of the thesis, across multiple domains, can be achieved and better outcomes for iwi and iwi members secured.

Chapter Two

KA ARATAKI TE HUARAHĪ: NAVIGATING A PATHWAY

FORWARD

Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the rationale and background to the thesis, its utility and potential application. It identified the research question, the issue to be considered, but fell short of describing how this would be achieved and what methods would be applied. Chapter Two leads on from Chapter One and focuses specifically on the methods used to examine and answer the research question.

Without question, studies of this size and complexity typically require approaches that are similarly robust and considered – research methods that allow for the collection and interpretation of information, but that also adhere to a broader set of core principles or philosophies. The research approach undertaken for this Study was fundamentally

informed by the outcomes sought and a wider interest in contributing to positive Māori development. And, while conventional methods and techniques were used to conduct the research, these were often set within the context of Māori and iwi development – philosophical considerations that typically guided how these techniques were managed and applied, and ultimately how they would ensure that the expectation of Māori were met and the broader goals of this research achieved.

A Qualitative Approach

Given the intent of this research, the information sought, and outcomes proposed, it was thought that a qualitative research approach would provide the necessary flexibility through which the objectives of the Study could be met. ‘Flexibility’ in this context recognises that qualitative approaches can be systemic whereby the different parts of a research design form an integrated and interacting whole; approaches may need to be modified or expanded as a result of what is learned while doing the research (Maxwell, 2013). In this way, and importantly, a qualitative approach was considered malleable enough to accommodate Māori philosophies and the core expectations of the Māori community.

Denzin and Lincoln describe qualitative research as a set of interpretive activities which privileges no single methodological practice over another and state that (2011, p. 6):

...qualitative research [does not] have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own. Qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival, and phonemic analysis – even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers.

Patton (2002) further refers to the features of qualitative research and how these can be classified according to data forms and the types of information collected, noting that it may consist of detailed descriptions of some particular situation, event, people, interactions and observed behaviours. It may also include direct quotations from people and their experiences, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts. Additionally, excerpts or entire pages from documentation may be included, likewise correspondence, records, and case histories. Qualitative data provide both depth and detail through direct quotation and careful description. Measurement relies on the use of instruments that provide standardised frameworks by which to limit data collection, to established criteria, or to analyse categories. The data are open-ended so as to discover what people's lives, experiences, and interactions mean to them, in their own terms and in their natural settings.

Qualitative modes of inquiry typically strive to understand the phenomena or situations as a whole. Researchers are able to develop inductive strategies whereby they enter the setting with no preconceived ideas or expectation as to what results may be expected. Observations are made, patterns identified, and eventually conclusions formulated. The strategy of the qualitative researcher is therefore based on the premise that important dimensions will emerge from the analysis. There is no presumption as to what important issues, ideas or concepts may be expected. The naturalistic nature of a qualitative research design demands a focus on the research setting – understanding this without external modification and within its natural context (Patton, 2002).

While this Study could have approached the research question from multiple perspectives through the application of statistical, survey, analytical or quantitative

research techniques, these methods were unlikely to offer the type of richness and depth required. These methods would further potentially remove conversation and commentary and provide limited opportunity for the expression of a Māori voice. To this end, qualitative methods provided an appropriate vehicle through which the research question could be considered and likewise the expectations of the Māori community met.

Māori Research Considerations

Although qualitative methods provided the broad foundation for the research, cultural considerations practices and philosophies (as noted) were also fundamental to the overall integrity of the thesis and likewise guided the approach taken and the methods used. The need to consider these types of challenges, and how they might align with qualitative research methods was therefore a major consideration. Of aligned concern was the notion that the consequences and implications of historical research activity between non-Māori researchers and Māori communities had for some time been criticised by Māori and, as a result, a somewhat uneasy relationship had developed.

To this end, historically, impressions of Māori society and culture have been misinterpreted through western views of normality and morality. Aspects of Māori culture have been dissected, classified, and placed within frameworks devised through western academic institutions and paradigms. Many research processes have further served to alienate Māori by placing them under an observer's metaphorical microscope with little opportunity for dialogue and interaction.

More recently, Māori have come to advocate more suitable approaches to research. The last two decades have seen an emergence in New Zealand, particularly in the social sciences, of a body of work concerned with reclaiming Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and the application of Māori values and beliefs to research practice (Boulton, 2005).

Arguably, efforts by Māori to reclaim their own knowledge and right to that knowledge had its foundations in the political upheavals of the late 20th century, particularly the 1960s to 1980s (Smith, 1999). Significant events such as the Land March of 1974, the emergence of the Kohanga Reo movement in 1982 and the Hui Taumata in 1984 reflected a growing concern amongst Māori during that period that Māori culture was being subsumed by the more dominant culture of the “colonist”(Smith, 1999). And this demographic and cultural renaissance experienced by Māori contributed to the increased pressure for theoretical and methodological frameworks that incorporated Māori perspectives (Durie, 2004).

Therefore, throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s, Māori became involved in efforts to reframe “Māori research”, whereby it was viewed as a vehicle by which Māori could reclaim their own theoretical and methodological perspectives (Boulton, 2005). In the main, these frameworks have been developed by and within academic institutions, which perhaps reflects the background of the main practitioners of such study. ‘By Māori for Māori’ is a frequently used expression to describe the requisite for research (which involves Māori) to be conducted by Māori investigators. The assumption is that those with cultural knowledge are best positioned to conduct research in a manner sensitive to the needs of the informants. Appropriate processes and protocols are

observed and there is some general understanding on how the information is to be used, stored, and accessed. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, they (Māori researchers) are able to consider information from a position more akin to the reality of the informants. Data are therefore less likely to be misinterpreted due to contrasting views of the world.

In a partial response to these issues, 'kaupapa Māori' has emerged as a distinct research approach and is often promoted as an appropriate means through which research, conducted with, by, or involving Māori, should proceed. However, the debate concerning the components of this continues to evolve, with a number of different positions and perspectives having been promoted.

Nepe (1991), for example, suggests that kaupapa Māori is based on epistemological and metaphysical concepts which may, and should, be distinguished from the more established/western traditions. It is asserted that Māori have quite different and unique epistemological traditions and that this may in turn impact on the way in which the world is viewed, how it is organised, and how questions are phrased and solutions formulated. These issues bring into question the validity of investigations that are unable to consider Māori worldviews or that are conducted from within established western traditions. Irwin (1994) adds to this debate by pointing out that those involved with kaupapa Māori research may in fact be somewhat reluctant to engage in such deliberations as they are fundamentally designed to establish comparisons with western science, which she states "is exactly what kaupapa Māori is supposed to be resisting" (1994, p. 27).

Reflecting this type of diversity, Smith (1999, p. 190) states that kaupapa Māori research is both more and less than a paradigm. In this regard she adds:

It does set out a field of study which enables a process of selection to occur, and which defines what needs to be studied and what questions ought to be asked. It also has a set of assumptions and taken for granted values and knowledge, upon which it builds. In this sense it can be fitted into some of the ways in which a paradigm is defined. It is also, however, more than a sum of those parts. Kaupapa Māori research is a social project; it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and Western economics and politics.

Building on this, Bishop (1994, p. 184) also states that kaupapa Māori “addresses the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervade our social, political and economic institutions”. Furthermore, that kaupapa Māori research is located within an alternative perspective of the world from which solutions and cultural aspirations can be generated.

While there continues to be debate on the notion of kaupapa Māori, much of this centres on the shape or characteristics of the approach as opposed to its existence as a distinct method or research paradigm. Powick (2002) notes that it is possible to say what kaupapa Māori research may – and may not – include, rather than “pin-pointing an exact definition of the approach”.

To this end, there is broad agreement that cultural factors, perspectives, or paradigms can inform Māori research activity. Moreover, that research conducted with, by, or for Māori should be cognizant of these cultural paradigms and their potential to guide and inform the research process.

In reflecting on how these philosophies might be translated into tangible research methods, a number of useful frameworks and models have been developed. In an attempt (through an extensive meta-analysis) to consolidate and synthesize these, Bevan-Brown (1998) identifies ten 'ingredients' that are stressed or deemed as being highly desirable in terms of Māori research, and that are relevant in terms of developing a Māori methodological processes. The ten components are relatively generic and have been deliberately kept so to ensure that the model is both useable and applicable to a wide range of research initiatives. The ten components are described below:

1. Māori research must be conducted within a Māori cultural framework. This requires a base developed from a Māori worldview, linked to Māori epistemology, and incorporating Māori concepts of knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, processes, practices, customs, te reo Māori, values, and beliefs.
2. Māori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, te reo Māori, subject and research expertise required. They must also possess a commitment to things Māori, the trust of the Māori community being researched, cross-cultural competence, personal qualities suited to doing Māori research and an understanding of and commitment to the obligations, liabilities, and responsibilities that are an integral part of Māori research.
3. Māori research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Māori. It should arise out of their self-identified needs and aspirations.

4. Māori research should result in some positive outcome for Māori. This may be manifest in many different ways, e.g., improved services, increased knowledge, health gains or more effective use of resources. Whatever the form, Māori research should benefit Māori in some way.
5. As much as possible, Māori research should involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process.
6. Māori research should empower those being researched. This empowerment should stem from both the research process and product.
7. Māori research should be controlled by Māori. This is to ensure it is carried out within a Māori cultural framework and that Māori interests and integrity are protected. The control of Māori research should extend to control in matters relating to ethical requirements, assessment, funding, intellectual property rights and ownership, and dissemination of knowledge.
8. People involved in conducting Māori research should be accountable to the people they research in particular and to the Māori community in general.
9. Māori research should be of a high quality. It should be assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measured against Māori-relevant standards.
10. The methods, measures, and procedures used in Māori research must take cognizance of Māori culture and preferences. They must take into account the previous nine requirements of Māori research.

As a broad guide to the inclusion of kaupapa Māori techniques within a qualitative research paradigm, this model provides valuable clues. Importantly, it offers a structure upon which the more pragmatic aspects of the thesis and research methods can be applied. To this end, this model was used to guide the research and the research methods, and to consider how the Study could best meet the expectations of Māori.

A Case Study Approach

While qualitative and kaupapa Māori research techniques provided the platform upon which the thesis was built, the integration and application of these two approaches required additional thought. And, although various options were discussed, an approach known as *case study* was eventually selected. The rationale behind this stemmed from a number of key opportunities, but was especially appealing in that the case study was able to cope with distinct and diverse situations and accommodated multiple perspectives and forms of data collection. Importantly, it also offered a structure through which kaupapa Māori and qualitative research techniques could be managed and applied.

A study that considered a framework for measuring iwi outcomes was likely to be complicated due to a number of logistical difficulties, and in particular the need to account for and consider a wide range of factors, contributors and influences, many of which are external *and* internal to iwi themselves (for example, external influences, such as government policy or market forces and internal influences, such as hapū and marae developments). Developing a means through which a comprehensive

investigation might take place can, therefore, be problematic; notwithstanding the fact that iwi perspective are likely to differ and that accommodating all iwi (within the scope of this research) was both logistically and financially implausible.

In this regard, Flyvberg (2011, p. 301) observes that case studies, or a case study approach, provides a means through which 'developmental factors' can take these multiple factors into account, stating that:

...a case typically evolves in time, often as a string of concrete and interrelated events... that constitute the case when seen as a whole.

Carefully selected and studied cases may be applied so as to provide insight into much wider issues or concepts. For the present Study, this capacity is particularly useful and goes some way to addressing the problem of how to conduct the research comprehensively within certain logistical, financial and time constraints. In short, the case study provides the opportunity to collect, organize and analyse data, as well as gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information about a 'case' (Patton, 2002). For this Study, and given the complexity of the issues under investigation, the approach seemed ideal.

Case Study as the Research Strategy

Yin (1984) describes a case study as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and multiple sources of evidence are used'. Yin (1992, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) identifies four common case study

commitments or applications: first, to bring expert knowledge to bear on the phenomenon studied; second, to round up all relevant data; third, to examine rival interpretations; and, fourth, to ponder and probe the degree to which the findings have implications elsewhere.

Stake (2005) further asserts that a case study is specific and is not a methodological choice, but a choice of the object to be studied; it draws attention to the question of what can specifically be learned from the single case. The case may be conceptualised in a number of ways to facilitate maximum learning; it is something that functions and operates – the study is therefore an examination of these operations.

Intrinsic, Instrumental and Collective Case Studies

Stake (2005) further identifies three essential types of case study – *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *collective*.

Intrinsic case study is primarily undertaken to obtain a better understanding of a particular case. It does not represent other cases nor does it illustrates a particular trait or problem. Rather, it is studied because it itself is of interest and the researcher wishes to reveal its story through the exploration of the case.

An *instrumental* case study is examined to provide insight into an issue or the refinement of a theory. The case is not the focus but is used in order to facilitate an understanding of a wider issue. It is of secondary interest and provides a means through which our understanding of something else is expanded. The case is often examined in

some detail from a variety of perspectives and contexts. Activities are detailed and used as a means of explaining an external concept or idea. Essentially, the case is examined as it is expected to advance our understanding of something else that is of greater interest. Researchers using instrumental case studies show how a phenomenon exists within a particular case. There is little interest in how the case is different (without the phenomenon) as there are too many ways for this to be explored.

As the name suggests, the *collective* case study approach requires the application of a number of cases jointly in order to provide some insight into a particular phenomenon, population or general condition. It is not concerned with the study of a collective, but an instrumental study extending to a number of cases. Individual cases in the collection may or may not be known in advance to manifest the common characteristic. They may be similar or dissimilar, but are chosen because it is believed that they will provide a better understanding of a still larger collection of cases.

Although case study research does not require the examination of a diverse range of issues and contexts, typically this is the manner in which qualitative researchers choose to apply this approach. Qualitative case researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines (Stake, 2005).

Case Criteria and Selection

Although the complexity of this Study posed numerous problems in terms of the research process, such difficulties also helped identify an appropriate case study

approach. In this regard, a *collective* case study design was most relevant as it provided a means through which a diverse range of issues could be explored and linked to broader, yet common, objectives. Consistent with a *collective* case study approach, a number of *instrumental* case studies can also be applied in order to construct the collective and are useful in terms of dividing the study into more manageable components. As the Study aims to provide insights beyond immediate interest, *intrinsic* applications are not appropriate.

In order to successfully apply *instrumental* or *collective* case studies it is necessary to select these in advance and to provide some rationale as to choice. Patton (2002) refers to this by asserting that a well-selected case provides the means through which a critical and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon can be assured. With regard to this, Miles and Huberman (1994, cited in Stake, 1995) state that nothing is more important than the proper selection of cases. Further, that the time invested in this process may well serve to determine the eventual usefulness of the study, its wider utility and ultimate applicability. This problem is essentially one of sampling and determining which out of the potential cases will best provide information relevant to the examination of the study or phenomenon under investigation.

Stake (2005) notes that it is more viable to choose one or a small number of exemplars as cases. The researcher will examine various interests in the study and use this information to select a case that has some *typicality* but that ultimately provides the best *opportunity to learn*. The contention is that case choice should be determined by that which provides the opportunity to learn the most. These types of considerations raise two further questions within the context of this Study. First, what issues are

relevant to the exploration of phenomenon (in this case the measurement of iwi outcomes), and second, what selection of cases will provide the best opportunity to learn from and therefore investigate this. Incorrectly identified issues and badly selected cases will only serve to frustrate investigators, misappropriate valuable resources, and significantly reduce the validity and usefulness of the research.

For this Study, Ngaitai and Ngāti Tūrangitukua were selected as case studies. A section later in this chapter provides a comparative overview of these two case studies along with the rationale for their selection. For now, it is important to note their selection and that they were approached to participate in the Study to help identify outcomes of relevance to iwi, to assist with the design of an appropriate outcomes framework, and ultimately to help provide a valid response to the research question.

Validity of Case Data

While case selection is an important consideration, the collection and interpretation of information (within the case study) requires similar thought. Data validity, for example, will ultimately determine the value of the study and the extent to which reliable conclusions and recommendations can be made. In terms of case study, a number of methods may be employed to ensure the validity of the data gathered. Typically, this is achieved by examining multiple sources of evidence.

Using multiple sources of evidence, a researcher is able to build a comprehensive impression of the issue under investigation, as well as an impression of what is accessed or retained and what is discarded or deemed irrelevant. More information will be

gained than is reported and the researcher will make discretionary judgments as to what issues are best able to provide an understanding of the issue under investigation (N. K. Denzin, 1989, cited in Stake, 2005). The case researchers will therefore need to provide grounds for validating what observations are made and any generalisations that are assumed. While such issues may pose some difficulties, for the most part, these decisions will be determined by the overall objectives of the study, the researcher's interpretation of data and, importantly, the validity of the information gathered (N. K. Denzin, 1989, cited in Stake, 2005).

Qualitative data can be particularly troubled by the issue of validity, especially as much of it may be subject to interpretation, description, theories, generalisations, and evaluative judgments (Maxwell, 1992, cited in Stake, 2005). To grapple effectively with these issues, various mechanisms (including redundancy of data gathering and procedural challenges to explanations) may be employed (N. K. Denzin, 1989, cited in Stake, 2005). For qualitative studies these processes are generally referred to as *triangulation*, whereby multiple perceptions are used to clarify meaning, or to verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. Further, as no observation or interpretation is perfectly repeatable, triangulation also enables clarification through identifying multiple ways in which the phenomenon or issue can be perceived (Stake, 2005).

Stake (1995) describes four basic *triangulation* protocols or procedures. First, *data source triangulation*, which is concerned with whether or not the case or phenomenon remains the same in other times, in other spaces, or is persuaded by interpersonal interactions; essentially observing if the activity, display or observation is influenced by

the situation or context within which it exists. The second protocol is described as *investigator triangulation* and is particularly useful when one has access to other researchers with some detailed knowledge or expertise. This method highlights the need to validate assumptions by allowing other researchers to examine data and to compare their perceptions with your own. *Theory triangulation* is the third protocol and, though similar to *investigator triangulation*, is more focused in that reviewers are selected to provide an alternative theoretical viewpoint.

It is uncommon for researchers to interpret information in entirely the same way and either intentionally or unintentionally researchers will be influenced by their theoretical position, professional training or expertise. This diversity is therefore useful in terms of examining alternative interpretations and manners in which the data can be perceived.

The last protocol is termed *methodological triangulation* and is perhaps the most frequently used and recognisable method of validation. Within case studies these processes typically relate to observations, interviews, and document reviews. If, within each method, multiple perceptions are sought or perceived, triangulation has occurred.

These types of protocols allow the qualitative researchers and case study investigators to make more reliable assessments of data and to draw conclusions that are more informed and valid. Accordingly, it will be necessary that such procedures are actively incorporated within any case study investigation. For the present Study, these types of methods and protocols informed the manner in which information was sourced and reviewed (assessing issues from multiple perspectives) and so that the validity of information collected was assured.

Within this thesis, as information was collected from the two case studies, these various modes of triangulation were applied, at different times, to give confidence and validity to the research process.

Data Management and Analysis

Qualitative research methods may pose particular problems in terms of validity, rigour and data management, especially when attempts are made to effectively control the large quantities of material gathered throughout the research process. The quantity of qualitative data gathered may conceivably serve to conceal important themes or issues and thereby reduce the quality of the research. For this reason, it is important that raw material is effectively managed, systematically controlled, and presented in a manner that facilitates ease of analysis. The construction of an effective data management system is likely to provide this and also enhance the quality of data and ensuing analysis. Huberman and Miles (1994, pp. 428-444) offer a pragmatic explanation of data management and define this as an operation needed for the systematic, coherent process of data collection, storage and retrieval with three essential aims being:

1. To ensure high-quality, accessible data;
2. To ensure documentation of just what analyses have been carried out, and
3. To ensure the retention of data and associated analyses after the study is complete.

Point 1 is designed to confront some of the systematic problems associated with conducting research and, in particular, the need to have in place a mechanism through which relevant, or even irrelevant, source information can be stored and accessed. Point 2 moves on from this and states that once analysed, source information will need to be sorted and managed. Point 3 is slightly more complex and is categorised into an additional set of three sub-processes: *data reduction*, *data display*, and *conclusion drawing/verification*.

Within the process of *data reduction*, the information is reduced in an anticipatory way as the researcher chooses a conceptual framework, research questions, cases, and instruments. Once field data, including notes, interviews, recordings, or other data are available, data summaries, coding, theme finding, clustering, and writing stories provide the opportunity for further data selection and condensation.

Data display is defined as an organised, compressed assembly of information that allows conclusion drawing and/or action-taking. This may be a second, if not inevitable, part of the data analysis process. In this sense the researcher will need to view a set of reduced data so as to consider its meaning. More focused displays may also include structured summaries, synopses, vignettes, network-like or other diagrams, and matrices with text rather than numbers in cells.

Conclusion drawing/verification involves interpreting information and drawing meaning from displayed data. The method by which this is achieved may be diverse, noting comparisons and contrasts, patterns, themes, and clusters. Triangulation may be applied to verify results and determine significance and relevance. In this sense we can

speak of 'data transformation' as information that is condensed, clustered, sorted, and linked over time (Gherardi & Turner, 1999). Yin (2009) explains that by having a clear idea of a theoretical proposition, data may more easily be condensed, essentially by providing a focus and a means by which information can be sorted, retained or excluded.

For this thesis, an existing data management system (described later) was modified in order to meet the specific requirements of the research. This permitted information collected as part of the Study to be stored and sorted, clustered and reviewed, compared, analysed, and assessed for relevance.

Information Storage and Retrieval

An added problem associated with data management relates to how information is stored and retrieved. Points 1 and 2 of the previous section were able to touch on this and stressed the need to have in place a reliable means through which source information can be gathered. In addition, efficient and reliable access to research information can be facilitated which will aid data analysis, the manner in which data can be verified, and the ability of the Study to be replicated if required.

Ideally, the design of such systems should occur before the research takes place. It should possess the capacity to log information from a range of sources and distinguish between these; as such a clear method of indexing should also be a feature of this system (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). A range of computer-based software programs has recently been developed that has contributed to the construction of data management

systems. While such programs are of immense value, additional mechanisms will need to be considered alongside these, particularly as research data are likely to take the form of physical materials such as notes, transcripts, and other documentation.

To help the design of an appropriate data storage mechanism, Levine (1985) identifies five broad functions of this process:

1. *Formatting*: how materials are laid out, physically embodied, and structured into types of files;
2. *Cross Referral*: linkage across different files;
3. *Indexing*: defining codes, organising them into structures, and pairing them with specific parts of the database;
4. *Abstracting*: condensed summaries of longer material, such as documents or extended files notes; and
5. *Pagination*: numbers and letters locating specific material in field notes.

The manner in which these processes are applied will vary according to the needs of the individual research project and its anticipated complexity. Nevertheless, such mechanisms are important in terms of the overall quality of the research. The scale of this Study dictated that a reasonably robust and comprehensive system was developed. The following section describes the particular method adopted for the Study and the rationale for its selection.

NVivo, Data Management and Analysis

As noted, an effective data management system is an essential requirement of qualitative and case study research and is useful in terms of data gathering, storage, tracking, retrieval, analysis, and when developing validity control measures. To address this issue, following consultation with software developers and researchers at Massey University, this Study employed a computerised data management package known as NVivo.

NVivo is a data analysis software package that has been designed for qualitative researchers working with both text-based and multimedia information, particularly large volumes of data. The use of NVivo is not intended to supplant time-honoured ways of learning from data, but to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of such learning (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). In general, NVivo enables qualitative researchers to manage data (by keeping track of data files such as interviews, questionnaires, images, diagrams, audio files, and the like), manage ideas (by providing access to conceptual and theoretical knowledge generated during the course of the research), query data (by asking simple or complex questions of the data and further interrogating the results of those questions), visualise data (for example, in the form of word clouds, graphs, timelines), and report from data (for example, in the form of downloaded queries) (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

Richards (1999) further identifies four processes that can be employed when using NVivo during any qualitative research, namely:

- *Organising* processes – which includes selecting data types for different purposes, describing data, changing data and ideas and creating memos;
- *Coding* processes – the coding of documents at categories (by many methods) and exploring, rethinking and revising the coded material;
- *Searching* processes – organising, linking and coding data in integrated search procedures; and
- *Modelling* processes – data is represented, linked and commented on in qualitative models that are multidimensional and layered as the research develops.

Data Collection and Case Studies

Yin (1984) indicates that case study data may be gathered from a variety of sources, which can further be classified under six broad headings:

1. Documents;
2. Archival Records;
3. Interviews;
4. Direct Observations;
5. Participant Observations; and
6. Physical artefacts.

In general, *documents* refer to literature relevant to the case, *archival records*, though similar, may be more specific and include primary/raw data. *Interviews*, most commonly are of an open-ended nature, though key respondent, focused interviews or surveys will also be relevant. *Direct observations* recognise the relevance of 'site visits' to case research, and can involve observations of meetings, sidewalk activities, factory work, classrooms, and the like. Similarly, *participant observations* require a more hands-on approach; however, this method requires that the researcher takes a more active role in the study and may participate in the events being studied. *Physical artefacts* may take the form of a technological device, a tool or instrument, a work of art, or some other physical evidence. Though physical artefacts may be collected or observed as part of any fieldwork it is particularly useful in anthropological research (R. K. Yin, 1992).

For this Study, a range of data was collected in order to meet the Study's *Research Objectives* and entered into NVivo for ease of access and to facilitate considered and robust analysis.

During the primary and secondary reviews of literature undertaken during the Study, electronic copies of books, journal articles and reports were uploaded into NVivo, along with notes taken from hard copy books, articles, reports, and the like. Notes from literature review related meetings and supervision sessions were also uploaded.

The parts of the Study involving the stock-take of iwi activities/programmes and exploration of the 'Iwi development context' procured notes from meetings and interviews with iwi participants (along with field notes taken during those interviews), notes taken during iwi hui and wānanga, iwi activity and programme documentation

(including strategic documents, plans, reports and minutes), and transcripts of each of the participant interviews and the Expert Focus Group.

Data was further collected during the development of a set of outcome indicators capable of measuring iwi development – the Study’s fourth objective. In addition to the additional literature collected as part of the secondary review mentioned above, data uploaded to NVivo during this stage of the Study included notes from hui and received electronic communications (such as emails) from supervisors experts concerning the validity of the proposed and final indicators.

The uploaded data was then coded according to themes and related areas of interest. The coding occurred in an iterative manner as the Study progressed and as additional data was reviewed. This process was undertaken closely with the *searching* process, as searches often identified new and sometimes unexpected themes. The types of searches undertaken at regular intervals during the analysis of data included ‘word’, ‘similar word’ and ‘word frequency’ searches. Analysis also included the use of NVivo’s matrix searches.

Finally, once the data had been coded into nodes, additional analysis was undertaken through the use of NVivo’s modelling processes to visually represent the data and analysis undertaken at each point to glean further, possible insights for the Study.

A Qualitative, Kaupapa Māori, Case Study Approach

Drawing together the various theories, approaches, considerations, and methods provided the platform for the research and a means through which the validity and robustness of the thesis could be assured. The following section describes in greater detail (and with a more pragmatic emphasis) the application of these approaches and research methods. The methods are qualitative in nature, but include activities and processes consistent with a kaupapa Māori approach. Conventional case study methods of information collection, storage, analysis, and interpretation are woven throughout and are again designed to enhance the overall integrity and validity of the Study, its management, its application, and its potential as a vehicle for iwi outcomes.

Research Objectives

The research approach was structured around the six specific objectives outlined below, which describe the methodological steps through which the research outcomes were met.

Objective One – Review of literature

The review of literature was designed to systematically synthesise current thinking on iwi development and outcomes measurement within the context of Māori development and was a key case study information collection method. The review of literature

considered existing theories and concepts and was further used to identify where current information gaps existed and the extent to which indicators of iwi development have been identified.

Given the imperative to conduct a comprehensive and thorough assessment of relevant material, a systematic approach to the review of literature was employed with searches being conducted through a range of bibliographic databases (Eric, Miro, Psyc Lit, Med Line, Cinahl, Conzul, Core Bio Med, Abi/Nform, and NewIndex). 'Key Word' searches were performed with alternative word combinations to ensure a comprehensive assessment of material. To avoid repetition, each combination was logged and filed, along with various successful 'hits'. Key informants were also consulted and used to determine what information might be relevant, where it could be sourced, and what search parameters should be employed. Notwithstanding the availability of specific documentation on iwi development, the review of literature was designed to be as broad as possible and to investigate issues of aligned interest. This ensured that complementary information was sourced and considered for relevance.

A preliminary list of research literature was generated along with summaries. This list information was then reviewed during supervision for a final inventory of material to be compiled as requested from various libraries and sources. Finally, this information was reviewed so that key themes and issues of interest could be identified. Again, themes were examined to determine relevance and applicability to the Study. While much of the written material was sourced from the Massey University Library, the Ministries of Health, Māori Development, and Social Development also provided supplemental information through their bibliographic databases. A range of internet search engines

were further used to ensure that international material (in particular) was sourced and reviewed.

Objective Two – Stock-take of iwi activities and programmes

Although written material was likely to provide a sound foundation for the Study, the dynamic nature of iwi development also required the employment of additional and more applied methods. It was important that iwi were involved in the research and were able to guide (at a fundamental level) the research process, the outcomes, and the recommendations made. Objective Two was therefore focused on a stock-take and analysis of existing programmes delivered by the two iwi cases – including purposes, distinctive iwi characteristics and results.

Both cases were able to provide stock-take information on iwi development, current interest and investment areas, and existing priorities and initiatives. Although the information they provided was often iwi-specific, the case study approach allowed for the broader interpretation of results and the assessment of applicability to other iwi. A scoping exercise of all programmes delivered by the two iwi was undertaken. This included a document review of programme-related information that supplemented the material generated from the literature review.

A range of structured and targeted interviews were then undertaken within the two iwi organisations. (Copies of the interview schedule and information sheets are appended as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 respectively.) These interviews were directed at various levels in order to ensure a comprehensive coverage of opinion. Structured open-ended

questionnaires were developed and used to guide interviews with selected iwi representatives (10 from each iwi $n=21$).

The Participants were those involved in the provision or management of iwi-based services and included kuia and kaumātua of marae, chairpersons of iwi authorities, land trusts and iwi committees, iwi researchers and academics, and managers and employees of iwi service providers. The participants reflected a range of ages. Of the 21 Participants interviewed, 9 were male and 12 were female.

Owing to the ability of the researcher, the opportunity was provided for all participants to be interviewed in either English or Te Reo. In the main, interviews were conducted in English. However, with some participants, particularly koroua and kuia, dialogue with the researcher often ‘switched’ seamlessly between English and Te Reo throughout the interview. This language dynamic had several impacts on the knowledge transfer process. One was that a rapport was developed between the researcher and participant which contributed to a sense of ease and safety throughout the interview.

Another dynamic was that some of the Māori words or phrases used during the interview provided meaning or context to the interview additional to the literal meaning provided. For example, the use of a mutually understood whakataukī – with its background and context – provided additional insights to an interview or part of an interview in a manner that required little if any explanation for the researcher.

The NVivo database programme was modified to assist with the analysis of this information – information storage, data access, data display, and interpretation.

As a complement, a number of hui and wānanga (with both cases) were also organised to collect broader comment on iwi development issues and concerns. Additionally, a smaller cohort of selected experts were interviewed and asked to help identify key issues (not considered in previous interviews) as well as the interpretation of preliminary results. (A copy of the cohort interview schedule is appended as Appendix 3.) This smaller cohort included those more directly involved in iwi activities, rūnanga staff and managers, service providers, and board members. Five interviews from each iwi were conducted ($n=10$). Again, this information was stored and analysed with the assistance of the NVivo database programme.

For all interviews, the principles described by Bevan-Brown were used to guide the collection of information, how participants were approached, informed, questioned, and offered feedback. While not all these principles were relevant in every situation, they were nevertheless used as a guide and means of ensuring the overall integrity of the information collection process. To bolster this information further an expert focus group was also convened in Wellington (with selected experts in Māori development) to identify high-level themes and issues relevant to the Study that might further guide and shape the interviews. This expert focus group included Māori academics, statisticians, psychometricians, accountants, and management consultants. (A list of the expert focus group participants is appended as Appendix 4.)

Objective Three – The iwi development context

It was noted earlier that iwi development has not occurred in a vacuum. While it has its own distinctive pattern, other local, national and regional developments impact on iwi and on individual iwi members. As part of an exploration of the development context within which iwi operate, the research explored the interface between iwi and hapū, government, local authorities, and the private sector.

The exploration allowed for: (a) the analysis of contractual arrangements between iwi and other collectives and agencies; (b) participation in joint ventures; and (c) iwi access to information, resources, and expertise within other collectives and institutions.

The outcomes from the research provided a systems explanation concerning this interface – issues, risks, perspectives, as well as opportunities for aligning the expectations of iwi with the functions of various internal and external bodies. This process allowed the relationships between iwi and hapū and other agencies to be considered, assessed for relevance, and importantly framed within a context relevant to the Study and hypothesis.

Objective Four – Outcomes

This objective focused on the development of a set of outcome indicators capable of measuring iwi development. This was a complex and technically challenging task in that many of these outcomes had never before been measured, especially those with an iwi focus. The research therefore needed to consider how best these concepts might be

measured and how the data might be gathered, how often, from where or from whom. Objective Four also explores how more routine data collections could be conducted so that gains (or otherwise) could be identified along with priorities, outcomes, and opportunities.

A second review of the literature was therefore undertaken to determine what additional approaches were possible and likely to be useful. This led to the construction of a draft set of measures that were then reviewed to determine their overall utility and suitability. The review was also to consider the validity of the indicators, how well they matched or reflected iwi development objectives, and what modifications, enhancements, or amendments were required. Following this process, modifications to the measures were made. The major outputs from Objective Four were a measurement framework and a set of iwi development indicators.

Objective Five – Dissemination of information

The fifth objective of the research was focused on information dissemination. Throughout the Study, regular updates and presentations were given to those involved and, in particular, to the two participating iwi. At the completion of the framework and thesis, more formal presentations will be arranged to ensure that those who had contributed to the research are aware of the results and that other interested parties (e.g. other iwi) are able to benefit from the research findings. Conference presentations are also being planned as well as seminars by way of inter-university video

conferencing. This process will provide a further opportunity to ensure that the outcomes of the research are able to be translated into benefits for iwi.

Objective Six – Māori Development Principles

The final objective of the Study was to ensure that the research was consistent with Māori processes, procedures, and expectations. This was achieved in a number of ways and with methods that were embedded throughout the research. From its inception, the research had a deliberate translational focus and a fundamental desire to make a tangible difference to Māori development. Information was shared with both iwi partners, and opportunities were provided to guide the research, interpret the research findings, and shape the final thesis. Active steps were taken to ensure all interviews were conducted with care and consideration, koha to all research participants was provided, and interview times and locations dictated by those interviewed. All interviews were conducted face-to-face with the opportunity to have these in te reo Māori if requested. Following the completion of the research, steps have also been taken to consider how each iwi might use the information and ultimately how it might contribute to the broader aspirations of their community.

The Cases

As previously discussed, a fundamental consideration when adopting a case study methodological approach is the appropriate selection of cases. This section details each case used for the Study as well as the rationale for their inclusion.

Case study One: Ngaitai

Ngaitai iwi are located on the East Coast of the North Island in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Ngaitai are direct descendants of Tōrerenuiārua, the daughter of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka, which first landed in Whangaparāoa. The waka later ventured along the East Coast where Tōrerenuiārua came ashore and settled with Manaakiao, a direct descendant of the ancestor Toi te Huatahi and the hapū, Ngā Tini o Toi. This union established the people of Ngaitai in the area of what is now known as Tōrere.

The Ngaitai iwi rohe includes a total land area of approximately 10,000 hectares, with the majority of land remaining in Ngaitai ownership. Central to the economic development base of Ngaitai is their customary access to the sea, though sustainable land development opportunities are also being explored. Within the 'heart' of Ngaitai is the recently refurbished wharenuī, Tōrere-nui-a-rua, and the Tōrere Holy Trinity Anglican Church. These buildings are significantly historical and continue to be maintained and highly valued by Ngaitai iwi.

At the 2006 Census, a total of 2,313 people identified themselves as descendants of Ngaitai (within the Mātaatua rohe), with approximately 1500 currently registered Ngaitai beneficiaries over the age of 18 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Ngaitai Activities

Ngaitai's governing body is the Ngaitai Iwi Authority (NIA). Established in 1988, NIA provides essential services to the iwi community in the areas of corporate services and economic, whānau, environmental, and research development.

NIA's economic development centres primarily on its housing mortgage company, fishing quota, investments, and property development. NIA also delivers related economic services in land development and research, financial solutions and debt recovery.

NIA delivers a range of whānau development services. NIA's health and social service arm, Te Iti Hau Ora, is a registered Health and Social Iwi service provider. Te Iti Hau Ora provides services to Ngaitai iwi in areas such as: whānau support; rongoā Māori; mirimiri; health awareness presentations (i.e. heart, asthma awareness, nutrition, breast cancer/cancer, gout, rheumatics); diabetes clinics; client health plans, referrals and follow ups; and transportation (i.e. doctors, specialist visits, tangihanga, hui, shopping). NIA also delivers Te Hā Ora, a Kaupapa Māori antenatal programme designed by independent Māori midwives to provide culturally appropriate antenatal care for Māori. And NIA delivers Rangatahi and Youth Services, including peer tutoring, leadership programmes, life skills, finances, and career education.

NIA provides a range of Mātauranga and Education Services and learning opportunities for Ngaitai iwi. These include wānanga (particularly concerning Ngaitai tikanga and kawa), promotion and utilisation of te reo Māori, advocacy, and rangahau. Further, NIA are strengthening their capacity and capability to invest in Research and Development (R&D) to support the growth and identification of new opportunities based on existing assets and resources. The recent development of the Ngaitai R&D plan prioritises project opportunities that aim to guide future investments and alliances with key stakeholders.

Finally, NIA delivers a range of environmental and resource management services through Te Māhere Rohe o Ngaitai – its environmental arm. NIA are currently implementing the following environmentally based programmes and services that support the restoration, preservation, maintenance, and sustainable development of Ngaitai environs: resource recovery centre (rubbish collection, recycling); waste minimisation; native conservation; resource management consents and concession applications; sustainable land development; rohe moana management; iwi resource management planning; and potable community water supply.

Case study Two: Ngāti Tūrangitukua

Ngāti Tūrangitukua descend from Tūrangitukua, the Ariki of ngā uri o Tūwharetoa. Ngāti Tūrangitukua's traditional rohe is located at the southern end of Lake Taupo and includes the present Turangi township. Ngāti Tūrangitukua's principal marae is Hirangi Marae, located in the Turangi township.

While official demographic information is not readily available, whakapapa investigations carried out after Ngāti Tūrangitukua's Waitangi Tribunal hearings in 1998 estimated some 5,000 Māori as identifying as Ngāti Tūrangitukua (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998b).

Two governing bodies oversee a range of committees, projects, programmes, and services for Ngāti Tūrangitukua members - the Ngāti Tūrangitukua Charitable Trust and the Ngāti Tūrangitukua Māori Committee.

The Ngāti Tūrangitukua Charitable Trust was established to manage the settlement assets on behalf of Ngāti Tūrangitukua. The settlement assets relate to a Deed of Settlement, signed on 26 September 1998, between the Crown and the Ngāti Tūrangitukua. The settlement covered claims by Ngāti Tūrangitukua arising from the creation of the Turangi Township in the 1960s and the development of the Tongariro power scheme. The settlement provides a platform for Ngāti Tūrangitukua to build on and allows Ngāti Tūrangitukua to work towards a "brighter, collective future" (Ngāti Tūrangitukua Charitable Trust, 2008). The Trust is viewed as "a catalyst for development within Ngāti Tūrangitukua" (Participant A).

The Ngāti Tūrangitukua Māori Committee consists of elected members of Ngāti Tūrangitukua who meets on a regular basis with hapū members to further hapū initiatives. The Committee has overseen a range of services and projects that have contributed to the social, cultural and environmental development of the hapū.

Ngāti Tūrangitukua Activities

With respect to economic development, Ngāti Tūrangitukua received \$5 million in cash from their Treaty claim settlement with the Crown, some of which has been, and will be, used to purchase Crown properties. Ngāti Tūrangitukua has a right of first refusal over some specific Crown or state-owned enterprise properties in Turangi, which are named in the Deed of Settlement. Economic operating activities, therefore, include income derived from rental and lease properties, and professionally managed investment portfolios.

In addition to commercial properties, the Trust also manages residential properties that are used to accommodate kaumātua of Ngāti Tūrangitukua. The ability to provide appropriately for their kaumātua on papakāinga land is seen as a fundamental aspect of their rangatiratanga.

Furthermore, the Trust distributes education grants and scholarships, health grants and special projects grants to hapū members and related groups to contribute to the social and cultural development of Ngāti Tūrangitukua.

Ngāti Tūrangitukua delivers a variety of programmes that contribute to their social, environmental, and cultural development.

The Ngāti Tūrangitukua Waka Ama programme and related wānanga, for example, develop knowledge and practices of waka ama for Ngāti Tūrangitukua members. In doing so, the programme also contributes to Ngāti Tūrangitukua identity as members

learn about environmental and water management, and cultural concepts, such as whanaungatanga.

Kaitotika Me Whakapakari Tinana is another Ngāti Tūrangitukua initiative involving the creation of kai and rongoā gardens, and food preparation with healthy options. An environmental and social goal of the initiative is to establish a sustainable resource for use collectively by members. A further goal is increased physical activity and improved nutrition, which are seen as key to achieving healthy lifestyles.

Ngāti Tūrangitukua delivers cultural programmes, including a series of wānanga on Ngāti Tūrangitukua history and kōrero, whaikōrero, karanga, and mōteatea. The overall goal of these wānanga is to increase the number of kaikaranga and kaikōrero on Ngāti Tūrangitukua paepae across the rohe and to provide an opportunity to share collective Ngāti Tūrangitukua knowledge.

Rationale for case selection

As mentioned previously, a collective case study design was deemed to be the most appropriate as it provided a means to explore a diverse range of issues relevant to the thesis.

After consultation with supervisors it was decided that two cases would be adequate, on the proviso they were sufficiently different and able to offer a wide perspective. To this end, Ngaitai and Ngāti Tūrangitukua were attractive in that while they had similar interests in terms of developmental aspirations, they differed geographically in size, in

terms of the resources available to them, and the focus of their investment opportunities and service interests. Their similarities, however, were also important as both expressed enthusiasm and preparedness for the research. Furthermore, both were at a point in their planning and policy development where the broader views of 'outcomes' were being considered, and where the benefits of the research could be readily applied.

The case study approach provided a key opportunity to explore the distinct and diverse situations that influence, and the multiple perspectives that inform iwi outcomes. This was in accordance with *Objective Three* of the Study which sought a systems explanation in order that the relationships between iwi and hapū could be considered and assessed for relevance with respect to the construction of a framework to measure iwi outcomes. This systemic approach also aligned well with the principles of Kaupapa Māori research adhered to during this study which views the connectedness of the individual, to the whānau, to the hapū to the iwi in a complex system of reciprocal relationships.(Bishop, 2010)

Therefore, during formative hui with proposed research participants, and initial meetings with supervisors, Māori research experts and iwi development practitioners, innovative approaches to exploring iwi outcomes within a case study were discussed that would enable a rich description of iwi outcomes and reveal its deep structure. The approach that resulted from these consultations was that iwi outcomes would be explored by contrasting one case that proffered an iwi perspective with another case that proffered the perspectives of a hapū operating *within* an iwi context.

Adopting this considered approach proved fruitful in terms of insights and perspectives that the data yielded. With respect to the Ngaitai case, an overview of iwi development was expected, with perhaps a 'macro-view' of operations and their related insights.

With respect to Ngāti Tūrangitukua, perspectives were provided in relation to Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the iwi from which Ngāti Tūrangitukua whakapapa, and in relation to other hapū.

Both cases were interested in more expansive definitions of outcomes which were able to capture more than just conventional indices such as economic performance and financial reserves. Rather, preference was for a focus on more integrated approaches that were able to align and incorporate social, cultural, and environmental outcomes. A framework capable of providing for the measurement of integrated approaches to iwi development was therefore seen as complementary to current iwi efforts.

Both cases also provided a range of programmes within domains that are relatively common among other iwi within New Zealand and would therefore serve as useful proxies for other iwi development initiatives. The variety of domains was such that a wide perspective could be gained of the likely nature and extent of outcomes expected from a framework for measuring iwi outcomes. And both cases had been in operation long enough to provide depth of experience, both institutional and personal, to ensure findings would be grounded and pragmatic.

A primary difference in location was also appealing as was the resulting differences in access to resources and people.

Ngaitai is located along the east coast of the North Island. Their identity, culture, and economy are therefore strongly influenced by, and connected with, the sea, fisheries and foreshore. The Ngaitai rohe is also located in a predominantly rural region.

Ngāti Tūrangitukua, however, is located inland. Their culture and identity are therefore strongly connected to the land and mountains, and their economies are based on land and forestry ventures. Ngāti Tūrangitukua is also located within a township and, as a result, encounters challenges and opportunities similar to those experienced by urban-based iwi.

A significant contrast that contributed to the selection of each case was that Ngāti Tūrangitukua has for some time been operating within a post-Treaty settlement environment, whereas Ngaitai have yet to negotiate their Treaty claims with the Crown. The availability of resources (including cash) and relationships to a group as the result of a settlement has obvious implications in terms of strategy, planning, and policy development for an iwi going forward. Further, important lessons can be learned and transferred to those about to embark on such a process.

Both cases, therefore, saw value in the research and expressed a keen interest in utilizing the outcomes of the Study. Positive relationships with both had been formed during the formative stages of the Study which provided a solid and enduring platform for the research.

Chapter Two: *Summary*

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that the complexity of the thesis demanded a research approach that was similarly detailed, robust, considered, and ultimately designed to ensure that the objectives of the Study (on all levels) were met. Definitions and descriptions of qualitative research methods were provided and shown to offer the most secure means through which an appropriate research platform could be developed. The approach offered richness and depth to the research process, a means through which conversations and discussions could be captured, as well as a suitable way in which the diverse strands of the research could easily coalesce.

Overlaying Māori research approaches and principles were also made possible within a qualitative frame. And, while discussion and debate continue as to its key characteristics or components, there is little argument that research with a Māori focus (however described) can only benefit from the inclusion of Māori approaches, Māori philosophies, and Māori methods.

Integrating a qualitative approach with Māori research methods was made possible through the application of a research strategy known as case study. The approach had well-developed systems for how information would be collected and interpreted, how data and material would be sourced, captured, validated, stored, interpreted, displayed, and ultimately presented. The approach provided pragmatic guidance on the application of the research but importantly accommodated multiple research methods and philosophies without conflict or compromise.

In the end, while the research was drawn from various established and conventional methods, the application of these methods was unique to this Study. It was a targeted and considered research approach, designed to test a novel hypothesis, to create new knowledge, and, ultimately, to make a contribution to iwi and Māori development.

Chapter Three

TITIRO WHAKAMUA, HAERE KI MURI: JOURNEYS OF THE PAST, INSIGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

Introduction

Chapter One provided the background to this thesis and introduced the idea that contemporary Māori development cannot be divorced from the past; the present is fundamentally shaped by the past and historical trends can be useful to inform future aspirations. This chapter expands on this idea but is focused on how past developments and challenges have informed Māori concepts of growth and development, how these experiences have guided Māori endeavour and, perhaps more significantly, how these have shaped Māori notions of what is important, what is valued, and what outcomes are most relevant to Māori development today.

To this end, Chapter Three offers a brief overview of Māori development with a primary focus on better understanding the outcomes which are important to Māori and, by extension, to iwi. It explores historical issues and contemporary developments as well

as more recent trends. It is designed to provide an appropriate context to the Study, however qualified, and further elucidate the multiple factors that have influenced Māori social, political, cultural, and demographic change. In this manner, the context for measuring iwi outcomes can be more appropriately framed and the broader aspirations of Māori more clearly identified.

Pre-contact Māori

While exact dates and events are impossible to locate, it is generally agreed that Aotearoa, New Zealand, was settled after voyages of discovery and colonisation by East Polynesians some 800–1000 years ago. Māori oral tradition has attributed the earliest of these voyages to the legendary explorer Kupe, who, after exploring Aotearoa, returned to Hawaiki to tell of his discovery. Following this initial discovery other Māori explorers arrived and subsequently settled the new land.

Early Māori were to develop in ways that were somewhat different from other parts of the Pacific and Polynesia. The climate and landscape, for example, meant that new skills and techniques had to be developed. Alternate modes of food gathering and agriculture had to be mastered, along with navigating a landscape that was vaster than anywhere else they had encountered. As a consequence, and within a relatively short period, a unique culture had developed. And, while links to the Pacific were clearly evident within the language and basic belief systems, there was little doubt that a new culture, separate from other parts of Polynesia, had emerged (Petrie, 2006).

Within this society, whānau soon evolved as the primary social grouping and were typically independent work groups that gathered food and cultivated crops for their own consumption and trade (Petrie, 2006). Hapū were larger groups of closely related whānau who chose to settle in a particular area for access to food resources as well as defence (Petrie, 2006). Hapū were also the main political and economic unit, recognising the mana of a senior rangatira or chief (Consedine, 2007). The role of the chief, the concept of mana, and the importance of the chief's ability to provide food were crucial aspects of early Māori society. Due to the temperate and variable climate, much diversity developed in the mode of life for Māori in the different parts of New Zealand – from the sub-tropical north to the sub-Antarctic south. Due also to the differences in economic resources between communities, there was a great deal of trade between hapū. The coastal communities exchanged fish with inland communities, who were likewise able to trade preserved birds, rats, and various other inland foods. The large land mass, tribal-based associations, and active trade, meant various networks and relationships had to be nurtured, and, by the time of European contact, a complex and sophisticated political system had also evolved (Petrie, 2006).

Early European contact

From the beginning of sustained contact with Europeans during the early 19th century, Māori embraced the opportunity to trade. Henare (2011) suggests that the driving force behind Māori trading with early Europeans centred on securing access to the 'new technologies and resources' such as muskets, iron, knives, axes, potatoes, sugar, pork,

turnips, and rope – products that were novel and useful and had the potential to contribute significantly to a subsistence society.

Henare (2011) also notes that positive relationships were formed with the early Europeans and that many Māori travelled overseas with the traders to acquire knowledge about commerce to enable them to purchase ships to travel and trade extensively with Sydney-based settlers. Māori also enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to read and write and were able to learn from their international experiences how to negotiate more effectively with European settlers and to learn more about new technologies.

However, by the early 1830s, it appeared that these connections with the outside world were not always positive or mutually beneficial. The effects of introduced diseases and lifestyle changes saw a decrease in the Māori population to the point where some serious concerns were raised about the on-going survival of the Māori people. As early as 1832, colonial officials noted the poor health conditions of Māori and the declining Māori population. In terms of the latter, expectations were that this would continue unless there was some form of active intervention. This was a sharp departure from earlier reports, which were generally positive about Māori health and well-being.

However, by the late 1830s, the British Government was preparing to regulate the affairs of New Zealand, partly in response to the issues raised concerning the well-being of the Māori population, but also to better regulate the sale of Māori land to settlers (Consedine, 2007). The type of intervention initially recommended by colonial officials was a ‘protectorate’. This would allow the Crown to administer the affairs of the country

in the interest of all inhabitants – Māori and European. William Hobson, a naval officer, promoted an alternative ‘factory plan’. This would have led to the establishment of European type settlements within certain geographical locations, within which British laws would be established. Māori settlements would similarly be established and likewise see the application of Māori laws and custom within these boundaries.

Despite this, the Colonial Office in England determined that the most suitable way to protect Māori interests was to annex the country – transferring sovereignty from Māori to the Crown. For this to occur, a treaty of cessation was required (Belich, 1986). In August 1839, Hobson was dispatched from London with instructions to take the steps necessary to establish a constitutionally-bound British colony. His instructions were to negotiate a voluntary transfer of sovereignty, and to essentially protect Māori from being defrauded on land sales by European investors (King, 2012). The result of these negotiations was the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty of Waitangi & land loss

Numerous précis and theses have been written on the intent and design of the Treaty of Waitangi and there remains some considerable debate about its historical underpinnings and contemporary application. It is unlikely that a consensus view will be reached suffice to say that it remains a topic of significant interest to both Māori and non-Māori alike. Within the context of this thesis it serves as a touchstone for Māori and non-Māori interactions and a key transitional point in Māori history. And, while this brief overview of the Treaty deliberately avoids a detailed analysis of its function and

purpose, it nevertheless signals an important transitional point in Māori history and the subsequent trajectory of Māori development.

While to a large extent Māori were optimistic about the Treaty, its signing provided little benefit or relief from the deleterious impacts of colonisation and, in fact, the Māori situation continued to decline.

At the time Māori signed the Treaty there were approximately 2,000 Europeans living in New Zealand and an estimated Māori population of 70,000–90,000 (Pool, 1991). However, settlers began to arrive in greater numbers from this point, while the Māori population continued to decline. By 1858, the European and Māori populations were even – approximately 59,000 (Pool, 1991).

In terms of Māori economic status, in the first 18 years after the signing of the Treaty, Māori continued to adapt and increase economic production to take advantage of the burgeoning trading opportunities with the new settlers. For many Māori, the shift had been made from a subsistence and neighbouring trade-based economy to a largely unfamiliar one driven by a cash economy. Initially, Māori had adapted well to this environment, international trade with Australia was active and Māori soon developed their domestic opportunities. Wheat was the staple food of the new settlers so Māori focused on wheat growing, flour milling, and coastal shipping. Along with their own general food production, these industries dominated the trade economy for Māori until the late 1850s (Petrie, 2006).

However, by that stage the most significant and long-lasting decline in the economic position of Māori had begun. The demise of the flour milling and shipping industries began with the collapse of the flour, produce, and wheat markets. Crops were affected by caterpillars and disease, while improved transportation and communication meant that low-priced flour from city centres reduced the viability of provincial mills. These market trends also affected Europeans; however, there was no significant diversification among Māori. This, among other factors, undermined their commercial endeavours and affected their political capability (Petrie, 2006).

At the same time, the demand for land by settlers had increased significantly. The government had bought much of the South Island by 1860, with agreements on the provision of reserves, schools, and hospitals. The circumstances surrounding these purchases have engendered much debate, due mainly to the dubious manner in which these 'sales' were negotiated. Procurements in the more populous North Island, however, were different. There was a growing awareness among Māori of the colonisation process and the impact of settlers arriving from Britain, Ireland, and Europe (Walker, 2004). This awareness and corresponding opposition crystallised in an emerging sense of Māori nationalism. In 1858, the Kingitanga – the King Movement – was established. Supporters of the King Movement (primarily in the North Island) sought to retain their land, which they recognised as being the basis of land issues that emerged in the Taranaki region. War broke out in the Taranaki District of Waitara in 1860 over a land dispute, and followed in Waikato in 1863. Sinclair (2000) contends the main reason for war was competition for land, with other factors such as the

determination of the colonial government to assert authority over New Zealand and friction due to racial prejudice.

Although the Crown had acquired the South Island during the 1860s, Stewart Island and much more of the North Island had been purchased, confiscated or claimed as 'wasteland'. A large part of the North Island, however, remained beyond the reach of colonisation and settlement; in 1865, some 19 million acres of land was considered to be in Māori customary title (D. Williams, 1999). However, by 1909 more than eighteen million acres of this land was surveyed by the newly established Native Land Court and, as a result, was transferred from traditional, collective ownership to individual ownership and thereby more susceptible to transfer to European settlers (D. Williams, 1999). Almost none of the surveyed land had been settled by Māori.

Following the land wars of the 1860s, Māori had lost much of their autonomy, and the British population had grown through the procurement of Māori land and active colonization policies. By 1896, the Māori population had hit its lowest point at approximately 42,000, just 10% of the total New Zealand population (Pool, 1991).

Depopulation

The objectives of the Treaty were in part designed as a platform for Māori development; however, based on the continued population decline, it proved less than successful. As discussed earlier, the 19th century was characterised by significant and sustained Māori

de-population; the population had declined by more than 75% over this period, from 200,000 to just 42,000.

The reasons for this decline and change in health profile are complex, though not difficult to identify. The land and tribal wars during the mid-1800s had a particularly negative impact on Māori, as did the introduction of diseases from which Māori had little biological protection (McLintock, 1966). Isolation from other parts of the world allowed a unique culture to develop and flourish, but it also made Māori susceptible to many of the diseases that had ravaged those parts of the world. The population was unprepared, biologically and socially, and the effects therefore were both predictable and ultimately devastating (M. Durie, 1998b).

Cultural decay had a comparable, though perhaps less obvious impact. As colonization took effect, cultural decay resulted in the abandonment of many of the social structures and practices that for hundreds of years had been used to promote and protect Māori health (Bishop, 1994). The traditional pā or Māori settlement, for example, had evolved into a complex series of physical and social structures. Deliberate mechanisms were put in place to ensure fresh food and clean water were available, people were protected from the elements, and waste was disposed of. And to prevent contamination, a range of other health-based practices were adopted. However, these mechanisms were in many ways inconsistent with how the new colony was developing and in the end were abandoned as other opportunities and lifestyles were explored.

While traditional ways of living would have eventually been lost, the rate at which this occurred was of major concern, especially as Māori moved quickly from traditional

systems to western-based environments. This cultural transfer often resulted in the abandonment of traditional mechanisms and safeguards. In the end it was not that western systems were wrong for Māori, but that appropriate mechanisms for health and safety were displaced but not replaced.

While it is difficult to say with any certainty how each issue directly affected Māori health and development, the cumulative effect of these changes was a dramatic decline in the Māori population and with it a corresponding decline in Māori land, Māori control, and Māori culture.

Before the end of the 19th century, it was already clear that Māori expectations for the future were modest. Insofar as providing a framework for Māori development the offerings initially proposed by the Treaty of Waitangi had failed to materialise. This is perhaps not the fault of the Treaty per se, but more a reluctance by the Crown to implement its many provisions in full.

By the beginning of the 20th century, there seemed little reason to develop any plans for Māori advancement – Treaty-based or otherwise – when many believed the population was doomed to extinction.

A Māori response

While the 19th century was characterised by depopulation, despondency, and despair, the 20th century was to illustrate Māori resilience and resolve – a determination that was

eventually to result in a remarkable and somewhat unexpected population recovery. Again, however, the Treaty and the Crown played only a minimal role in this. In fact, it was largely due to the determination of Māori and a desire to address their own concerns that a platform for Māori development was established.

During this period a new generation of Māori leaders emerged who were not only well educated in the European system but were at ease and well respected in the Māori world. People such as James Carroll, Āpirana Ngata, Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck), and Maui Pomare were very influential in representing and promoting Māori issues. In 1907, Ngata and Chief Justice Sir Robert Stout were appointed to investigate the best methods for bringing unoccupied and 'unimproved' Māori land into production. This became known as the Stout-Ngata Commission, and was partly designed to arrest by some means the population decline and aligned health concerns. Stout and Ngata reported an urgent need for Government assistance for Māori in order that they might develop their own land. Government initiatives and assistance had been available for some time because of the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1891 and the Advances to Settlers Act 1894. However, these were generally for the benefit of individual owners, and invariably not of use to Māori who held land in communal ownership. The Crown continued to purchase land, for example, to provide land for settlement for returning servicemen from World War I. Māori often continued to sell land as they generally lacked access to capital and technological skills to develop the land themselves (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

After becoming Minister of Māori Affairs in 1928, Ngata began initiating and implementing land development schemes for Māori. He saw the consolidation,

corporate management, and development of Māori lands as solutions to providing a working economic base for Māori. He sought to make rural communities economically viable. The purpose of the legislation was to promote the better settlement and utilisation of 'Native' land or land occupied by Māori, and to encourage Māori in the promotion of agricultural pursuits and of efforts of industry and self-help. However, in the mid-1930s, the administration of the scheme was centralised to the then Native Department, and successive governments moved the emphasis away from rural Māori land towards efficient use of land for the 'national good'. Another significant obstacle was that there simply was not enough suitable land left in Māori hands to provide reasonable prosperity. Increasingly, Māori migrated to towns and cities, seeking good housing, well-paid jobs, and other opportunities, rather than continuing to struggle on marginal lands.

Growth and development

As a consequence of these efforts the Māori population began to grow, slowly at first, but by the mid-1930s it appeared that the predicted extinction of the Māori race would fail to materialise. And, although the population was not large, it was at least increasing and provided some optimism for future development. By the 1950s a 'growth-spurt' of sorts was well underway with the Māori population increasing at a rate far greater than that of non-Māori. Other changes were also evident. A second great Māori migration was in progress, though this time was not from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, but from small rural communities to major urban centres. In search of employment, excitement, and

opportunities, many Māori were enticed into the cities and quite often did well as jobs were plentiful and excitement abundant.

However, this urban shift and social integration, also lead to cultural isolation and alienation from many of the traditional structures that in the past had protected and nurtured Māori. While many would have maintained cultural ties, networks, practices, and language, distance from traditional lands, marae, cultural institutions, whānau, and hapū would have made things difficult. For many, further cultural decay was inevitable, as was an increasing diverse population – culturally, socially, and politically – and with greater intermarriage also came greater ethnic diversity (McFarlane-Nathan, 1994).

Urbanisation

By 1951, 19% of the Māori population of 115,740 was urban growing to 80% of the Māori by 1970. (Meredith, 2000). Durie (1998b) comments on the significance of the urbanisation phenomenon, observing that whereas a century earlier, Māori identity had been moulded as much by the forces of colonisation as by Māori themselves, from 1945 urbanisation became the unbridled force that called for fresh understanding of what it meant to be Māori.

Barcham (1998) notes that the process of urbanisation not only continued but also intensified the threat of cultural losses that had begun with European contact and colonisation. Moreover, many of the offspring of Māori urban migrants had distanced

and disenfranchised themselves from the tribal origins of their parents and grandparents.

The cultural dislocation and resulting difficulties with socio-economic adjustment had an adverse impact on many whānau. Urban-living Māori were confronted with the economic realities of adapting to a cash economy and meeting financial commitments. With no whānau to turn to many social problems inevitably surfaced.

As a response to the urbanisation of Māori and the challenges of cultural and social dislocation, 'voluntary associations' appeared in the form of Māori culture clubs, Māori sports clubs, religious and tribal associations, Māori executive committees and Māori councils, Māori wardens, and the Māori Women's Welfare League. The essence of these voluntary associations was group membership with the common agenda of promoting the perpetuation of Māori identity, values, and culture.

At a local level, a broad range of groups formed; most of the members were Māori or the group itself had a Māori flavour, such as Māori sports clubs, Māori church organisations or simply Māori culture clubs. These often had little to do with any particular iwi and therefore encouraged membership from across multiple iwi boundaries. They retained Māori cultural perspectives and principles. The old Māori ideal was kept whereby each group managed itself, looking after its own members and promoting their common welfare, working with other groups where that seemed necessary but keeping their independence (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998b).

The 1960s further witnessed the beginnings of the widespread establishment of 'urban marae' to replace the suburban state house and the community hall as a 'temporary marae' for hui such as tangihanga and marriages. It was an attempt by urban Māori to create a space for the expression of Māori culture and to develop their group identity.

For many urban Māori theirs was a shared social commitment to actualise their perceived right as urban Māori to be recognised within the broader Māori politic, and as urban Māori to organise themselves in accordance with their own tikanga, to address their own problems in their own way. It was this shared social and political commitment that constructed bodies with a specific urban Māori infusion. These urban Māori groups drew from the foundations that had been laid by voluntary associations, the growing leadership and networks created. They argued the legitimacy of the representativeness and the pragmatism of their associations based on their situated knowledge of urban Māori; they were run by urban Māori, they knew what the needs were, they identified with urban-based aspirations of urban-based Māori, and they knew how to operate in the urban setting. One such urban group was Te Whānau o Waipareira. It grew out of a shared spirit of whānau and a will to survive the challenges of West Auckland (Meredith, 2000).

With no primary resources such as forest or land, urban Māori groups focused instead on assuming the management of programmes for employment, welfare, and economic development. This occurred initially in the environment of the devolution and contracting out of government services to community-based service providers. Urban Māori were well positioned to take advantage of these opportunities and, when aligned

with organisations such as Te Whānau o Waipareira, had developed the infrastructure through which these could be managed.

At this time, urban Māori were beginning to adopt a politically representative character, advocating the rights of urban Māori as both citizens of the Māori community and New Zealand. However, in actively promoting the political, social, economic, and cultural concerns of urban Māori, they were competing for recognition and resources from Government and many iwi groupings. A tense relationship between iwi and urban Māori was beginning to develop and with it challenges to the more established approaches to Māori engagement and Māori development.

Urban Māori and Iwi Māori

By the early 1990s, many Māori urbanites were no longer prepared to accept that ‘tribal’ approaches were sufficient to accommodate all Māori interests and development strategies. They were concerned that Māori who did not participate in tribal activities were being afforded lesser status as Māori. Given that Government public policy was increasingly favouring an ‘iwi’ approach, urban Māori turned their attention to the definition of ‘iwi’ in the contemporary context. Key components of urban Māori struggles have been to claim the ‘right to have rights’ and the task of making their identity the ‘subject of rights’. In this respect, a key initiative was a claim by the Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1994 alleging that the then Community Funding Agency of the Department of Social Welfare had not treated the Trust as a Treaty partner (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998a). The Waitangi Tribunal upheld the

claim resulting in the introduction to parliament of a bill amending the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989. The amendment enabled trusts such as Waipareira and other Māori and non-Māori organisations to apply for funding to deliver social services on a larger scale. More significantly, however, it represented a seminal change in how the Government viewed non-kin-based Māori organisations. In essence, these organisations were gaining legitimacy as appropriate representatives of Māori who existed outside the more conventional iwi-based frameworks.

As a result, urban Māori had situated themselves as distinct communities with distinct social claims, not outside, but within the broader Māori politic. Urban Māori have offered a potential for reordering, restructuring, and renewal of the boundaries of whom and what it was to be Māori. Their claims were therefore inherently counter-hegemonic. Through their challenges and transgressions, they are disrupting the hegemonic discourses and practices of 'Māoriness' constructed by iwi, hapū, and whakapapa (Barcham, 1998). By contesting the cultural discourse of iwi, rangatiratanga, and tradition generally, they were creating new ways of thinking about and new spaces for, the Māori subject and the Māori world (Meredith, 2000).

For many urban-living Māori, these new Authorities held much appeal, especially as they were often thought to be more relevant to their own realities, and social and cultural expectations. They were in many instances geographically more accessible and likewise better able to engage Māori who had limited knowledge of Māori culture or Māori institutions. However, comparisons, and tensions with iwi were inevitable and especially as competition for government resources and contracting for services took place.

Government positioning of iwi

In spite of the challenges presented by urban Māori and especially Urban Māori Authorities (such as Te Whānau o Waipareira), iwi were to maintain a central role in government plans for Māori development. The 1984 Hui Taumata advocated iwi development, as did an advisory report, *Puao-te-ata-tu*, to the (then) Department of Social Welfare in 1986. Iwi development also under-pinned Labour Government legislation and official policy of that period. The Māori Affairs policy document, *Te Urupare Rangahau* (1988) further proposed the devolution of Government services to iwi and the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1989, attempted to provide a ‘recognised iwi’ with the ability to create a represented rūnanga with a legal personality that could enter into contractual relationships. The Act was repealed in 1991. Interestingly, ‘types’ of rūnanga or councils were created among tribal groupings, often as incorporated societies or charitable trusts, to join the ‘traditional’ statutory tribal Trust Boards as the organisation bodies for development and representation.

Treaty claims & settlements

Part of the impetus for these bodies was the framework for settling Treaty of Waitangi claims that also seemed to privilege iwi.

The Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 broadened the scope of the Waitangi Tribunal. This enabled the Tribunal, a commission of inquiry, to investigate alleged

breaches of the Treaty and make findings and recommendations with respect to such claims.

Urban Māori were not the only group to question the choice of iwi as the development instrument for Māori. Hapū-oriented Māori also argued the historical evidence that suggested it was hapū rather than iwi that were the primary group from which Māori socially, economically, and politically organised themselves. However, iwi proponents, with their own political agendas, asserted their legitimacy on notions of simple logic and common sense (Meredith, 2000).

To better accelerate the settlement of claims, the process of direct negotiation was introduced. Where there was agreement about the facts, whether determined by the Tribunal or not, claimants and the Crown were now able to negotiate the terms of settlement and reach an outcome that would be both fair and durable. This would avoid the Tribunal process and ensure that agreements and recommendations were binding. Consistent with this model, major claims have now been settled and many tribes are now well placed to establish sustainable economies that will allow greater self-sufficiency. Māori economic investments are higher than they have ever been and continue to grow at unprecedented rates (M. Durie, 2011).

Chapter Three: *Summary*

This chapter has revealed, in brief, the changing demographic, social, and cultural profile of Māori. From the time of initial settlement, Māori have experienced

considerable change, whether as a response to a new land and environment or more directly as a consequence of external factors and motivators. The population has experienced both peaks and troughs, land has been alienated and acquired, new economies sought, urban settings established, cultural diversity embraced, and all within the space of some 200 years.

Within this dynamism, however, and in spite of significant threats, tribal entities have remained relevant, and continue to shape the lives and experiences of many Māori – both rural and urban.

Some have rightly questioned the relevance of iwi in modern times, the logic of linking the experiences and expectations of all Māori to these traditional structures, the unquestionable fact that most Māori live away from their tribal boundaries, and that for many Māori their engagement with iwi and iwi authorities is limited at best. In spite of this, iwi have continued to shape and define major aspects of Māori development, either through exerting their political influence or more directly by flexing their economic muscle. They remain the primary vehicle for Māori engagement with the Crown and are reshaping themselves (politically and economically) in ways that will further extend their reach and ability to engage their members.

In spite of these developments, there is a need to ensure that growth and development does not occur in an unregulated or un-orchestrated manner; the risk being that iwi development is progressed at all costs but with little regard to the actual needs and expectations of iwi members. There is a need for more deliberate approaches to Māori development and a better alignment between activities and outcomes. It is at this point

that this thesis might offer direction and insight, by providing a frame for iwi development and a method through which the investments of iwi and the expectations of iwi members can be better measured and more securely aligned. The following chapter explores these issues in greater detail and in particular how more aligned outcomes might be identified.

Chapter Four

NGĀ WAWATA O NGĀ IWI: THE DESTINATION

Introduction

The preceding chapter provided a broad overview of Māori development, examining past challenges, highlighting various turning points in New Zealand history and creating a précis of the types of influences that have shaped the current context within which Māori – and iwi – operate, as well as the values and aspirations that have shaped Māori development. This chapter will look more closely at that current context and identify some factors that may be useful to consider in terms of constructing a framework to measure iwi outcomes.

Any discussion of iwi outcomes will be closely, if not inextricably, linked to a discussion of Māori development. The ‘context’ referred to above may be better referred to as the Māori development context through which iwi navigate their affairs in order to produce positive outcomes for its members.

Therefore, this chapter will explore some considerations relating to Māori development. This will include exploring a 'Māori development approach'; an approach that has steadily evolved over the past 20 or so years and which has contributed to the way in which iwi seek and promote positive outcomes for their members. One reason for exploring this is to survey relevant thinking on the nature of iwi development and, to some extent, identify its likely components. Such a discussion will contribute useful insight to assist with the seminal function of this thesis – the possibility of a framework for measuring iwi outcomes.

Discourse of Development

The term 'development' is often described as a process towards economic, social and political well-being, and the key to understanding how development occurs are the underlying objectives behind each development group or entity that determine the process (Carter, Kamau, & Barrett, 2011). Amartya Sen (1999) refers to development as a process for expanding the real freedoms people enjoy. This expands on the narrower idea of development being linked solely to economic endeavour and usefully aligns with indigenous notions of embracing a more holistic approach. Sen (1999) also considers that barriers to freedom are important developmental principles such as poverty, lack of education, and political disempowerment, and overcoming these is paramount to progressing development and, in particular, economic development.

Sillitoe et al. have listed a number of ways that development has been defined in the past, as well as various emerging trends (Sillitoe, Bicker, & Pottier, 2002). They note

that in the past (as part of a “modernization approach”) the development paradigm “not only dismisses local knowledge, but views it as part of the problem, being non-scientific, traditional and risk-adverse, even irrational and primitive” (Sillitoe et al., 2002, p. 3). Development was also part of a “dependency approach”, which “portrays poor farmers as helpless victims; [and] local knowledge is again side-lined, this time as the view of the powerless” (Sillitoe et al., 2002, p. 3).

With the growing interest in promoting indigenous knowledge as a legitimate thought and action, there was a change to a ‘market-liberal approach’, which is still largely dependent on market forces dictating the group’s choice and appropriateness of the options for development. Leading on from this, neo-populism gave “potential prominence to local knowledge, which is taken seriously and granted a role in problem identification, research and so on” (Sillitoe et al., 2002).

Sillitoe and colleagues have, however, identified an increasing emphasis on what they term ‘the third way’ (Sillitoe et al., 2002). In this development approach, indigenous knowledge and management processes and systems are given full credence in that the approaches are “trying to advance mutual comprehension and allowing them [indigenous peoples] to speak effectively for themselves... by evolving mutual collaborative research arrangements” and which lead to indigenous-driven development strategies (Sillitoe et al., 2002).

It is this ‘third way’ development paradigm that Carter et al. align with indigenous perspectives of development (Carter et al., 2011). The approach can position indigenous peoples in ways that allow them to speak effectively for themselves in both research and

development. As discussed by a number of indigenous scholars, indigenous development places emphasis on the holistic nature of indigenous social organisation and practices. This leads to a multi-contextual approach to determining what indigenous development is or might be (Carter et al., 2011).

Positive Māori Development

The term ‘positive Māori development’ has been used to capture the developmental aspirations of Māori and was an idea first coined at the Hui Taumata – the Māori Economic Summit – in 1984. Convened jointly by the Ministers of Māori Affairs and Finance, and chaired by Professor Ngatata Love, the Hui was attended by Māori tribal and community representatives from a wide range of sectors and was motivated by ‘the bleakness of the Māori economy and evidence of widening disparities between Māori and non-Māori’ (M. Durie, 1998a).

At the Hui, reference to ‘positive Māori development’ signalled a new approach to advancement in economic, social and cultural areas and was a sharp contrast to policies of state dependency and a focus on ‘negative spending’ (by the state on behalf of Māori) that had characterised past policies affecting Māori. Although the concept of ‘development’ has since been criticised because of its frequent association with multi-national investments in third world countries (often at the expense of local control and local priorities), it was nonetheless greeted by Māori as a welcome way of defining Māori aspirations for economic self-sufficiency and social equity (M. Durie, 2005a). Use

of the term also coincided with international discourse for indigenous people to pursue pathways towards greater independence and self-determination (M. Durie, 2005a).

At the opening session of the Hui, the Hon. K. T. Wetere encouraged participants to discuss four main objectives (Department of Māori Affairs, 1984):

- To reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Māori.
- To examine the strengths and weaknesses of Māori people in the current position.
- To discuss policies for Māori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand.
- To obtain commitment to advancing Māori interests.

By the conclusion of the Hui, six themes, central to the philosophy of positive Māori development, had emerged, namely (a) the Treaty of Waitangi, (b) tino rangatiratanga, (c) iwi development, (d) economic self-reliance, (e) social equity, and (f) cultural advancement (M. Durie, 1998a).

The Hui resulted in some significant shifts to the way in which Māori had previously viewed 'development'. It suggested that Māori development was different from conventional notions of progress and that it must be informed by a unique Māori base and from a Māori perspective. In this way, the Hui provided a contemporary catalyst

through which Māori enthusiasm for the future could be harnessed and, simultaneously, signalled a move towards policies that empowered Māori.

Arising out of the Hui was also an expectation that Māori could realise greater levels of economic self-sufficiency, improved social well-being, and less dependency on the state if they took advantage of their own distinctive social institutions, such as iwi and hapū, and actively developed their own tribal resources (M. Durie, 1998a). Iwi development, therefore, became the preferred focus for Māori development.

An aligned outcome of the Hui was the inclusion of a Māori development agenda within government strategies and policies. Following the Hui, many government functions were consequently devolved to iwi, hapū and urban Māori authorities, which helped create an environment where Māori (especially iwi) could take the lead on initiatives of significance to Māori development.

A Māori development approach

The emergence of a 'Māori development approach' was a seminal outcome of the Hui Taumata. This approach has evolved closely with on-going understandings of Māori well-being with well-being considered to be the outcome of Māori development (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

When framed within the context of Māori well-being, Māori development promotes a process of enablement that seeks to extend people's scope for improving their own lives

(Statistics New Zealand, 2012). It involves notions of expanding opportunities, enhanced choice, better access (for example, to Māori knowledge and institutions and to the knowledge and institutions of society generally), increasing participation (not just in Māori areas but also in the larger economic, social, cultural and political processes), and increasing self-determination (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). It is also focused on positive development, a greater level of autonomy, the equitable distribution of the benefits of society, and a refusal to give precedence to economic development at the expense of social, cultural, and ecological concerns (Loomis, 2000).

Forster (2000) has also set out a helpful way of viewing Māori development. She notes that Māori development is a vehicle for prosperity and progress and is generally focused in five broad areas of development: cultural, social, and economic contexts, plus the development of both political autonomy and natural resources. In line with these perspectives, the objectives of Māori development can be gathered into five broad goals (Statistics New Zealand, 2012):

1. Social well-being;
2. Environmental sustainability;
3. Cultural affirmation;
4. Economic self-sufficiency; and
5. Self-determination.

Goal 1: Social well-being and whānau

Any discussion about the social well-being of iwi and its members will inevitably involve discussion of whānau. The relationship of whānau to iwi has assumed greater significance this century, partly in response to iwi delivery of health and social services and also as a consequence of Treaty of Waitangi settlements (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). The advent of Whānau Ora initiatives has further seen whānau take centre stage in many, if not most, iwi and Māori development approaches.

Whānau has been variously defined but generally refers to Māori who share common descent and kinship, as well as collective interests that generate reciprocal ties and aspirations (Cram & Kennedy, 2010). In earlier years, members of whānau lived in close proximity to each other and were able to share in the collective activities with relative ease. Caring for children, gathering food, building houses, and farming whānau land were examples of shared functions that whānau were able to undertake for a common good. The need for government intervention was relatively infrequent.

However, with changing social and economic policies, these characteristics are not universally embraced and whānau are now much more diverse in terms of their role, function, and composition. Several factors have led to a substantially modified whānau environment, at least in modern times: the depression in the 1930s, World War II, the mid-1940s urbanisation, and the impact of increasing globalization. The cumulative effect of these events meant that whānau were becoming increasingly heterogeneous (Tamihere, 1999). Though whānau remain connected (through various mechanisms), opportunities for close interaction have been attenuated. At the same time, new

communication technologies have created fresh links that hold promise for whānau connectedness. Younger whānau members, for example, increasingly use social networking tools such as Facebook and YouTube to maintain links with cousins, uncles, aunts and siblings (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

New developments – cultural, social, and political – have meant that whānau are now viewed differently from the more traditional notions of whānau. New foundations of whānau have taken place to provide for the diverse needs of Māori within the social, political and economic contexts which they find themselves (G. Smith, 1995). The position of whānau in the promotion of well-being for Māori has been increasingly articulated over the past 10 years on both a formal and informal basis.

Māori have, as a necessity, constructed a range of models of whānau. Durie (1998b) emphasises the diversity of whānau in contemporary Māori society and notes the term whānau has evolved in line with changes that have occurred in Māori society generally. There now exists a ‘spectrum’ of whānau types that range from whakapapa-whānau to kaupapa-whānau, including the following types (M. Durie, 1998b):

- whānau as kin (who descend from a common ancestor)
- whānau as share-holders-in-common (who are share-holders in land)
- whānau as friends (who share a common purpose)
- whānau as a model of interaction (for example in a school environment)
- whānau as neighbours (with shared location of residence)
- whānau as household (urban dwellers), and
- the virtual whānau (that meets in cyberspace due to geographical separation).

Durie (1998b) utilises the term 'kaupapa whānau' as a means of describing those whānau who are not based within whakapapa relations, but are constituted and maintained through a particular purpose or set of circumstances, and therefore have diverse roles and obligations for their members. Not only do kaupapa whānau provide daily support to their members, but they can further enable forms of support (consistent with whakapapa whānau) in economic and social domains (Metge, 1995).

As mentioned earlier, the relationship of whānau to iwi has assumed greater significance this century, partly in response to iwi delivery of health and social services and also as a consequence of Treaty of Waitangi settlements (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). With respect to the iwi delivery of health and social services, health awareness and the inclusion of health have continued to gain in prominence as items on the iwi agenda. Before 1984 fewer than five iwi included health as part of tribal business (M. Durie, 2009c). For the most part, health had been regarded as a function of health professionals, hospital boards, and the government. In contrast, nearly all iwi now regard health as a high tribal priority and most have developed health programmes delivered by their own people. Iwi health interests are evident in environmental initiatives, marae health policies, and programmes such as smoke-free marae, sport and exercise programmes, health governance, and the provision of health services. Within urban Māori communities, the delivery of health services has assumed an even higher priority; early intervention for child health, mental health services, cancer care navigation and support, and walk-in clinic services are all offered as part of a wider package of care for whānau (Te Whānau O Waipareira, 2008).

However, the current context of whānau development acknowledges that Māori whānau and iwi organisations can be seriously constrained by two frameworks that tend to dominate practice: crisis intervention and sectorial division (M. Durie, 2009c). Crisis management, whether in response to health incidents, household income, inadequate housing or school truancy, is important and requires expert assistance. But by itself crisis management does little to take whānau towards sustainability or into the future. Whānau who are overwhelmingly immersed in immediate predicaments lack both the energy and the will to look outwards beyond the crisis and into the future. The same can be said for those who provide services to whānau. A combination of heavy caseloads, coupled with never-ending problem-solving, inadvertently aggravates a climate of crisis that comes to characterise whānau in contemporary times. Crisis intervention, however, need not be a deterrent for positive development. Instead a crisis that is well managed can serve to accelerate development if the intervention tools are used to reinforce existing strengths and build new skills (M. Durie, 2009c).

The recently introduced Whānau Ora policy moves some way towards addressing the constraints discussed above. The utility of a whānau-based approach is highlighted in the 2010 report of the Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives. According to the report, Whānau Ora is about wellness, health and resilience (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). It is also an aspirational statement and implies attaining and maintaining well-being for the whānau as a whole and for the members of whānau. While Whānau Ora has a single overarching aim – best outcomes for whānau – the Taskforce identified three sets of goals that underpin the broad aim:

- Whānau goals;
- Goals for effective service delivery; and
- Goals for efficient governance and management.

The three sets of goals are interrelated – the governance goals determine the parameters for service providers, and the goals of service provision contribute to whānau goals. The Taskforce identified six major whānau goals:

- Whānau self-management;
- Healthy whānau lifestyles;
- Full whānau participation in society;
- Confident whānau participation in te ao Māori;
- Economic security and successful involvement in wealth creation; and
- Whānau cohesion.

Iwi relationships with whānau have also experienced a shift as a result of Treaty settlements. In a post-settlement era, when more Treaty settlements are being concluded, greater flow-on effects to whānau are expected. The relationship has mutual benefits. Iwi registers of members have provided relevant justifications for establishing social services and lodging claims (such as those with the Waitangi Tribunal), while whānau have benefited from iwi programmes, employment by iwi authorities and access to iwi resources.

Iwi maintain that their contributions to whānau well-being do not typically include providing resources that would otherwise be the responsibility of the State but are more closely linked to facilitating cultural development, adding value to State-funded

services, ensuring that whānau have access to iwi-funded benefits, such as educational scholarships, employment opportunities, health insurance, as well as the need to build the asset base for future generations (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

Durie (2009c) adds to this discussion of the make-up of whānau through an examination of current trends and future projections. He notes that by 2035, whānau will be more mobile, more blended, more complex, and more dispersed. Whānau will also be able to utilise new technologies that will shrink the distance between them, lend greater accuracy to the transfer of information, including health records and cultural knowledge, and give access to opportunities across the globe. He notes that diversity, mobility, and dispersal will be offset by enhanced communication and reduced alienation. Moreover, in a future environment, technological innovation, demographic transitions, unexpected catastrophes, and epidemics will interact with indigenous aspirations and strengthened Māori capability and outcomes will be difficult to predict.

Insofar as whānau development provides a foundation for Māori development, this section has revealed the various ways in which this is possible and how whānau have endured as a central feature of Māori society. While demographic, social, political, and cultural change has impacted on whānau composition, focus on the desire to promote, nurture, and sustain whānau has remained as a constant and preferred mechanism through which the aspirations of Māori can be promoted.

As an indicator of what outcomes are relevant to iwi, and iwi development, this section further suggests that measures capable of measuring whānau progress must take primacy. However, given the diverse manner in which contemporary whānau now

operate, locating the outcomes relevant to every whānau is likely to be a challenge, as are the measures capable of doing so.

Goal 2: Environmental sustainability

Iwi share common goals with regard to their ancestral landscapes. There is a dual interest in protecting these landscapes and ensuring that iwi members are able to enjoy and benefit from them. Iwi lands and natural resources are fundamental to iwi identity as reconnecting through whakapapa to their lands and resources reconnects iwi to stories of creation, history, warfare, marriage, and times of significant change (Royal, 2003).

Marsden and Henare (1992) describe kaitiakitanga as intrinsically linked to the mana whenua that iwi assert over lands and resources within their rohe. As kaitiaki, iwi recognise their intrinsic duty to ensure that the mauri and the physical and spiritual health of the environment are maintained, protected, and enhanced. The responsibility of kaitiakitanga is significant, owing in part to the landscape and its resources being the main inheritance that iwi members will leave future generations.

Law and policy affecting iwi

In spite of these connections, a range of factors have served to test the manner in which iwi and Māori have been able to enjoy, embrace, and utilize their ancestral landscapes and resources. Legislative developments (in particular) have both strengthened and

strained these connections and have likewise impacted on the manner in which these relationships have developed – at least in a contemporary context. The Resource Management Act 1991 and the local Government Act 2002 have had particular implications.

The Resource Management Act reforms and the Local Government Act 2002 were responses to genuine policy challenge following a decade and a half of active Māori involvement in environmental decision-making, primarily through litigation (J. Williams, 2005). They also followed more than three decades of steadily increasing Māori participation in state activities.

The Resource Management Act 1991 introduced the first comprehensive integration of Māori issues and values into environment regulation and town planning in New Zealand (J. Williams, 2005). Under the rubric of ‘sustainable management’ of natural and physical resources, regulatory authorities would be required to:

- recognise and give effect to the relationship between Māori and their ancestral lands, waters, wāhi tapu and taonga as matters of national importance;
- have particular regard to kaitiakitanga; and
- take account of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Local Government Act 2002 requires local authorities to consider and promote the current and future well-being of communities. It also introduced new responsibilities and opportunities for engagement and cooperation between local authorities and Māori.

The Act also recognises and respects the Crown's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi by placing some specific obligations on local authorities. These obligations are intended to facilitate participation by Māori in local authorities' decision-making processes, including requirements for councils to:

- ensure they provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making processes;
- establish and maintain processes for Māori to contribute to decision-making;
- consider ways in which they can foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to decision-making processes;
- provide relevant information to Māori; and
- take into account the relationships of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land, water, sites, wāhi tapu, valued flora and fauna, and other taonga.

The Act further charges local authorities with a clear responsibility to take an informed approach to the way in which decision-making can benefit Māori community well-being. This means that local authorities need to understand Māori community values, issues and aspirations as they relate to economic, social, cultural, and environmental well-being, just as they need to understand those of other communities. The intent is for both local authorities and Māori organisations to move beyond engaging solely on matters of environmental or cultural importance.

Local authorities

The implementation of the above legislation has procured a host of new environmental bodies, policies and processes within which iwi are now able to exercise some form of influence (though within the constraints of a legislative framework).

At a local level, regional authorities have implemented a range of policies and initiatives, albeit at varying degrees of sophistication. The Bay of Plenty Regional Council, for example, provides a useful illustration of the provision for comparatively effective Māori representation and influence. Through the Bay of Plenty Regional Council (Māori Constituency Empowering) Act 2001, three Māori Constituencies were established, the first territorial authority to provide for Māori representation in local government. Councillors are elected to each of three constituencies throughout the Bay of Plenty created by the Act and are members of Council that fully participate in Council decision-making processes. In 2004, the first Māori-constituency councillors for Environment Bay of Plenty (the Bay of Plenty Regional Council) were sworn in (Te Puni Kokiri, 2004).

A more common feature within local authorities is the establishment of Māori committees with whom iwi may engage for environmental matters. Māori committees can be charged with setting operational direction of local authority's legislative obligations to Māori and monitoring how these are implemented. And local authorities will commonly employ a range of staff to deal with matters concerning Māori, including engaging with Māori. This can be in the form of Māori policy managers or advisors who provide services ranging from advice on Treaty claims and settlements, to support for

Māori Committees and Councillors, to support for the development of hapū and iwi management plans, and to the facilitation of initiatives to build Māori capacity.

Iwi authorities

As with local and regional authorities, iwi too have adapted their governance and management arrangements to accommodate for changes brought about by the impacts of the principle examples of environmental legislation described above.

Iwi environmental and resource management units are familiar features of many iwi authorities. These units are tasked with the kaitiakitanga of the tribal rohe on behalf of the iwi and seek to protect iwi mana whenua, mana moana, wāhi tapu, and other taonga from the detrimental effects of development and the many activities that take place within an iwi rohe.

Much iwi energy is focused on resource consent processes, and influencing statutory plans, under the Resource Management Act 1991. Iwi are required to engage councils and private developers with respect to proposed developments involving ancestral lands and waters and significant places. Additionally, such works are monitored to ensure no damage is exacted, for example, during earthworks.

Another significant area of work for iwi environmental units is in the development and implementation of iwi resource management plans; documents approved by iwi that are taken into account by local authorities in the management of the natural resources within their rohe. Iwi resource management plans regularly identify cultural and

natural features important to iwi and hapū and outline consultation processes. As documents, they are developed and approved by iwi and describe resource management issues of importance to them. The plans may also contain information relating to specific cultural values, historical accounts, descriptions of areas of interest, and consultation and engagement protocols for resource consents and/or plan changes.

While this section has focused in particular on the implications for Māori of two examples of legislation, the discussion highlights both the historical and contemporary value Māori have placed on environmental management and sustainability. Iwi involvement in environmental management is of particular significance in a post-Treaty settlement environment that will see an increase in demands by iwi for active participation (Hayward, 1999). With respect to the development of appropriate measures of iwi outcomes, these types of issues and concerns will need to be considered. Noting as well that iwi will have varying access to their traditional resources and landscapes, and that an appreciation that a diverse range of environments will need to be considered.

Goal 3: Cultural affirmation

As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, a major rationale for investigating the construction of a framework capable of measuring iwi outcomes was the concern that conventional measures of progress did not typically account for cultural variables and perspectives. While considerable data exist on well-being indicators (however

imperfect), there are particular gaps in the areas of cultural well-being in domains, such as cultural identity, and official data sources are limited – if they exist at all.

Te Reo Māori

Te reo Māori, the Māori language, is perhaps this most typical and obvious measure of Māori culture and identity (Ministry of Social Development, 2006). By the 1970s, it was recognised that the survival of te reo Māori was under threat because of its declining use within families. This also contributed to the drastically reduced opportunities for people to acquire and develop their language skill. Since that time, Māori groups and communities have developed a range of initiatives to revitalise te reo Māori and it has continued to evolve due, in significant part, to the establishment of educational programmes such as kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, and where wānanga.

Te reo Māori took a further step forward following a successful Waitangi Tribunal claim in 1985 that eventually led to the passage of the Māori Language Act 1987. The Act made te reo Māori an official language; in fact it was the first language to be recognized as such through legislation. It also established Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission, whose primary objective is to promote te reo Māori and, in particular, its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication.

Another significant development in terms of protection of te reo Māori concerned legal proceedings brought initially in 1988 by the New Zealand Māori Council and others against the Crown alleging that the restructuring of New Zealand broadcasting at the time, and its consequent privatization, would have a detrimental effect on the survival of

te reo Māori. In its decision on the *Broadcasting Assets Case* in 1993, the Privy Council found that te reo Māori was a taonga, that the Crown has an active duty to protect it under the Treaty of Waitangi, and that the Crown should demonstrate how it would actively protect te reo Māori.

The Government's response to these efforts came in the form of funding, policies, and programmes designed to support Māori aspirations for their language.

In 1993, Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency, was established to make funding available to the national network of Māori radio stations and for the production of Māori language television and radio programmes, and music CDs.

With respect to television, in 1996 the Aotearoa Television Network trialled a free-to-air service in the Auckland area. While the trial was ultimately unsuccessful, in 1999 the Labour government promised to resurrect a Māori television service and, in 2001, the Māori Television Service was founded. The Māori Television (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act was passed in 2003 paving the way for a government funded channel to actively promote te reo Māori.

In 2003, the Government released a revised Māori Language Strategy to consolidate and coordinate its Māori language programmes and policies. The Strategy described the respective roles of Māori and Government in revitalising te reo Māori and placed particular emphasis on re-establishing intergenerational transmission.

The Strategy set out five goals to be achieved by 2028:

1. The majority of Māori will be able to speak Māori to some extent and proficiency levels in speaking, listening to, reading and writing Māori will increase.
2. Māori language use will be increased at marae, within Māori households, and other targeted domains.
3. All Māori and other New Zealanders will have enhanced access to high-quality Māori language education.
4. Iwi, hapū and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation. Iwi dialects of the Māori language will be supported.
5. The Māori language will be valued by all New Zealanders and there will be a common awareness of the need to protect the language.

In order to measure progress towards increasing language skill and use, the Government commissioned sociolinguistic surveys in 2001 and 2006 (Kalafatelis et al., 2007). These surveys measured language proficiency in speaking, listening, reading, and writing, as well as method of acquisition. They also measured how often people use the language, where they use the language, and with whom.

The results of the surveys indicated, inter alia, that progress was being made towards the first three goals of the Strategy. The surveys indicated that: there are an increasing number of Māori adults who have language skills across a range of proficiency levels;

the number of people with high proficiency is increasing in the younger age groups; and that there have been increases in the amount of language spoken and heard in the home and community.

However, the surveys also revealed that there are a number of Māori adults who have skills but still do not use them. The report noted that the challenge for Māori and Government alike was to support the increasing numbers of people who can speak, write, read, and listen so that they actually do speak, write, read and listen (Kalafatelis et al., 2007).

It is noteworthy that the results of the 2013 Census concerning te reo Māori revealed a 4.8 percent decrease in the number of Māori who could hold a conversation in Māori. That is, 125,352 Māori or 21.3 percent of the Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

With respect to the Government's Māori Language Strategy, in his covering letter for the report on Wai 262, the intellectual and cultural property claim, Justice JV Williams noted to the Honourable Dr Pita Sharples, Minister of Māori Affairs, that the Tribunal identified what they believed to be a number of shortcomings in the Crown's performance over the past 25 years in fulfilling its Treaty obligation to protect te reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The Tribunal further released its special report focusing on the Government's Māori Language Strategy that was critical of the policies of successive governments to revitalise te reo Māori, the provisional findings of which were that (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013):

- the strategy was not developed in partnership, but rather, was developed as a ‘standard’, ‘Crown-focused’ plan that is uninspiring to grassroots Māori;
- while well-intentioned, the plan lacks leadership and resources;
- it has failed in a number of key areas relevant to Māori language revitalisation, including:
 - not creating more opportunities for public services in te reo Māori, and
 - not effectively managing supply and demand for Māori language education.

Following analyses of available information, which included Census data, Māori language education enrolment data, and Te Puni Kōkiri research data, the Tribunal concluded that between the 1980s and the mid-1990s there was a revival of te reo Māori, spurred both by the realisation of how few speakers were left, and by the relative abundance of older fluent speakers in both urban neighbourhoods and rural communities (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The revival was a Māori movement, it was achieved through education, and it was successful at a grass-roots level.

However, notwithstanding some of the short-term gains in revitalisation of te reo Māori speakers, the Waitangi Tribunal noted that if trends continue, over the next 15 to 20 years the te reo Māori speaking proportion of the Māori population will decline further (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). It therefore identified some high-level policy issues requiring attention, namely (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013):

- engaging the growing number of young Māori in speaking Māori,
- keeping current speakers engaged in speaking Māori,
- replacing the dwindling number of native speakers,
- failure to train enough teachers to meet the predictable demand for Māori-medium education demonstrated by the surge in kohanga reo enrolments in the 1980s, and
- failure of the Māori Language Strategy because it was seen as being too abstract and lacking in leadership and implementation commitment from the relevant Crown agencies.

The above discussion concerning the health of te reo Māori holds much relevance for iwi authorities. The long-term trends for declining use of te reo Māori, for example, may influence priority setting for iwi-based revitalization efforts. The awareness of shortfalls on the Crown's part with respect to progressing positive outcomes may also signal where best to direct iwi time, energy, and resources in terms leadership and direction for improving iwi outcomes involving te reo Māori. Of concern, however, is the fact that data on Māori language are not routinely collected; methodological inconsistencies mean that comparisons over time are often difficult to determine; and data specifically related to iwi are not always available. For these reasons, if te reo Māori forms a seminal component of Māori culture and identity, measuring these indices will be problematic.

Intellectual and cultural resources

Intellectual and cultural resources constitute an important part of the expanding iwi asset base and are similarly relevant in terms of understanding notions of cultural affirmation. A recent development of direct significance to iwi has been the release of the Waitangi Tribunal's report on Wai 262, the indigenous flora and fauna and cultural intellectual property claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

Wai 262 was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal on 9 October 1991 by six claimants on behalf of themselves and their iwi: Haana Murray (Ngāti Kuri), Hema Nui a Tawhaki Witana (Te Rarawa), Te Witi McMath (Ngāti Wai), Tama Poata (Ngāti Porou), Kataraina Rimene (Ngāti Kahungunu), and John Hippolite (Ngāti Koata) (Statement of claim, undated). The claim was about the place of Māori culture, identity, and traditional knowledge in New Zealand's laws, and in government policies and practices. It concerned the control of Māori traditional knowledge, artistic and cultural works such as haka and waiata, and the environment that created Māori culture. The claim also explored the place in contemporary New Zealand life of core Māori cultural values such as the obligation of iwi and hapū to act as kaitiaki of taonga such as traditional knowledge, artistic and cultural works, important places, and flora and fauna that are significant to iwi or hapū identity.

With respect to culture and identity, the Waitangi Tribunal observed that the Treaty established a partnership between Māori and the Crown. It acknowledged that through this partnership, the Crown won the right to govern and enact laws, but that right was qualified by the guarantee of 'tino rangatiratanga' (full authority) for iwi and hapū over

their 'taonga katoa' (all their treasured things). This requires the Crown, as far as practicable, to ensure that iwi and hapū have authority over taonga such as those referred to above, which are core aspects of Māori culture and identity.

The Tribunal found that, in many respects, current laws and government policies fall short of partnership, and instead marginalise Māori and allow others to control key aspects of Māori culture. This leads to a justified sense of grievance, and also limits the contribution Māori can make to the national identity and to New Zealand's economy. For example, current laws allow others to commercialise Māori artistic and cultural works such as haka and tā moko without iwi or hapū acknowledgement or consent. They allow scientific research and commercialisation of indigenous plant species that are vital to iwi or hapū identity without input from those iwi or hapū. They allow others to use traditional Māori knowledge without consent or acknowledgement. And they provide little or no protection against offensive or derogatory uses of Māori artistic and cultural works.

The Tribunal recommended the reform of laws, policies or practices relating to health, education, science, intellectual property, indigenous flora and fauna, resource management, conservation, the Māori language, arts and culture, heritage, and the involvement of Māori in the development of New Zealand's positions on international instruments affecting indigenous rights. In general, the Tribunal recommended (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011):

- the establishment of new partnership bodies in education, conservation, and culture and heritage;

- a new commission to protect Māori cultural works against derogatory or offensive uses and unauthorised commercial uses;
- a new funding agent for mātauranga Māori in science; and expanded roles for some existing bodies including Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), the newly established national rongoā body Te Paepae Matua mō te Rongoā, and Māori advisory bodies relating to patents and environmental protection;
- improved support for rongoā Māori (Māori traditional healing), te reo Māori, and other aspects of Māori culture and Māori traditional knowledge; and
- amendments to laws covering Māori language, resource management, wildlife, conservation, cultural artefacts, environmental protection, patents, plant varieties, and more.

The reforms are designed to establish genuine partnerships in which Māori interests and those of other New Zealanders are fairly and transparently balanced.

Iwi have a significant interest in the matters concerning their intellectual and cultural property. Iwi knowledge and traditional practices go to the heart of the identity of an iwi and, for this reason, has immeasurable inherent value. For example, in 2009 Ngāti Toa were at pains to emphasise that their claim to the haka *Ka Mate* was not driven by any desire for financial gain, but by pride in the exploits of an ancestor whose efforts played a major role in defining tribal history.

However, Durie (2009b) notes the progressive commodification of intellectual and cultural creations will require further consideration of intellectual resources as assets that have both cultural and commercial significance. The value-adding function of culture has already become evident in the tourism industry, the marketing and branding of products such as *Tohu* wines, the design of clothing as demonstrated by the *Kia Kaha* line, in the broadcasting sector, and in the curriculum vitae of Māori job seekers. On the other hand, while commercial gain is likely to be an increasingly significant aspect of cultural heritage, it is not the sole or the main reason for valuing culture as part of the Māori estate (M. Durie, 2009b).

For the purposes of this thesis, the findings of the Wai 262 claim widen the scope of consideration by iwi of the range of potential outcomes foreseeable from the production, enhancement, and application of traditional iwi knowledge and practices.

Marae

One of the most enduring material cultural assets of iwi has been the marae (Mead, 2003). Despite an extensive urbanisation process that occurred in the latter half of the 20th century and the prospect that marae would become deserted memorials to a former era, the reverse has occurred: they are a key feature of the cultural infrastructure within iwi, acting as guardians of mātauranga and taonga and connecting whānau through whakapapa (Baker, 2010). In terms of the practice of tikanga and kawa that happens predominantly on marae, there are more than 1000 marae across New Zealand that continue to be focal points for Māori communities (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

The most recent survey of marae in New Zealand was the *Marae Development Project* undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri in 2009 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009). The Project collected detailed information from 544 participating marae about their current status. This included planning requirements, and covered areas such as cultural infrastructure and capabilities, physical infrastructure and capacity, and administrative infrastructure and capability. With respect to cultural affirmation, the Project procured some useful findings for the purposes of this thesis.

The results of the Project show that the majority of marae communities are made up of people who share whakapapa connections, with 62% of marae reporting whānau or hapū-based communities and 52% reporting connections to iwi. Other marae reported connections to their local communities and church organisations. Whakapapa connections were reflected in the use of marae: 88% had been used for whānau celebrations and events in the previous 12 months, and were able to identify more than one category of affiliation; with 81% were used for tangihanga over that period. Marae were used on a regular basis, with 35% reporting use two to five times per month, and 37% reporting use six times or more per month.

Marae value the mātauranga Māori associated with their whakapapa, with 95% reporting that knowledge of the whakapapa of the whare tipuna was retained within the marae community, and 96% reporting that whakapapa knowledge about some or all of the whakairo, tukutuku, and other taonga was maintained. Many of these taonga are unique, with 69% of marae reporting that all their taonga were originals. The condition of taonga was an issue for many marae, and communities were making an on-going investment in the maintenance and development of the mātauranga Māori associated

with their marae. During the 12 months before participation in the Project, 79% of marae had undertaken a wānanga about the history, tikanga or kawa of their marae.

The majority of marae communities (63%) reported that they had sufficient numbers of kaikaranga and kaikōrero to support hui on their marae. However, significant numbers of other marae reported they did not have access to sufficient numbers of kaikaranga (26%) or kaikōrero (31%). Many marae reported they wanted to undertake training and development for kaikaranga and kaikōrero in the immediate future. Although nearly all marae reported they had sufficient ringawera to host hui during the week and on weekends, there was some concern that engagement with marae may be declining, as marae reported reduced attendance and shorter stays. This suggests there is an issue about the connectedness of whānau with marae.

The results of the survey provide useful information on the status and utilization of marae. It reinforces the idea that marae remain central to the expression of Māori cultural values and aspirations and provide a focal point for iwi and hapū. However, like te reo Māori, this information is not routinely collected, nor is it particularly sophisticated in terms of its analysis of marae capacities, marae aspirations, and marae concerns. If marae are to be included in measures of iwi progress, a more deliberate and elaborate system for collecting and interpreting this information will be required.

Goal 4: Economic self-sufficiency and prosperity

It is widely accepted that economies grow as a result of the actions of individuals and enterprises and that enterprises are the engines of economic development (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005). They bring together people, ideas, technology and capital to develop, produce, and distribute goods and services. A Treasury briefing paper for the Hui Taumata (Māori Economic Summit) 2005 noted that economic development has positive benefits for the material well-being of individuals but can also benefit society by enhancing social connectedness and cohesion and that the challenge in a diverse society is to find an approach to economic development that is inclusive, sustainable and dynamic (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005).

Māori economic development and the growth of the New Zealand economy are closely intertwined (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005). Māori economic development is important not only to Māori, but also to New Zealand's overall economic performance; improvements in one will have positive benefits for the other (Honorable Pita Sharples, 2011). Both are underpinned by the same drivers: skills and talent, innovation and technological change, investment, entrepreneurship, and sound institutions. For the New Zealand economy to achieve long-run potential growth, it must make the best use of all available resources, including the potential contributions of Māori (O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008).

The Māori economy has been described as highly integrated into the New Zealand economy, having features such as demographics, cultural values, and traditional knowledge that make it distinctive (Māori Economic Development Panel). The concept

of a Māori economy also implies economic and social development, economic growth, and environmental responsibility to sustain improved standards of living based on economic growth, to achieve some form of social equity, and to manage the environment in a sustainable way (Harmsworth, Barclay-Kerr, & Reedy, 2002).

Key examples of attributes unique to the Māori economy are (Māori Economic Development Panel):

- The Māori population is young and is predicted to grow by 20% over the next 15 years; in the future Māori will make up a larger proportion of the workforce. To realise this potential, Māori need to be equipped with the skills and education that enable them to participate in New Zealand's future workforce.
- Cultural values are a unique feature of the Māori economy with the potential to influence growth. Māori culture generates assets, such as skills and products, as well as insight that contribute to the social, environmental, and economic well-being not only of Māori communities, but of the whole economy.
- The intergenerational focus of iwi and Māori collective organisations and the fact these organisations have strategic goals that encompass a multiplicity of outcomes. Iwi and collectives may also have a stronger inclination to focus their portfolios on domestic assets and enterprises located in their rohe or areas of influence.

Māori economic prosperity

The 2009 Māori Economic Taskforce (established as a result of the Hui Taumata 2005) concluded that economic development priorities for Māori depend on Māori taking a lead in the development of their economic aspirations. Further, that Māori must be positioned in ways that foster the unique developmental opportunities of the Māori economy. And they noted that Māori economic activity comprises a diverse range of players – from Māori individuals in the labour market, to the self-employed running Māori businesses, to iwi and pan-tribal Māori commercial entities (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010a).

In a partial response, a range of recent initiatives and programmes has been introduced to support Māori economic development. However, the Taskforce notes that ‘human capital’ is the greatest resource, and improving the skills, training and qualifications of young Māori is paramount (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010a). There is also significant untapped potential in the Māori tourism sector and a need for more capability and capacity in Māori innovation, specifically in research, science, and technology (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010a). Support is also required to take Māori enterprise to the world. This context underpins the rationale for investing in Māori economic development (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010a).

The Māori economy has many dimensions. The Māori Economic Taskforce Report (2010a) uses estimates generated by a model to project scenarios of the potential benefits and opportunities to the Māori economy of a re-focused science and innovation effort estimating links to the following potential benefits:

- **Asset Base:** Enterprises in the 2010 Māori economy total \$36.9 billion, an increase of \$20.4 billion from the 2006 estimate of \$16.5 billion, as a result of the following influences: \$11.6 billion associated with more comprehensive data and the adoption of different and more robust assumptions; \$3.1 billion associated with the 11% rise in capital goods prices; and \$5.7 billion associated with real growth from 2006 to 2010 in the size of the asset base of the Māori economy of 18% (or 4.3% per annum).
- **Production and GDP:** From the production side of the economy the value added by Māori enterprises in 2010 totalled \$10.3 billion. In GDP terms, the operating surplus income of Māori enterprises totalled \$3.3 billion, while capital spending totalled \$1.4 billion. In GDP terms, the employment and capital income of Māori households totalled \$10.0 billion, while spending amounted to \$16.6 billion.
- **Sector income and outlays:** The Māori enterprise sector recorded gross output of \$22.2 billion, resulting in a total operating surplus of \$3.3 billion and net savings of \$0.2 billion. National net savings of the enterprise sector totalled \$10.3 billion. The Māori household sector recorded a total income of \$14.8 billion and total outlays of \$20.3 billion, resulting in net savings of – \$5.5 billion. National net savings of the household sector totalled – \$7.8 billion.

The opportunities identified by the Taskforce to grow the Māori asset base include: investing in skills and training, and improved governance; strengthening and improving the tourism sector; increasing investment to support Māori innovation; and taking Māori assets to the world.

Considerable effort has also been invested over several years, to strengthen the governance and management capabilities of Māori organisations by groups such as the Federation of Māori Authorities and Te Puni Kōkiri's investment in the Strengthening Management and Governance (SMG) Programme. The evaluation of the SMG Programme in 2009 recommended (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010b):

- Tailoring a complete package for each organisation to be provided by an assessor with industry specific knowledge;
- Broadening the entry criteria;
- Formalising board development programmes such as the introduction of a qualification for trustees of Māori organisations; and
- Brokering relationships with other agencies that have a vested interest in building the capacity and capability of Māori organisations.

While Māori participation in the 'innovation economy' (discussed later) is currently minimal, there are significant opportunities for Māori to introduce new technologies both in existing sectors and new sectors of the Māori economy. For example, Māori can gain from technological innovations in the use and management of agricultural, fisheries and tourism assets, change the types of products and services produced, and open up new opportunities and markets for Māori businesses.

The release of the National Infrastructure Plan (March 2010) prepared by the National Infrastructure Unit of the Treasury represented an important signal from the

government of the infrastructure challenges New Zealand faces and how these issues may be addressed (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010b). Within the document the government identified its priorities:

1. Public sector investment with an allocation of \$7.5 billion over 5 years for new capital spending;
2. Better management of public infrastructure assets including the consideration of a broader range of options for procuring assets; and
3. Regulatory reform to make it easier to get things happening and do business in the infrastructure space.

The Taskforce noted that these priorities send strong signals to iwi and provide impetus for iwi leaders to engage with government in the development of models for joint or co-investment arrangements between iwi partners and the Crown (Māori Economic Development Taskforce, 2010b). Further, this proposal presents attractive benefits for both parties. For example:

- Economic partnerships between iwi and the Crown with iwi ownership of core Crown assets reflects long-term economic aspirations and long-term usage requirements on the part of iwi and the Crown respectively.
- A successful transaction and partnership will allow the derivation of long-term predictable income streams for iwi while providing the Crown with long-term committed funding.

- Returns can be tailored to reflect the specialised nature of the particular asset and risk associated with income stream – where possible, the return can be structured to incentivise long-term cost containment/reduction and/or service performance.

Māori diversity and distinctiveness

Māori economic activity is undertaken by individuals in the labour market, people who own their own businesses, and by iwi and pan-tribal Māori entities such as trusts, authorities and incorporations, and there is as much diversity within such activity as there is commonality (Whitehead & Annesley, 2005). Given this diversity, it is likely that a strategy for Māori economic development will need to have many pathways and many vehicles. A strategy that focuses primarily on the development of a Māori physical asset-base, for example, is unlikely to be the most effective route to economic prosperity for all Māori (M. Durie, 2005c).

Many Māori entities, particularly those with a commercial function, face specific challenges with regard to governance, management and leadership. Typically unique to Māori, these include (Statistics New Zealand, 2012):

- Marrying tikanga Māori with modern business concepts and objectives.
- Achieving dual legitimacy in terms of Māori customary values and practices and the New Zealand legal system.

- Achieving a balance between commercial management skills and traditional leadership skills.
- Balancing stakeholder involvement in decision-making with the need to minimise transaction costs and respond promptly to opportunities and risks.
- Weighting the demands of current members against the need to retain and improve capability to meet the requirements of future generations.
- Reconciling dual accountabilities to their constituency and the Crown, where these exist.

Further, collective ownership poses challenges for the economic development of physical assets. Examples of barriers to the development of Māori land (6% – 1.5 million hectares – of New Zealand’s total land area), cited by the Controller and Auditor General in 2004 include (Statistics New Zealand, 2012):

1. *Multiple ownership.* This can cause problems and increased costs in obtaining agreement about land use, and reduce the economic return to individual owners.
2. *Governance and management.* There is a lack of expertise in planning and making decisions about the administration of Māori land.
3. *Access to information.* Data on the current use of Māori land is not comprehensive and is difficult and sometimes costly to obtain information about potential use.
4. *Access to land.* Māori land can be hard to access, reducing options for its use. Development becomes expensive or uneconomic, and lease options may be reduced.

5. *Rating of Māori land.* Local authorities have differing practices for collecting rates on Māori land. Some have tried to sell it or place charging orders on it to recover rates arrears.

Against this backdrop, the Taskforce has developed resource guides to crystallise and articulate the discussion that has taken place about Māori participation in infrastructure investment so that iwi can start taking the next steps. A key theme in the resource guides, and the basis of the process mentioned above, is that there are three foundations on which to progress potential opportunities for joint or co-investment opportunities with the Crown (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). These centre on the need for iwi to (a) build trust and relationships amongst each other, (b) consolidate their capital bases, and (c) work collaboratively to identify opportunities.

The Māori innovation economy

Innovation is the process through which firms create new economic value by creating, adopting, and adapting knowledge into new or improved products and services, processes and organisational arrangements (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). An 'innovation economy' is a fusion of technology and economics, creating global wealth, prosperity and power. It consists of those industries that transform scientific or technological knowledge into products, processes, systems and services that fuel economic development, create wealth, and generate improvements in a State's standard of living (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

For New Zealand there is a need to develop new strengths in the economy, based on knowledge and innovation in order to supplement historical strengths in the primary production sectors (Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 1999). This is particularly the case for Māori due to the high concentration of Māori economic activity in the primary production sectors of the economy. Of interest to iwi, therefore, is the emergence of a 'Māori innovation economy' and the implications of this emergence on iwi (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

At least three interdependent factors are essential in creating an innovation economy. One is *technological advances*, which lead to the creation of new sectors (such as nanotechnology and biotechnology); they may also influence and sometimes lead to radical changes in traditional sectors. Another interdependent factor is *research and development*. And, at a more basic level, the innovation economy will depend on investment and *education* (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Key drivers of change in the Māori innovation economy include creation of knowledge and innovation, technological advances through new as well as established sectors in which Māori have a share, and research, development, and education (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

The greatest benefit to the innovation economy will accrue to Māori who can access and adopt new technologies (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Indeed, having an innovative Māori society may be more important for growth than having a high rate of capital investment. Technological advances will have major implications for Māori due to their ownership of agricultural, fisheries and tourism assets. New technologies will change these industries and the range of products and services produced; they will also open up new sectors and markets for Māori. Technological advances will allow Māori to produce

more output from the existing mix of resources. These advances may take the form of less costly methods of producing existing output or may result in the production of new products.

Analysis of the key drivers of future change points to the need for research and development to also assist with the development of a Māori innovation economy in the following areas (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007):

- Development of new technologies to increase participation in the innovation economy.
- Diversification in terms of utilisation of the Māori asset base.
- New products in the mature industries.
- Development of the niche Māori-branded specific products.
- Alternative energy opportunities in relation to current and potential Māori assets and business connections.

In order to maximise the contribution research and development can make to the development of a Māori innovation economy, Māori businesses will need to build strong relationships with tertiary institutions to create an environment for further research and development (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). The challenge here is to move towards an economy based on knowledge and, as part of the process, to develop the greatest asset Māori have – its people.

Along with research and development is the concomitant need to ensure that Māori are educated with the right skills and knowledge to participate in an innovation economy. There is a substantial body of evidence showing that those with higher levels of

education are more likely to participate in the labour market, face lower risks of unemployment, have greater access to further training, and receive higher earnings on average (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

In terms of economic self-sufficiency, then, the above discussion shows that the Māori economic development landscape offers much for iwi to consider in terms aspirations for iwi economic outcomes. Guidance is provided in terms of focus, for example, on developing iwi human capital and improving the skills, training, and qualifications of young iwi members. Iwi outcomes concerning developing the iwi asset base and increasing investment to support iwi innovation are considerations, along with approaches involving consolidating the iwi capital base, working collaboratively with other iwi, and economic partnerships with the Crown.

Goal 5: Self-determination and the Treaty claims process

The Treaty of Waitangi typically forms the backdrop to any discussions between iwi and the Crown. Widely referred to as New Zealand's founding document, it has been incorporated into statute and common law, and affects public policy, particularly by reference to its principles.

A significant influence on the way in which the iwi-Crown relationship has developed has been the 'Treaty claims process'. The Treaty claims process generally refers to the investigation by the Waitangi Tribunal into claims lodged by Māori concerning alleged breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown. The Treaty claims process also

includes negotiated settlements of such claims between Māori and the Crown. This particular approach has been the Crown's preference since 1990, following an announcement by Geoffrey Palmer, then Minister of Justice, that Māori claimants could bring their grievances directly to the Crown via the Office of Treaty Settlements to avoid the "long and difficult" process of a Waitangi Tribunal hearing (Belgrave, 2012).

An appraisal of the Treaty claims process, specifically outcomes of that process – principally from an iwi perspective – can offer a perspective on how iwi–Crown relationships are managed and what outcomes are possible.

Carter and others (2011) have observed that the overall contribution to the national Māori economy from Treaty settlements is very low. They cite 2006 figures, which show that Treaty settlements made up only 1.5 per cent of the overall Māori economy, then worth NZ\$16 billion and note that this contribution has not grown considerably in recent years (Carter et al., 2011).

They further note, however, that perhaps the more important factor of Treaty settlements is not their contribution to economic performance, but their longer-term contribution to iwi economic development, socially, culturally, and politically (Carter et al., 2011). The Treaty settlements allow iwi to reassert mana – particularly the recognition of their mana over the various regions, resources, and people that form their whakapapa. The recognition of iwi mana is realised through the willingness of non-Māori groups and organisations to engage with the iwi in question. This may be at an economic level, but may also be at a level where iwi have restored confidence in asserting their claims and rights in their own regions in matters pertaining to the

overall management and development of the resources within it. Treaty settlements provide not only for the recognition of mana, but also the means to build social and cultural confidence. At best, the settlement provides iwi with the resources to begin social and cultural development, which creates increased confidence and profile (Carter et al., 2011).

Durie (2009a) has also provided useful commentary on the future of Treaty claims from an iwi perspective. While the Treaty claims process has, and for some continues to be, an integral part of iwi development, he notes that the process was eventually to bring a sense of closure – if not justice – for many iwi; it was also to locate the Treaty debate in the past. A focus on the settlement of claims has tended to mask the fact that the purpose of the Treaty was to plan ahead. Instead, for many New Zealanders the Treaty became synonymous with past grievances with the corollary that once settlements were concluded the Treaty would have exhausted itself. But while an investigation into historic breaches drew on the principles of the Treaty, the claims process was more closely attuned to the delivery of justice rather than the ratification of the Treaty (M. Durie, 2009a).

Rather, Durie (2009a) notes that in a post-settlement era, iwi relationships with the Crown and with each other will not be premised on past injustices but on future development. The question now is whether Treaty experiences over the past two or more decades will provide a basis for a new type of relationship between iwi and the Crown. He also notes that this new type of relationship presupposes a shift away from iwi claimant groups – their concerns will already have been resolved – towards groups

that reflect wider iwi interests. The focus then will be how iwi can best be represented in future-oriented discussions with the Crown.

Recent evidence supporting this view of the Treaty within the context of the iwi–Crown relationship can be observed in the recently released Waitangi Tribunal report on Wai 262, the cultural and intellectual property claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The report is the Tribunal’s first whole-of-government report, addressing the work of more than 20 Government departments and agencies. While the report recommends wide-ranging reforms to laws and policies affecting Māori culture and identity, it is noteworthy for its recommendations that the Crown–Māori relationship moves beyond grievance to a new era based on partnership. It is also the first Tribunal report to consider what the Treaty relationship might become after historical grievances are settled, and how that relationship might be shaped by changes in New Zealand’s demographic makeup over the next 30 to 40 years.

Many of the post-settlement discussions between iwi and the Crown therefore occur in the context of historical claim negotiations (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Co-management agreements, cultural heritage accords, annual summits between iwi leaders and ministers, and memoranda of understanding between iwi and a variety of government departments are all the by-products of the historical settlement process. Iwi have sought to leverage off the settlement process to gain such concessions in the contemporary relationship while the political will that exists to make settlements has usually seen the Crown more prepared to oblige, which gives rise to the view that there is no clear-cut post-settlement era or set of agreed issues.

While commentators may not agree that there are a finite or entirely obvious set of ‘post-settlement’ issues, given the diversity of claimants, issues, and agreements negotiated, what can be observed in this environment are the changing dynamics of the Crown–iwi relationships. Where the completion of settlements will make a clear difference is that the convenient levers for establishing these new relationships will be gone.

Iwi will increasingly spend more time and energy exploring relationships with the private sector, seeking investment opportunities with overseas companies, and playing leadership roles with global indigenous networks, and less time engaging with the Crown (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). A Treaty relationship with the Crown will remain important but the nature of the relationship will increasingly reflect mutually beneficial future interests and there will also be greater iwi interest in other types of partnerships with the private sector, with overseas commercial interests, and with indigenous people across the globe.

Statistics New Zealand (2012) have made some observations on the iwi–Crown relationship within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi. The emerging picture is a post-Treaty settlement era that includes iwi and other Māori collectives as innovators, industry leaders, and private investors. Iwi will likely engage in partnership models and approaches between themselves and the Crown that will include greater iwi participation in national and regional economies. The adoption of partnership approaches may likely see continued devolvment of responsibility from Government to iwi-based providers for delivery of core services (such as Whānau Ora). The overall

picture is that of evolving iwi–Crown relationships inside and outside the relatively protected environment of historical settlements.

Chapter Four: *Summary*

This chapter has explored the contemporary context within which Māori – and iwi – operate. The idea of *development* and *Māori development* was also examined and used to better understand how progress might be measured and what aspirations were relevant to Māori and iwi. From the literature, five broad goals of Māori development were identified – social well-being; environmental sustainability; cultural affirmation; economic self-sufficiency; and self-determination.

By using these goals as a broad frame it was possible to examine iwi development within the context of Māori development and to better understand the extent to which iwi have been able to match these goals. This analysis revealed a mixed picture of progress but perhaps more significantly (in terms of this thesis at least) it showed that the information needed to measure these indices is not always available or always reliable. Cultural affirmation, for example, was identified as a key component of Māori development; however, there is no universal agreement as to what measures can appropriately capture this concept. Te Reo Māori was seen as a potential proxy, however, this information is not routinely collected nor are the methods of collection entirely robust. Of added interest is the assertion that other factors may be just as relevant to cultural affirmation, but not considered. It is also possible that key measures of cultural identity do not feature in any existing data collections. The implications are

that if a measure of cultural identity were to be developed, the information needed to populate it may not be available – new collections and new measures are likely to be needed.

Within the context of this thesis, this chapter has further revealed that while the existing discourse on Māori development can help guide a framework for measuring iwi outcomes, a number of significant hurdles still exist. Certainly, reliable data and information on Māori and iwi development are lacking; moreover, there is no agreement on what measures are appropriate or valid. Additionally, there is an obvious concern that models for Māori development do not quite match the goals for iwi development. To some extent these challenges will be addressed later in this thesis when the perspectives of iwi (garnered from the two case studies) are aligned with the discourse and assessed for relevance. A wider challenge, however, will be understanding the nature of outcomes measurement, how this is achieved, key criteria, measurement options, technical issues, and challenges. The following chapter is therefore focused on these matters to shed additional light on the measurement of outcomes and its relevance to Māori and iwi.

Chapter Five

WHAKAMĀRAMA NGĀ HUA: THE SEARCH FOR OUTCOMES

Introduction

The previous chapter went some way to identifying issues of importance to Māori and iwi and to a better understanding of what types of issues are valued and relevant to a measurement framework. Subsequent chapters will explore these concepts in greater detail and the extent to which the literature, in fact, matches the experiences and expectations of iwi.

As a prelude to this, however, it is important that a more fundamental discussion on the measurement of outcomes takes place so that a clearer understanding of terms is established alongside current developments and issues – and perhaps more significantly why it is important to measure cultural values and perspectives.

The challenge here is not insignificant in that this type of inquiry is unique since very few studies have attempted to explore these issues – or to do so in a systematic and methodical manner. However, despite the limited discourse, interest in the measurement or quantification of progress is not new. And a considerable amount of research and academic debate has centred on how this might be achieved and what issues or factors are relevant to the debate. Much of this work has been conducted within the health sector, particularly within the area of outcome measurement, and has often been based on work conducted overseas by international researchers. In spite of these issues, and particularly since the late 1990s, there has been growing local interest in the measurement of progress, and in how Māori perspectives (in particular) might be identified and captured.

The following section explores some of the key characteristics of outcome measurement and especially the implications for this Study. It draws heavily on the international literature to locate definitions, concepts and criteria, but also considers how Māori perspectives might be identified and measured.

Defining Outcomes, Progress, and Development

Perhaps the most obvious challenge to this research has been the issue of what constitutes *positive iwi outcomes* and how this can be measured. While the previous chapters have explored these issues to some extent, within the context of positive Māori development, the theory behind the measurement of outcomes has thus far been lacking and requires some additional consideration. For researchers within the area of outcome

measurement, these types of challenges are not new and, in fact, have occupied considerable academic debate for several decades. One of the primary considerations relates to the definition of 'outcomes' and the fact that this is likely to be highly subjective – its meaning and interpretation will differ according to context and setting, environment or circumstance (Howard, 1995). The terms *outcome*, *effectiveness*, or *result* are often used interchangeably to the extent that a single or uniform definition has yet to emerge. Outcome might also be confused with *output* or *throughput* and likewise linked to the notion that an activity or intervention will necessarily achieve a desirable outcome. While in some instances this may be the case, this assumption is not always true. The following medical aphorism is often used to illustrate this point (Goldacre, 1996):

The operation was a complete success, unfortunately the patient died.

Similar examples from other sectors or agencies might also be used. A defensive driving course, for instance, could offer a programme that is structured around a two-day curriculum, various competencies might be assessed, and credentials provided at completion. Outcome could be determined by attendance or completion figures, likewise the number of credentialed participants – the assumption being that completion or accreditation serves as a proxy for outcome. The principle behind this approach is sound enough, as is the idea that participants would have acquired new knowledge or achieved a certain level of competency. However, the assumption of outcome is more problematic, particularly as there is no guarantee that drivers will operate their vehicles with more care or in a more considered manner. For some,

operating a vehicle with more care may be a more valid measure of the programmes overall outcome – despite not actually being assessed (Kingi, 2005a).

Likewise, an employment training scheme could link an outcome to the number of job-seekers who had completed their course (outputs), whereas a more valid measure would be the number who were actually engaged in meaningful employment. Similarly, a surgical procedure could be hailed as a success because it was carried out efficiently and with few complications. For the patient, a successful or effective outcome might simply reflect an absence of pain or the return to full function (Kingi, 2005a).

Accreditation, completion, or participation rates are frequently used as proxy measures of outcome and are especially popular with educational and training institutions. These are often (but not always) imperfect but are a preferred approach as the information is typically easier to collect and better able to be managed. They are typically less costly and also avoid the need for more sophisticated data collections or evaluations.

Within the context of this thesis, an outcome can therefore be described as *the intended or desired consequence of an activity*. It should not be confused with input, output, or throughput but rather a more quantifiable (though sometimes less tangible) objective.

Measuring Outcome in New Zealand

Notwithstanding the challenge of defining outcome, considerable effort has been placed on its assessment and measurement (Kingi, 2005a). While these developments have

long since been a feature of international social policy design, it was not until the 1996 General Election that New Zealand made any significant moves in this direction. At the time, and as part of the New Zealand First-National Coalition agreement on health, it was recommended that a new approach to health service funding be implemented, and, that an outcomes based system be developed. The rationale behind the move stemmed from a genuine desire to enhance service delivery, to better meet the needs of consumers, and to ensure that services were fundamentally focused on providing effective services and value for money (Kingi, 2002).

Until that point, social services had largely been funded on an outputs formula and on the basis of what interventions or activities had been administered. Within the health sector, this could include the number of bed nights provided, the number of patients seen, or the number of vaccinations administered. It was thought that a more reasonable approach would be to develop a mechanism through which the outcomes of these activities could be considered. Services would then be funded on the effectiveness of delivery as opposed to the number of interventions.

Initial discussions on the potential design of the system were positive and provided valuable guidelines as to how a national roll-out could proceed. Eventually, however, the approach was abandoned (at this level at least) as the complexities of the arrangement were revealed. In the end, three, largely unresolved issues served to confound the whole process.

First, was the realisation that the notion of 'outcome' was largely abstract, and it was unlikely that a single definition (suited to every situation or individual) could be found.

Second, measurement tools often lacked validity, were sometimes imprecise (significant variations in effectiveness being detected with limited evidence to support an assessment), could be unreliable (effectiveness assessments varying depending on who applied the tool), captured issues of limited interest (items that did not always resonate with the population), or failed to provide useful or nationally comparable information.

Third, was the understanding that in many instances the best outcome (cure or total remission) was unrealistic. This issue was further complicated by the need to describe potential/possible outcomes and how these would, in fact, match individual needs and expectations.

An added issue, not considered within the review of the initiative, was the extent to which cultural factors would influence how effectiveness was described (Kingi, 2002). And, to a large extent, it was thought that universal indicators would be able to transcend any cultural differences. In many ways, this basic assumption proved correct; Māori were not overly concerned with the intent of universal indicators. What did raise concerns, however, was the idea that universal indicators did not extend far enough and were unable to fully capture Māori notions of effectiveness (M. Durie & Kingi, 2010).

Measuring Māori Outcomes

Māori Measures of Outcomes

In a partial response to the issues described above, Māori (particularly within the research and health sector) began to challenge conventional approaches to outcome measurement and to stress the need for cultural input, especially when designing tools or defining terms (Dyall et al., 1999). This interest was to cast a more critical lens on the tensions between cultural and universal views of effectiveness, but eventually led to the design of more culturally cognisant tools and measures.

Universal Measures of Outcomes

While Māori were not opposed to universal measures or definitions of outcome, concerns were largely linked to what they *didn't* measure as opposed to what they *did*. It was noted that universal measures had value and were able to capture views consistent across all groups or populations, which would be valued regardless of age, sex, disability, sexual orientation, nationality or ethnicity or almost any other variable. A universal measure of well-being could (for example) include the absence of pain, symptom ablation, or problem resolution (Kingi, 2005b). An employment training initiative could more simply be assessed on whether or not participants were placed in meaningful employment. While the effectiveness of a literacy programme would necessarily include an assessment of how well reading skills were enhanced. In this

regard, the measures are universal and would be valued by Māori just as they would be by any other population.

Culturally Specific Measures

Māori were quick to note that culturally specific measures of effectiveness were distinct from universal measures and were likely to sit within a broader Te Ao Māori philosophical framework. They would reflect particular cultural preferences and were unlikely to have universal appeal. Within health, universal measures of effectiveness might focus on the physical markers or symptoms, while cultural measures might emphasise an additional range of constructs such as spiritual well-being or connections with the family or environment. As an example of different cultural emphasis, an elderly Māori man who is overweight, breathless on exertion, and prone to gout, may be seen by himself and his community as healthy because his whānau relationships are mutually rewarding and he maintains a sense of harmony with the wider environment (M. Durie, 1996a).

Universal measures of educational success might explore reading or comprehension skills while cultural measures would focus on an enhanced identity or an improved understanding of cultural practices. Cultural measures of effectiveness would be additional to conventional or universal measures and would ideally complement, rather than replace these. In this regard, a comprehensive assessment of outcomes would necessarily include both universal and culturally specific measures. A focus on one or the other would unlikely achieve comprehensive or positive outcomes.

Māori Measures of Outcomes

The growing interest in cultural outcomes and effectiveness measurement led to the design of several Māori specific measures and tools. These tools covered a range of social domains and interests but were most enthusiastically embraced by the health sector. In any regard they each reflected a desire by Māori to construct measures that were more meaningful and better able to capture cultural constructs. Many of these tools have been in development for some years; others were constructed some time ago but have gained little traction. While there are no measures that focus specifically on iwi outcomes, an analysis and review of these measures reveals valuable clues as to how suitable measures might be designed – what issues are important, what approaches might be most relevant, and what challenges can be anticipated.

Te Ngāhuru

Māori Specific Outcome Indicators and Targets was a report prepared in 2002 for Te Puni Kōkiri that highlighted a range of culturally specific indicators of effectiveness (M. Durie et al., 2002). The report introduced a conceptual framework for measurement, *Te Ngāhuru*, which was broadly focused on social service delivery and built on a six-part schema:

1. Five principles;
2. Two major outcome domains;

3. Four outcome classes;
4. Outcome goals;
5. Outcome targets; and
6. Outcome indicators.

The five principles (Part One) were used to highlight the application of outcome measures and the broad parameters under which they operate. The first two principles, *Outcome Interconnectedness* and *Outcomes Specificity*, considered the limitations of existing measures and the idea that these types of measures, while useful, are not perfect in that they require considered interpretation and alignment with both input and process indicators. The last three principles, *Māori Focused Outcomes*, *Māori Commonality*, and *Contemporary Relevance*, consider the Māori population diversity, characteristics, and distinctiveness. These five principles are described in the framework below.

Table 1: Te Ngāhuru: Five Principles

Principle	Characteristics
Outcome Interconnectedness	The notion that Māori and non-Māori outcomes, while different, are the same on many levels. Generic measures of outcome will therefore be of relevance.
Outcome Specificity	Outcomes often have multiple determinants and it is frequently difficult to identify what these are. However, it is important that as far as practical an outcome determinant or cause is identified.
Māori Focused Outcomes	Māori outcomes need to be based on Māori goals and aspirations rather than with comparisons with non-Māori.

Māori Commonality	While the Māori population is diverse (culturally, demographically, and socio-economically) there are outcome aspirations which are held in common and which assist with the identification of Māori specific outcomes.
Contemporary Relevance	Although cultural outcomes are often shaped by traditional and historical constructs, these will need to be placed and considered within a contemporary context, one which brings relevance to the current environment, structures, and interactions.

Part Two identified two major outcome domains – *Human Capacity* and *Resource Capacity*. *Human Capacity* considers the rights of Māori to participate positively in society (both nationally and internationally). It highlights that positive Māori participation levels in society are currently low and this is reflected in high rates of unemployment, incarceration, educational underachievement, and income disparities. *Resource Capacity* considers Māori cultural, intellectual, and physical resources. A positive outcome is where Māori resources are plentiful, sustainable and in a development mode.

Outcome Classes (Part Three) arise from the *Outcome Domains* and include four distinct components. The first two, *Te Manawa* (a secure cultural identity) and *Te Kāhui* (collective Māori synergies), are linked to the human dimension. The last two, *Te Kete Puāwai* (Māori cultural and intellectual resources) and *Te Ao Tūroa* (the Māori estate), consider resource issues. Collectively, the four components are referred to as *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world). The four *Outcome Classes* recognize the relationship between people and the land – they are further described in the framework below.

Table 2: Te Ngāhuru: Outcome Classes

Outcome Classes	Characteristics
Te Manawa (a secure Māori cultural identity)	The ability of an individual to access the Māori world to participate in Māori institutions, activities, and systems.
Te Kāhui (collective Māori synergies)	An outcome that is focused on collective well-being, group synergy, interaction, and collaboration.
Te Kete Puāwai (Māori cultural and intellectual resources)	The need to consider and measure Māori cultural resources such as language, values, arts, culture, and knowledge.
Te Ao Tūroa (the Māori estate)	The need to consider the extent to which physical resources accrues so that future generations can enjoy an expanded Māori estate.

The four *Outcome Classes* give rise to a list of ten *Outcome Goals* (Part Four). Two are linked to a secure cultural identity, three to collective Māori synergies, two to Māori cultural and intellectual resources, and three to the Māori estate. These are detailed in the framework below.

Table 3: Te Ngāhuru: Outcome Goals

Outcome Goals	Features
Participation as Māori	Māori are more able to participate in society as Māori if they have a secure cultural identity. Indicators might include enrolment on the Māori electoral roll, employment in Māori designated positions, participation in Māori affirmative action programmes, and involvement in Māori cultural and sporting teams.
Participation in Te Ao Māori	It is now accepted that Māori well-being depends not only on participation and achievement in wider society but also on participation and achievement in Māori society. Indicators may include marae participation, involvement in Māori networks, participation at Māori land owners meetings, and knowledge of whakapapa.
Vibrant Māori Communities	An important outcome for Māori is measured by the vibrancy of a Māori community. It reflects the way a community is organised and the positive attributions that can result to the population involved.

	Indicators of a vibrant Māori community could be based on the number of institutions, kapa haka teams, Marae that are well used by the community, sports clubs, Māori committees, radio stations, and the relationships between organisations. Moreover, an assessment of how these constructed to a vibrant community.
Enhanced Whānau Capacities	A well-functioning whānau has the potential to point its own members towards good outcomes in both generic and Māori senses. Because the whānau is a foundation Māori institution its performance warrants close monitoring. Indicators could include, whānau land or education trusts.
Autonomy	A by-Māori-for-Māori approach to development. Indicators could include Māori provider organisations, marae committees, Māori boards.
Te Reo Māori	Māori language is a major indicator of “being Māori”. There are two important aspects – language use (extent) and the number of situations where it can be spoken (settings).
Culture, Values, and Knowledge	The practice of Māori culture, knowledge, and values constitutes an important outcome goal. The emphasis on culture, knowledge and values is intended to construct an outcome goal relevant to all Māori and in a manner consistent with diverse Māori realities.
Regenerated Land Base	A regenerated Māori land base refers to a three dimensional shift: an expanded land base, a land base that is of greater economic value, and a land base that is more widely accessible to Māori.
The Environment	An important Māori outcome is access to clean and sustainable environmental resources.
Resource Sustainability	The resource sustainability outcome goal is defined by sustainable harvesting practices, an expanding resource, and wide Māori access to the resource.

The *Outcome Goals* are designed to represent relatively undifferentiated outcomes. In order to achieve a higher level of specificity, and to give a more precise focus, the report suggested the need to develop more focused, narrower range of outcome related targets. *Outcome Targets* for each goal (Part Five) could be decided according to the area under examination and in association with key participants. Furthermore, the targets would need to be relatively specific and measurable. For example, the *Autonomy* goal could be to establish an additional (and specific) number of Māori health providers. A target for the *Te Reo Māori* goal could be to ensure the development each year of at least

one new domain where Māori can be spoken and heard. A target for the *Positive Māori Participation in Māori Society* goal could be to establish a specified number of Māori designated positions within a certain sector. Targets would require agreement as to the best indicators (Part Six).

The intent of *Māori Specific Outcome Indicators and Targets* was to raise issues of interest, promote discussion, and provide a mechanism through which more specific and pragmatic indicators could be developed. It did not provide detail on effectiveness or outcome indicators but rather provided a basis through which more sophisticated indicators could be identified. The schema below draws together the various frameworks and discussion points.

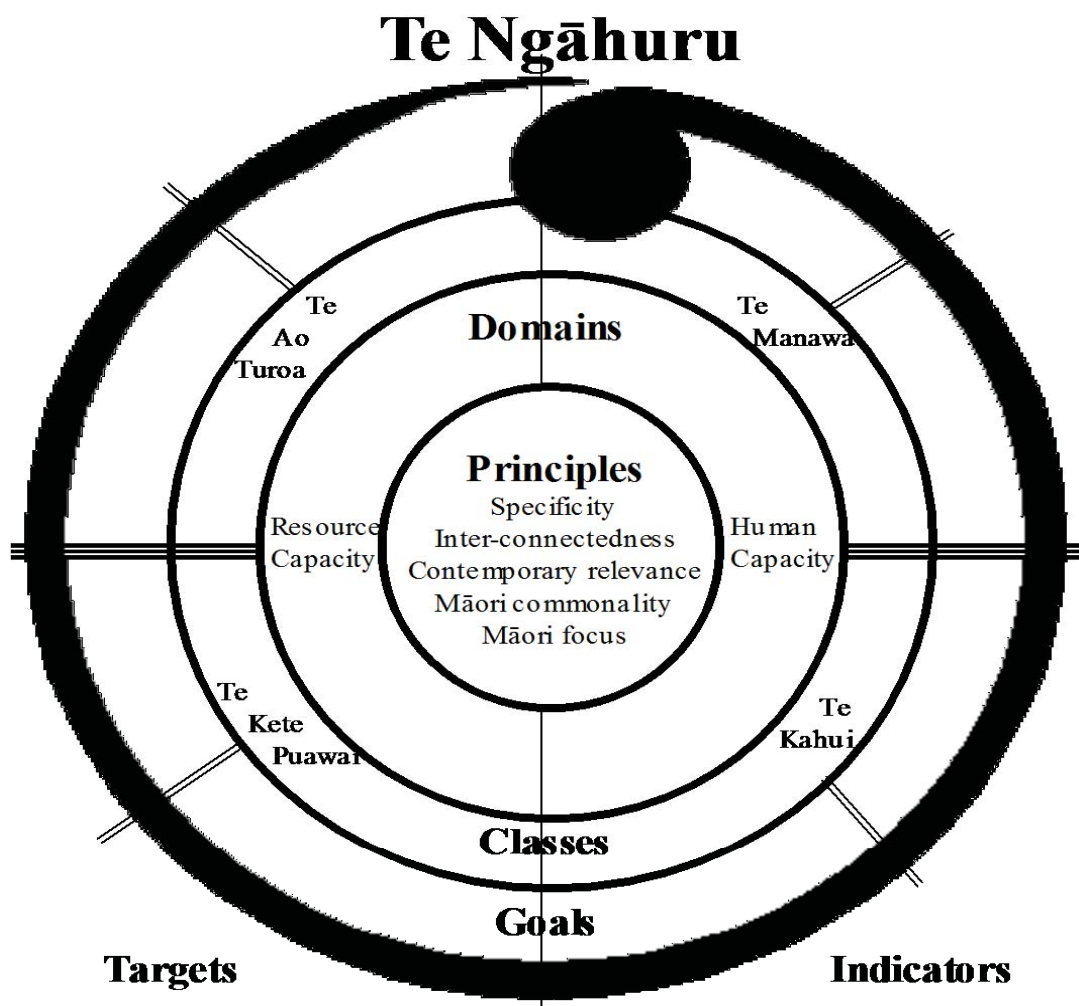


Figure 1: Te Ngāhuru

Hua Oranga

Hua Oranga was designed to assess the effectiveness of mental health treatment and care (M. Durie & Kingi, 2010). It is questionnaire based and poses specific questions of the patient, clinician, and a nominated family member. The questions and constructs are shaped around a Māori model of health, *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, and are designed to reflect Māori health perspectives and aspirations. The tool has a very narrow focus on Māori

mental health, but offers useful clues as to how effectiveness and outcomes for Māori can be identified and measured. A facsimile of *Hua Oranga* is attached as Appendix 5.

A Māori Alcohol and Drug Measure

Consistent with the need for a range of outcome instruments, the ADOPT (Alcohol and Drug Outcomes Project) was commissioned by the Ministry of Health (through the Mental Health Research and Development Strategy) to investigate the feasibility of introducing national routine treatment outcome measurement for alcohol and drug services (Robertson, 2003). The ADOM, *Alcohol and Drug Outcome Measure*, was produced as part of this process to provide a routine mechanism through which clinicians could monitor the progress of patients receiving treatment for addiction. While the tool is designed for general application, over the course of its development steps were taken to ensure resonance with the aspirations of Māori through the establishment of a Project Reference Group and a Māori Expert Advisory Group (Robertson, 2003). A significant finding from this process was that Māori and non-Māori views of effectiveness were not necessarily inconsistent or at odds with each other.

Māori Cultural Related Need (MaCRN)

The *MaCRN* was developed by the Department of Corrections and designed to complement the generic Criminogenic Needs Inventory (CNI) (Maynard, Coebergh, Bakker, Anstiss, & Huriwai, 1999). The CNI is not a measure of effectiveness in the strictest sense. Rather, it is the Department's main tool for assessing offenders and is

aimed at the systematic gathering of information relating to the offender's behaviour. The information is used to make improved decisions about the offender – pre- and post-sentencing. The *MaCRN* aims to gather better information on Māori needs; the purpose being to determine how aspects of Māori culture can encourage individuals to address their offending behaviour.

Like *Hua Oranga*, the *MaCRN* considers issues of cultural significance and further links this to the identification of more meaningful approaches, strategies, and interventions for Māori. It is also designed to complement other existing tools.

Homai te Waiora ki Ahau

Developed by Dr Stephanie Palmer, *Homai te Waiora ki Ahau* is a 12-item measure of waiora or Māori well-being (Palmer, 2004). It is based on four models of health – *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, *Te Wheke*, *Ngā Pou Mana*, and *Te Roopu Awhina o Tokanui*. Its application is structured around a series of pictures and informed by a 13-point likert-based scale. The tool is self-administered and considers taha whānau (family), hinengaro (mental), tinana (physical), wairua (spiritual), mauri (life-force), whenua (land), mana (prestige), whatumanawa (emotions), tikanga Māori (Māori culture), tikanga Pākehā (Western culture), te ao tawhito (the old world), te ao hou (the new world), and waiora (complete health). The content domains for each item were obtained from literature, informal discussions with a range of experts, and Dr Palmer's own personal experience.

The Mauri Model

Developed by Dr Te Kepa Morgan, *The Mauri Model* proposes an alternative means through which environmental concerns can be considered from a uniquely Māori perspective (Morgan, 2004). As part of its design, the model locates four Māori specific assessment domains or constructs:

- Mauri of the Hapū/Band.
- Mauri of the Community.
- Mauri of the Family.
- Mauri of the Ecosystem.

Various indicators are attached to each construct that allow environmental impacts to be assessed in ways that are more meaningful to Māori and more consistent with their cultural aspirations.

The Māori Disability Information (MDI) Framework

The MDI Framework identifies information useful to Māori communities, but not normally collected through other means (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1994). It includes three principles, four Māori specific data sets, and four considerations for the generation and transfer of data.

The three principles are the *Treaty of Waitangi*, *confidentiality and guardianship*, and *purposefulness and consistency*. The *Treaty of Waitangi*, as the first principle, provides an

overall guide for the framework and is said to be consistent with Māori desires for greater control, equity, partnership, participation, and active protection. The principle of *confidentiality and guardianship* reflects the need to ensure that information is obtained in a secure way and in line with privacy provisions. The last principle, *purposefulness and consistency*, highlights the requirement to collect information that is both useful and consistent, allowing for comparisons and projections to be made (e.g. service planning, monitoring of quality requirements and service delivery).

Table 4: MDI Framework - Principles

Category	Components	Guidelines
Principles	Treaty of Waitangi	The dual-focused framework: Kāwanatanga Tino Rangatiratanga Ōritetanga Partnership Participation Active Protection
	Confidentiality and Guardianship	Privacy Act 1993 ³
	Purposefulness and Consistency	Relevance and Use Uniformity of Information

The four Māori specific data sets include *ethnicity*, *cultural*, *circumstance*, and *disability data*. The first component calls for a more consistent approach to the collection of ethnicity data and proposes that contemporary definitions be used as a guide – for example those developed by Statistics New Zealand. The second component highlights the importance of collecting culturally specific data, such as iwi and hapū information, as well as an individual’s capacity to access Māori networks. The third component, *circumstance*, is broadly linked to the requirement to collect information that considers

³ Including the Health Information Privacy Code 1994.

an individual's socio-economic position and access to whānau support networks. By collecting such data a more comprehensive indication of individual needs can be formulated.

The final component, *disability data*, states that the collection of Māori-specific data needs to be consistent with the more usual or conventional data collection mechanisms; moreover, that both data sets should ultimately complement each other.

Table 5: MDI Framework – Specific Data

Category	Components	Guidelines
Māori Specific Data	Ethnicity	Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 definition Descent and self-identification Census Questions 1991
	Cultural	Hapū and Iwi ⁴ Māori networks Māori affirmation
	Circumstance	Whānau support Economic position Other social indicators
	Disability Data	Same as mainstream Correlation of disability (multiple disabilities)

The final category, *generation and transfer of data*, is more technically focused and considers the practical issues associated with the collection of accurate and meaningful data. It highlights the need for systemic development – data and technology systems that are compatible and transferable; the need to ensure that issues of cultural safety are considered (e.g., how information is collected, stored, and applied); consideration of the methods of data collection (what information is collected and why); and, last, data

⁴ Department of Statistics Iwi Classification.

processing issues, to ensure that clear procedures are in place, that information is safe and secure, and that those gathering the data acknowledge some form of accountability to those from whom it is collected.

Table 6: MDI Framework – Data Transfer

Category	Components	Guidelines
Generation and Transfer of Data	Data and Technology	Compatibility Transferability
	Cultural safety	Cultural safety issues
	Methods of collection	Physical recording Completed details
	Data processing	Clear procedures Accountabilities Guardianship and security

The MDI Framework represents a new approach to the collection, analysis, and retention of disability data. It is aimed at a national policy level and is broad enough to meet the diverse requirements of each provider organisation. Importantly, it highlights the need to consider cultural factors within existing data collection mechanisms.

He Anga Whakamana

He Anga Whakamana: A Framework for the Delivery of Disability Services to Māori has been used to help develop services for the disabled (Ratima et al., 1995). Six key principles feature: whakapiki (enablement); whai wāhi (participation); whakaruruhau (safety); tōtika (effectiveness); putanga (accessibility); and whakawhanaungatanga (integration) (Ratima et al., 1995). These principles reflect Māori values and emphasise the need for disability services to adopt a fundamental philosophy consistent with Māori views and perspectives.

The framework identifies specific service implications for each of these principles and further provides indicators through which these implications can be assessed. The indicators are not intended as rigid markers but are used as broad guidelines through which generic service plans can be developed.

Table 7: He Anga Whakamana

Principles	Service Implications	Indicators
Whakapiki (Enablement)	Client input and choice at all levels of decision making Observation of Māori cultural requirements Provision of Māori focused services by Māori Least intrusive service options	Quality information and collection Client participation
Whai Wāhi (Participation)	Active client participation Active whānau involvement Links forged with Māori institutions	Caregiver/case manager participation Whānau participation
Whakaruruhau (Safety)	Cultural safety, including cultural enhancement of mainstream services Professionally qualified services with representative staff Raised community awareness of disability	Appropriate use of Māori language
Tōtika (Effectiveness)	Improved health status and health gains for Māori Representative workforce Community contribution	Links with Māori institutions Consistency
Putanga (Accessibility)	Quality information Timelessness Availability of culturally and professionally safe services Environment	Workforce composition and sensitivity
Whaka – Whanaungatanga (Integration)	Links with Māori institutions Links with other service providers Networking with Māori	Assessment procedures Consultation Māori specific factors

He Taura Tieke

He Taura Tieke sets out parameters for health service effectiveness (Cunningham, 1996). Its key dimensions are technical (or clinical) competence, structural and systemic responsiveness, and consumer satisfaction (Cunningham, 1996). The framework identifies those key health service attributes or components required to meet the needs and expectations of Māori consumers. In doing so, *He Taura Tieke* provides a simple 'checklist' through which service plans can be designed and operationalised.

Table 8: He Taura Tieke

Technical and Clinical Competence	Competence and safety Health framework
Structural and Systemic Responsiveness	Māori development Māori workforce development Preferred providers
Consumer Satisfaction	Access Information Informed choice Trust and respect Participation Seamlessness

The components of the technical and clinical competence dimension (competence and safety and health frameworks) require safe, appropriate, and timely services. This is based on the fundamental understanding that consumers need services that are technically/clinically competent, monitored, evaluated, and able to meet the legal and regulatory standards established by Government and other professional bodies.

Structural and technical responsiveness has three components (Māori development, Māori workforce development, and preferred providers). This dimension considers the expectations of Māori and that health services should contribute to broader Māori objectives, be aware of the particular needs of Māori, and employ relevant frameworks and philosophies (e.g., The Treaty of Waitangi, Whare Tapa Whā, and the Ottawa Charter). This dimension also calls for formal monitoring mechanisms through which the needs of Māori can be assessed.

The third dimension (consumer satisfaction) is based on the simple premise that consumer needs and preferences should be met. To improve access to, and use of, health services, Māori preferences, choices and decisions must be fully considered. The components of this dimension (access, information, informed choice, trust and respect, and participation) are broadly designed to facilitate improved Māori access, participation, and outcomes. Like *He Anga Whakamana*, *He Taura Tieke* was designed to account for the diverse needs of service providers, including both cultural and clinical requirements. In this regard, it further emphasises the interplay between cultural and universal measures.

The CHI Audit Model

Following the Health Reforms of 1993, when contracting for health services became a regular aspect of service delivery, a guide for public health contracting with Māori

providers was adopted by the Public Health Commission. The CHI ⁵ framework provided a basis on which provider contracts could be audited for cultural appropriateness and health gains for Māori (M. H. Durie, 1993). The model adopts a holistic approach and again demonstrates the value of including cultural measures alongside more conventional indicators.

Table 9: CHI Audit Model

Principles	Implications
Cultural Integrity	Care is culturally bound and reliant on cultural credibility (language, concepts and treatment)
Medical Pluralism	traditional approaches to care are not necessarily inconsistent with more contemporary methods – the objective is “health”
Self-determination	the capacity to exercise some control over how practices are implemented and applied

Measures for Traditional Healing

The 1993 Health Reforms also took tentative steps toward recognising Māori traditional healing as a legitimate health service that qualified for funding. However, a framework within which traditional healing could be conceptualised was required. Important to that task was the link between healing and culture and the recognition that quite different bodies of knowledge could exist, side by side, without needing to be interpreted according to the standards and norms of the other. In other words,

⁵ The key feature of the model is that it *Consolidates* (C) previous work, adopts a *holistic* (H) framework and seeks to be *interactive* (I).

mātauranga Māori was itself a legitimate body of knowledge that gave rise to distinct views on health and remedies for health problems.

The challenge was to reconcile that approach with more conventional approaches without distorting the underlying rationale. The framework for purchasing traditional healing services attempted to address these challenges. It emphasised the adaptive and often context-dependent nature of culturally derived healing but also stressed the principle of cultural integrity. Traditional healing was distinguished from other ‘alternative’ therapies on the basis of its longstanding cultural significance and its foundation in Māori values and a Māori philosophical outlook. Importantly, the framework provided the basis for Ministry of Health policy as well as a rationale that stressed the value of cultural domains (M. Durie, 1996b).

Table 10: A Framework for Purchasing Traditional Health Services

Item	Characteristics
Traditional basis	evidence that the approach does have a traditional foundation
Relevance to today	approaches are able to meet and deal with contemporary needs
Accessibility	cost, geography, insufficient information, may impede access
Demand	an awareness of how demand is measured
Based on an integrated body of knowledge	traditional treatment and care may draw from a range of sources in order to make a diagnosis or assign treatment
Training for practitioners	often difficult to determine individual level of skill (ability not determined by formal qualifications)
Internal arrangements to	the capacity to monitor and set standards

ensure standards	
An openness to other approaches	linked to the notion of medical pluralism but highlights the need for both approaches to accept the benefits the other may provide
Not harmful	the objective is 'health'
Accountable	to patients, funders, and communities
Liaison	the need to liaise with other sectors – a holistic, and integrated approach to health

Te Pae Mahutonga

More strategic frameworks for Māori health have also been developed. *Te Pae Mahutonga* was originally used as guide to health promotion, but has subsequently been applied to other sectors including mental health (M. Durie, 2000). It uses the symbolism of the constellation of stars known as the Southern Cross (Te Pae Mahutonga); the four stars making up the cross represent mauri-ora (identity, access to Te Ao Māori), wai-ora (environmental integrity), toi-ora (healthy life-styles), and te oranga (well-being). The two 'pointers' represent ngā manukura (leadership) and te mana whakahaere (autonomy). The framework has become widely used in New Zealand as a health promotional framework and has been especially welcomed by Māori health workers for whom the imagery has particular meaning and significance. Moreover, by adopting a celestial analogy, the subject is elevated to a broader level of conceptualisation, consistent with Māori preferences for looking at the 'larger picture' to give context and allow for relationships to be explored. As a strategic measure of effectiveness *Te Pae*

Mahutonga again highlights the need for measures that are able to capture cultural values as distinct from more conventional aspirations.

Whānau Ora

The Whānau Ora Taskforce has developed a Whānau Ora framework that encompasses factors that support improved whānau ora outcomes. These factors include: whānau, hapū and iwi leadership; whānau action and engagement; whānau centred design and delivery of services; active and responsive government; and funding (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). In addition, the framework is supported by seven principles that affirm a whānau-centred approach: best outcomes for whānau; whānau integrity; whānau opportunity; competent and innovative provision; effective resourcing; coherent service delivery; and ngā kaupapa tuku iho (Māori values, beliefs, obligations and responsibilities) (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). This Framework is intended to guide action to support strengthened whānau capabilities, an integrated and whānau-centred approach to whānau ora across government sectors and community providers, and improved financial efficiencies (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). While individual providers are developing monitoring frameworks and indicators to demonstrate the effectiveness of their services in contributing to whānau ora, it is likely that national work will be carried out to develop a whānau ora outcomes measurement framework with aligned indicators.

The Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau

The Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau, developed by the Independent Māori Statutory Board, provides a foundation to advocate and form a key partnership with Auckland Council, other agencies, and the private sector to deliver for Māori communities in the Auckland region (Independent Māori Statutory Board, undated). At the core of the Māori Plan is the cultural, social, economic, and environmental well-being of Mana Whenua (Māori with tribal affiliations within the Auckland region) and Mataawaka (Māori with tribal affiliations outside the Auckland region).

The Māori Plan summarises the key aspirations of, and provides greater clarity about, what Mana Whenua and Mataawaka want, and reflects their vision for the future. The Plan also provides a framework to monitor outcomes and measure changes to Māori well-being. The Māori Plan consists of five elements:

1. Māori Values;
2. Key Directions;
3. Domains and Focus areas;
4. Māori Outcomes; and
5. Indicators.

Māori Values underpin the Māori Plan, emphasising the idea that Māori can contribute their own worldviews and practices to policies and plans that affect Māori in a way that is meaningful and constructive to them. The Māori values are:

- Whanaungatanga – relationships.
- Rangatiratanga – autonomy and leadership.
- Manaakitanga – protection and care.
- Wairuatanga – spirituality and identity.
- Kaitiakitanga – guardianship.

The Key Directions reflect the overarching goals or aspirations that Mana Whenua and Mataawaka want for their own iwi, organisations, and communities. The key directions sit alongside the Māori values to ensure that Māori worldviews are embedded and integral to the Māori Plan. The key directions are:

- Developing Vibrant Communities.
- Enhancing Leadership and Participation.
- Improving Quality of Life.
- Promoting a Distinctive Māori Identity.
- Ensuring Sustainable Futures.

And finally, the Māori Plan incorporates domains or well-being areas referred to as pou. The four pou are social, cultural, economic, and environmental.

He Oranga Hāpori

At a Māori community level, work has also been completed that aims to further conceptualise Māori well-being and how it can be measured in a community context (Te Ropu Pakihi, 2010). The *He Oranga Hāpori* study defines Māori well-being as ‘a Māori

state of being that is characterised by an abundant expression of kaupapa tuku iho' (Te Ropu Pakihi, 2010). Within the context of this research, 'kaupapa tuku iho' is defined as the inherent Māori values passed down through generations. The *He Oranga Hāpori* model is a kaupapa and tikanga framework that affirms kaupapa as the values inherited from ancestors, and tikanga as the policies, processes, and organisational arrangements that are a result of kaupapa values.

The model enables participating Māori communities to consider how their progress as a community, and to their activities to one of ten selected kaupapa tuku iho: whakapapa (genealogical connections), whanaungatanga (interrelationships), wairuatanga (spirituality), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), pūkengatanga (skills), ūkaipōtanga (sense of belonging), rangatiratanga (self-determination), kotahitanga (unity), manaakitanga (mana enhancing), and te reo (language). The model includes indicators that are grouped into three categories – growth (G), relationship (R), and descriptive (D) indicators – that support the measurement of Māori community well-being. A total of 29 indicators are incorporated into the model as statements of tikanga in order to demonstrate the expression of each of the kaupapa tuku iho.

Iwi Vitality Outcomes Monitoring Framework

The *Iwi Vitality Outcomes Monitoring Framework* was developed to show the relationship between iwi values, iwi vitality outcomes and outcome characteristics (Porter, 2013). Seven values are used to underpin all aspects of the framework:

- Te reo me ona tikanga.
- Wairuatanga.
- Tino Rangatiratanga.
- Manaakitanga.
- Whānaungatanga.
- Kotahitanga.
- Kaitiakitanga.

The framework lists the seven vitality outcomes:

- Secure identity.
- Intergenerational sustainability.
- Collective cohesion.
- Environmental stewardship.
- Self-determination.
- Economic prosperity.
- Whānau health and well-being.

Five core characteristics are described for each of the outcomes – 35 characteristics in total. For example, the characteristics of ‘collective cohesion’ are posited as maintenance of the ahi kā; communication systems; active participation; regular iwi events; and representative structures. And the characteristics for ‘whānau health and well-being’ are described as whānau development; whānau decision-making; health status of whānau; socio-economic determinants; and effective health and social services.

Key Principles for Measuring Iwi Outcomes

An analysis of existing tools provides some indication as to the level of interest in Māori specific measurement and assessment tools. The review further highlights the diverse range of settings within which these tools are used and the need for instruments that capture a cultural perspective. Notwithstanding the diverse range of factors that have influenced the design and application of these tools, they also reveal a great deal about how similar instruments might be constructed and what key features are required.

The first, and perhaps least obvious point, is that all the measures are somehow informed by a set of higher level principles. These principles are often used to guide the tools design and to set out basic parameters or operational criteria. While *Te Pae Mahutonga*, *He Anga Whakamana*, and *Hei Taura Tieke* were developed for different reasons, they were equally informed by the higher level principles of Māori health gains, clinical integration, and cultural integrity. Similarly, *Hua Oranga* emphasised psychological well-being and a move towards holistic outcomes. *Te Ngāhuru* identified the five principles of outcome interconnectedness, outcome specificity, Māori-focused outcomes, Māori commonality, and contemporary relevance.

The second point is that constructs or domains are typically used as measurement anchors. That is, constructs are used to capture the range of issues that are important or valued. These constructs are often placed within a cultural context and, more often than not, reflect cultural preferences. Constructs provide a means through which a wide range of issues can be clustered or arranged. While principles will be used to identify or shape suitable constructs, their design will also be influenced by research activities –

especially consultations and reviews of literature. In the case of *Homai te Waiora ki Ahau*, the constructs were also shaped by the researcher's personal experiences and preferences.

The third point is that constructs do not in themselves constitute 'measures'; rather, they describe what range of issues should be measured. To this end, constructs require translation and the development of indicators to match or align with each construct.

Point four is that Māori measures will constitute but one part of an overall outcomes matrix. For a more comprehensive impression of outcome, cultural and conventional measures must work in unison.

The fifth and final point is that measures are unlikely to be ideal or absolute. That is, a single measure is unlikely to capture a single construct. Moreover, while outcome measures are an ultimate goal, it is possible that input, output, and proxy measures will also add value.

Chapter Five: *Summary*

Examining the notion of outcome measurement theory and practice has helped to better understand the primary purpose of outcomes measurement – key concepts, basic criteria, and appropriate methods and tools. Universal measures of outcome measurement were examined and used to highlight the fact that there existed outcomes that were common to and valued by all groups, regardless of ethnicity, nationality,

gender or any other variable. Highlighted too was the idea that outcomes, particular to certain groups, were also relevant and that cultural outcomes (specific to certain populations) would offer greater precision to the measurement of outcomes and make them more relevant to certain groups and particular populations.

An analysis and description of various outcome tools and models was also provided. This revealed the variety of ways in which Māori progress has been measured, how different sectors have managed this issue, and how Māori researchers have been able to create novel and innovative tools to ensure that cultural perspectives are considered.

Building on these analyses, the following chapter attempts to further refine and consolidate these concepts to move towards a more tangible and lucid measure of iwi outcomes.

Chapter Six

NGĀ KŌRERO O NGĀ IWI: ALIGNING THE COMPASS

Introduction

Previous chapters have already explored the notion of Māori Development through an examination of past trends and contemporary issues. This discussion was, in part, designed to better understand issues of importance to both Māori and iwi and, by proxy, to better elucidate what outcomes are valued or important. This information was, to a large extent, based on existing discourse and an assembly of independent reports and research projects. The material helped frame broader notions of Māori development and offered some insight into critical issues and key concepts.

Notwithstanding the value of this review, it lacked the specificity through which the hypothesis could be tested and, significantly, did not always drill into the issue of outcomes and outcome measurement. A complementary process was, therefore, required and, as noted within Chapter Two, this centred on the application of two case

studies. These case studies would provide additional richness and depth by examining the contemporary experiences of iwi, by exploring their hopes and aspirations, challenges, opportunities, and critical goals for the future. The notion of 'positive iwi development' was often used as a catalyst for these discussions and so that participants would better appreciate the context of the research and how to best shape their responses.

As described in Chapter Two, a variety of mechanisms were used to collect this information. Interviews with iwi leaders and managers were conducted as well as broader surveys of iwi members – rangatahi, kuia and kaumātua. Hui were attended as well and used to garner more collective perspectives on iwi development and positive iwi outcomes. Presentations were further used to periodically report back on the Study, but to also test key issues, assumptions and insights.

This information was assembled and analysed so that relevant themes and issues could be identified. Inductive coding of data was undertaken to assist with this process which involved labelling and categorising the data into key areas of interest. An outcome of this was that general patterns were able to be identified within the data which gave rise to central themes and headings. Data was then classified and compared,⁶ and then discussed with supervisors so that key ideas relevant to the hypothesis could be presented and considered.

⁶ NVivo was used for this process.

The following two chapters describe the themes that emerged from this process. Given the amount of relevant data collected it was decided to separate the information in this way so that Chapter 6 would focus on the broad issue of iwi development while Chapter 7 would examine a range of complementary issues – how iwi development could be measured and what specific indicators would be relevant. Unlike previous chapters the themes presented here are clustered under relevant headings – but are left in a more raw state. This is deliberate in that it permits a less contrived form of analysis to take place (unlike reviews of literature) and allows for a more open assessment of key issues, opportunities, and concerns.

Iwi Values

The first and perhaps most significant theme to emerge from the case studies was the idea that iwi values were integral to positive iwi outcomes. Values such as ‘honesty’ and ‘integrity’ were often referred to, along with concepts, such as ‘whanaungatanga’ and ‘manaakitanga’.

These ideas were also discussed in terms of guiding iwi organisations, one participant commenting that “it would be fair to say that every single Māori organisation has a whakataukī attached to them that guides [that organisation] with some sort of values” (Participant G). Another participant made similar comments:

“I would say whakapapa and whanaungatanga definitely influence all of our decisions. But sometimes organisations have values that are in a document or in their strategy that apparently [have] influence, and I’m

not sure that they do so in that way. Certainly for us, those sorts of considerations definitely influence us...

...I would say manaakitanga is definitely in a lot of the mahi that we do. Even though a lot of the mahi that we do is fraught with problems, and there's a lot of in-fighting, I'd say manaakitanga is a big consideration." (Participant J)

Participants also discussed how iwi members have different roles according to the context within which they may be operating at any one time. However, it was commonly noted that an underlying, shared value often influenced how members would engage in a particular context. One example was provided in terms of whanaungatanga within an iwi business setting:

"For instance, someone might be a kaumātua on a certain marae and you think "I've sort of challenged that person on this Trust" - so this is where you get back to the business and the hapū side of things. Though this person might have been a Trustee on the Trust, he's also a kaumātua of this hapū. So you don't say to yourself "I'm not going to go to that marae because the last thing I want to do is see this person". So you've got to front up all the time and I believe our people do... We might have been at odds on a multi-million dollar deal but you'll see us sit happily together on the paepae and that's what whanaungatanga is." (Participant G)

Participants observed that the unique challenge for Māori organisations was to meaningfully express Māori values within a mainstream environment. One participant gave an example in relation to an iwi business:

"Whakapapa and whanaungatanga are involved in iwi economic development... The biggest challenge is how do I create a business model that has a Māori outcome? With a Pākehā business - say you're in a trucking business - immediately you're in competition. That guy's going to get a contract from the council, so I'm going to go there and I'm going to undercut him. This is what I mean about a Pākehā business. This is where whakapapa and whanaungatanga can come in. At the end of the day, why can't you both sit down and say 'well, there must be something we can work out together so that we both get the contract. You work this part of

the area and I work that part. Is it viable? Is it possible?' It's those kinds of synergies that make us uniquely Māori." (Participant I)

Whanaungatanga, as a value, was commonly identified by participants as contributing to positive iwi outcomes. One participant described this value as being reflected simply by "whānau moving around [the] community helping all the other whānau" (Participant B). Another viewed it as important for maintaining relationships that contribute to positive iwi outcomes:

"Whanaungatanga is really important, looking after and cherishing the relationships between each other and others, really taking care of that relationship and being there for the thousands of people that I've seen come through, be they from this town, throughout the country and all over the world and how they've been looked after and cherished. In a lot of circumstances relationships maintained for the purposes of helping other people or those that shared the same values." (Participant N)

Descriptions of whanaungatanga by participants also suggested its contribution to integrated, holistic approaches and how these could inform iwi development:

"Whanaungatanga, too, in terms of how we look after our local whānau and individuals. Although we may address individual issues, or we may have individual members, there's usually that appreciation that with that member comes a wider whānau and the influences and the impacts of their circumstances as well as the help that you're going to provide - you think in a wider whānau context rather than just that one individual who might be a client or member. That's what the people demand of us to do..." (Participant N)

"It wasn't just the whānau problem, it was an iwi problem and so we resolved it - we discussed it openly at the marae with everyone.... And that was the important thing. It was never about an individual, it was about the iwi. If it affected someone then that had an impact on the whole iwi." (Participant B)

Wairuatanga was a common theme to emerge within the context of positive iwi outcomes. One participant saw it as a key value that underpinned the delivery of services to iwi members:

“...when you’re dealing with programmes and services and the needs of the people which is where I think you really want to gain knowledge about, you look at the whole person in a holistic manner, not just what it is that you see before you. I was explaining when a member comes in we dealt with wider things to support that person, not just the individual, that was an indication of wairuatanga. And experience taught you over time about certain signs and characteristics and information, how people would be in terms of wairuatanga. It’s accepted that that’s how we are amongst each other and it’s okay to be aware of that. It wouldn’t probably be welcome in a Pākehā institution.” (Participant N)

In addition to being cognisant of iwi values, participants placed similar emphasis on the *practice* of values, particularly within iwi organisations. Two participants explained it in this way:

“I don’t think it was the role as Trustee as such that taught me any of that because as a Trustee and in a governance role, you make your own decisions and although you work in a team and as part of a collective, it wasn’t the role of Trustee that provided me with the real wealth of learning that I got from the Credit Union. It was being a part of a team of people who didn’t just know what principles and values were but practiced them and you can have values and principles written on a piece of paper but to actually practice them is where the real learning and the real glue for the success of the Credit Union I believe.” (Participant N)

“I would say in a lot of organisations, values are just there on paper and I don’t know how in everyday life those values actually make an impact on the organisation. Maybe that might be unfair but if they do, then they might do so in quite an informal way. But in the organisations I’m associated with, people just don’t say ‘well, we’ve got this value of this and that’s why we should do it’ - it doesn’t really happen like that. But maybe it happens more informally. But I guess if you’re not really conscious about whether it’s happening or not, how do you know? I think to some degree it is and to some degree it isn’t. But I would say values are important and I think organisations should be very strongly influenced by

them, I'm just not sure how explicitly that happens on a day to day basis.”
(Participant J)

Marae

The second theme to emerge concerned Marae and their fundamental role in promoting and sustaining positive iwi outcomes. In particular, participants discussed the roles iwi members play in relation to marae, and the relationships connected with marae.

One participant spoke about the various roles that iwi members carry out on marae to ensure the operational and tikanga aspects of the marae are fulfilled:

“There are roles. Everyone sort of understands their roles. Each role is as important as the other. Primarily there are a few people from the hapū who have been asked by the hapū [to undertake certain roles] - our community, whānau, hapū and its contribution that does it. Contribution of time, of labour, of aroha, of kai, of whatever skill you have or wherever you can fit in and whatever your role is, it is something you can be proud of. Each has a role, each role has mana.” (Participant A)

Specific roles were mentioned by various participants. For example, one discussed the role of kaikōrero on marae:

“...supporting whānau and tangihanga in that role as Kaikōrero... the role of helping on the paepae as a Kaikōrero. We have a rangatira for the paepae... there is a few of us that sit by him helping uphold the kawa of [the marae] and the mana and mauri of the marae.” (Participant A)

Relationships between whānau were seen as inherent to marae. One participant described the term ‘whānau’ in a relatively inclusive way:

“I guess it depends on definition of whānau and how wide you take that. I guess ideally whether it’s been hui or wānanga or those sorts of things focused around the immediate whānau, the community or whakapapa wise...” (Participant C)

Marae were identified as important for iwi members and whānau to engage in open communication about, and constructively process, iwi matters:

“The amount of division that takes place on a marae in regards to whānau versus whānau. There’s personalities - yeah. That identifies that they have lost their focus of what the purpose of the marae is for. If you don’t have whānau being able to talk around a table, then that’s a real concern... But if you’ve got some really key issues on the table, you’ll see good discussion take place on that. Like they’d really talk about the issues... if there’s good discussion directed at the issue, then that’s a healthy marae.” (Participant E)

Other relationships discussed concerning marae were those between iwi governance bodies, such as iwi authorities and iwi service providers. Positive connections between marae and these organisations were viewed as relevant to positive iwi outcomes:

“And Rūnanga relationships with our marae. The marae trustees and marae committee. [That] Rūnanga have good relationships with all those groups is important I think to wider iwi development. And vice versa too. I think all those groups need to have good relationships with each other as well.” (Participant H)

Finally, engagement between marae and governance bodies outside of the iwi was considered. These included local and regional authorities and other local stakeholders. One participant spoke of the desire of their marae to be proactive in engaging with these organisations:

“So we [hapū and marae] need to be pretty active in engaging with these external bodies, we need to engage with our own [iwi] corporations or organisations - and the iwi - so they know what we are planning to do in

the near future. That needs to happen. This has all come about us trying to build our own structure, put a good strong structure in place for ourselves.” (Participant E)

Iwi Identity

Participants discussed a unique and distinctive iwi identity as important for positive iwi outcomes, the need to strengthen and sustain the uniqueness of that identity, and how this would be viewed as a positive and enduring outcome. The ‘core group’ viewed as being important in terms of maintaining the identity of an iwi was the ahi kā. One participant commented on this:

“...you need to have that core group of people that hangs on to that unique iwi identity otherwise you’re just another Māori iwi. And so you need to have that strengthening if you like of the ahi kā base and then we grow from there... Grow towards sustainability, independence... you will never be able to compete with other organisations unless you have that unique quality, the quality of kōrero, the quality of what you produce on your land and those are the things that need to be enhanced. What’s that unique difference? And that’s the thing that we have to build on, that uniqueness that’s exclusively us.” (Participant I)

Expanding iwi members’ knowledge and understanding about iwi history was seen as important for sustaining a unique iwi identity:

“Retention, understanding of their history would be number one, to be able to relate to their history, I think that’s paramount - the start of all the hapū and then the different areas. In actual fact they started back in Kupe’s time... That’s where I come from when I talk about the historical values to me.” (Participant D)

And maintaining a ‘strong’ iwi identity was viewed as important for future generations:

“...to me that’s still an important thing... that our whānau, our kids are aware of where they’re from.... So they can go out into that big world or wherever, knowing that, feeling strong in that and what makes an iwi to me is that feeling strong as to where you’re from, feeling proud when you bring people onto your marae.” (Participant O)

Ahi kā & Taura here

Participants referred to the role of ahi kā in relation to positive iwi development. In reflecting on her experience as a child, one elderly participant shared her views on ahi kā in this way:

“We had these people that were just wonderful, caring people, had that same concept that our marae was the centre of our community and they had to keep those home fires burning so that kids always knew they had somewhere to come home to. There was always going to be somebody there and I never understood that until quite later...” (Participant B)

Participants viewed ahi kā as providing the ‘base’ and ‘strength’ for positive iwi outcomes, one discussing the point as follows:

“...having an ahi kā, I think, is just a key principal of any iwi background or any iwi or hapū community. Its strength is in the ahi kā. We talk about the marae having strength and the need to have a strong marae. But you can’t have that, in my opinion, without your ahi kā being your strength... So that was how we decided we were going to go forward and build our iwi. We would take what we already had- which was that strong bond as ahi kā.” (Participant B)

Participants referred to the decline in ahi kā due to iwi members moving away from the traditional iwi rohe for work or education:

“...[the] iwi’s strength came from the ahi kā and they watched their people go away to the cities under these pre-employment courses set up by [the

Department of] Māori Affairs at the time. Those young people came back with an insight into what they had within their own rohe, with the skills that they had got from the outside. So it comes back again to that taking the good things from the past and using them as the stepping stones into the future again.” (Participant B)

Discussion of ahi kā inevitably lead to discussion about taura here. Within the context of positive iwi outcomes, some participants expressed a desire to actively connect with taura here:

“Taura here should come home, yes. But I think there’s a time too when it should be the other way around - when we go out to our whānau. It might be to Tāmaki Makaurau or whatever and take our oldies there. I think for our oldies too, they need to go out and kōrero to our young people that are out there. However, the underlying factor for me is that our people out in the cities is that they be grounded in where our iwi is... where the whare is; and be grounded at home base as well... Getting taura here meeting and discussing the possible future direction for us and involving whānau kāinga.” (Participant L)

One participant reflected on the need to ensure taura here were included as part of iwi discussions and that taura here be considered as part of any existing or future iwi development initiatives:

“Probably one of the biggest things for me is that we sort of say “iwi this” and “iwi that”, but really we’re developing [those iwi members within the iwi rohe]. And we really do have to come back around to developing ‘iwi’, and so looking at beyond [the iwi rohe]. But in saying that, I think it’s good... because that is our home after all. It’s kind of understanding the inherent value in doing that, but at the same time - when we measure iwi outcomes - we need to include a good spread of iwi that don’t live [within the iwi rohe]. For other iwi it might not be such a huge issue but when you’re got that significant number of people that aren’t actually living in your home area then [it is].” (Participant H)

“I think identifying high population pocket areas in other areas of the country should identify some of that stuff happening in those areas too, I would think. That’s probably another way you could sort of determine

where you go to, and how many whānau you get from those areas.”
(Participant H)

Feedback about engaging with taura here also included connecting with iwi members that may not necessarily identify strongly within their iwi. Having iwi members (re)connecting with their iwi was viewed as important:

“And I think, going forward that’s one of the biggest things for iwi, is understanding how their people are choosing to connect back to them... Are they choosing to connect as an informed choice or are they choosing to connect because they do not know any other iwi to connect to? And I think, from an iwi perspective... one of the important things is about letting them know [who their iwi is] so they can make that informed choice, that “Yes, they want to continue to enact whanaungatanga in that way”. That I think is for me, where iwi is quite clear they want to hold onto that which makes them unique and share that with everyone else.”
(Expert Focus Group)

“That’s one of the things that we’ve been grappling with in terms of we have got fifty four thousand now on the tribal register... But I’m also interested in the others that aren’t on the register and why they’re not.... Do they not know [there is a register] or do they choose not to be on the register? From our perspective, we want all the tribe to be part of the benefits that they’re entitled to.” (Expert Focus Group)

Economic Stability

In terms of economic development within an iwi context, many participants focused on addressing concerns at a whānau level. A general view was held that if iwi can assist whānau to be financially stable, then many other areas of iwi development would be improved as a consequence. A participant commented on this approach as follows:

“What did we recognise first and foremost? That if we could get people financially stable then we may be able to work through the rest of the

raruraru with individual whānau... The one thing we identified and our whānau supported in our budgeting service was money was the thing that kept everybody dysfunctional. They drank alcohol because they didn't have enough money. They didn't socialise properly because they didn't have what Joe Bloggs next door had. Our people always focused on what was more the negative than what they could do positively." (Participant B)

Working towards whānau having "good housing" was identified by participants as integral to both positive well-being and positive iwi outcomes in general. Other current iwi services provided around 'simple budgeting', and providing budgeting advice were also discussed in terms of progress towards good housing for whānau. With respect to one case study, the success of an iwi housing project was viewed as a good indicator of positive iwi development:

"A good indicator of [positive iwi development is] how well our housing projects have been... the people that are still living in the houses, that built the houses - that the houses were built for, not renting out their house. Those who have been able to improve themselves." (Participant H)

However, an over-emphasis by whānau on money was also viewed as a potential barrier for positive iwi outcomes. For example, within a marae context, one participant suggested:

"I feel when the money came in, little things started to happen. Once you pay someone to work in the kitchen [of the marae], or you start saying 'well, we should be setting our tables like this because we've got really new cutlery and silverware'... then the other ones that have always been there - the actual people that upheld that marae... they slowly disappear. Then you come to a realisation [that] you actually do need people to uphold it." (Participant A)

A reliance or expectation of financial assistance, including government funding, was included in discussion of the perceived role of money to 'get things done':

“Kaupapa are directed by funding...I’ve been at a meeting where no-one is going to start the garden until they’ve managed to secure the funding from some organisation. People might say ‘let’s put on a whānau day’. But then the next question is ‘Where are you going to get your funding from?’ So funding now dictates if it happens and when it happens. It never used to. How... did we ever build a waka? How did we build a wharepuni? It was through communal contribution. Communal contribution has gone now.” (Participant A)

“We could see two worlds. We saw the world pre-unemployment benefits and just over the fence we saw the world when the unemployment benefit came in and we saw the world where you got free money to lie on your couch and so you saw that - the core strength of iwi being diminished because of the dollar again, the free dollar.” (Participant B)

Developing People

Strategically developing human potential or capability was a theme often spoken about in terms of enabling iwi to progress future aspirations. Participants observed the lack of strategic planning and development of iwi members. Rather, current iwi development was viewed as occurring in an *ad hoc* or unorganized manner.

More strategic approaches to progressing positive iwi outcomes within the context of developing iwi members and iwi human resources were suggested. One participant discussed this point as follows:

“We’re too busy being reactive than proactive in regards to decision-making and everything like that, there’s no forward thinking at all happening in any of these Boards because they’re too busy reacting to issues. There’s no thinking about even doing that. It’s just ‘oh well, hopefully someone might want to come in and do that line of study’ and next minute they can apply for a job. There’s no steer to support our whānau in that area of education.” (Participant E)

One rationale for adopting a more strategic, futures-focused approach to developing iwi human resources was to have positive iwi development led by skilled iwi members:

“It’s something that’s come out a lot recently, identifying skills, utilising what skills there already are, better identifying gaps in those skills and then strategising to address those gaps... Some of our youth programmes are designed around that. They’re targeted at introducing our youth to science... the science sector... that’s just one big massive gap for us. To some degree we’re doing a little bit of work towards that but we could probably do with a formalised strategy with a bit more structure around how we’re doing it. The ideal picture?... Having skilled people driving our development.” (Participant H)

“We started undertaking fisheries research and that included doing marine surveys, dives and things like that and I think we found that we had one marine biologist that we were aware of. Given that the sea is quite a significant our rohe moana is quite significant to us we thought it warranted investing some effort into. So that’s one way we’re doing it at the moment but as I say, it’s not very structured.” (Participant H)

Being strategic around developing an iwi skill base also included a focus on cultural domains:

“In saying ‘skilled’, not necessarily skilled as in people that have a tohu [tertiary qualification]... [D]epending on what the kaupapa is - like if it was a cultural kaupapa then I’d expect people that are skilled culturally in our tikanga and things like that rather than a person that’s got a tohu that says they are Māori studying something or other.” (Participant H)

“It’s just not looking for the well-educated, looking at a lot of whānau that do a lot of work on the marae and bringing them in because they’re going to be here for years to come. That’s the other work that needs to be looked at - finding areas that can be supported from whānau that do the actual marae and the mahi on the marae.” (Participant E)

An element of succession planning was discussed in terms of developing iwi human potential to ensure the maintenance of skilled iwi members within cultural domains. For

example, one participant provided the example of planning for the succession of those that currently occupy the paepae on marae:

“The other one is innovative succession planning. I think that could be promoted amongst our own. I just take a little part - the paepae, we are getting less and less so succession planning there... its having the young ones on board with our kaumātua on the paepae... our pakeke are the instigators... they are the teachers for that... so we need succession planning in all aspects of our iwi.” (Participant L)

Further examples were provided with respect to iwi involvement in the primary sectors, such as forestry:

“Forward thinking is that we’re about to own our full forests in the year 2025. Now there’s nobody in the area of education that could even support that sort of handover apart from a New Zealand Forest Managers company that’s owned by the government. If we’re really serious about education grants that we currently deliver, we should just be supporting that area in regards to scholarships. We don’t want to disregard our teachers or our hairdressers, but we’re a forestry business. If you’ve got money to divide out amongst our education recipients every year, it should be in forestry, the main core activity is forestry.” (Participant E)

“We don’t even have too many come in at forestry level that we want. We haven’t had it for ten years. The ones that we do have come in for applications are at the level of ‘I’m just going to learn how to use a chainsaw’... which is fine... But for a forestry business, when we’re about to take on our own forests in 2025, you would think you’d want to really focus on your own coming up to that level of [tertiary] education.” (Participant E)

Another related issue was the encouragement of iwi members into tertiary education:

“Our education would be thriving in the sense that we’re about to have students come up at PhD level, at whatever level they can, Masters coming through to be able to complete but there’s also the street-smarts as well, the ones that don’t have the education. To bring them in line to some of the projects that can support.” (Participant E)

New Technology

Participants reflected on the role of emerging technology on positive iwi outcomes. A common theme was the use of the internet and social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype or messaging apps to connect with iwi members. This was particularly the case with respect to rangatahi:

“We’re actually looking at social networking sites as our vehicle to get it out there to our youth. Just going out there and snowballing, seeing what we can get using these networking sites that we’ve identified as being really, really a cornerstone of youth culture now. Everybody’s got some Facebook, Twitter or MySpace so that’s one of our things that we’re looking at now.” (Expert Focus Group)

Mobile devices, including smartphones, were also included with emerging technology and how this may contribute to positive outcomes:

“I think the future communication medium now is the cell phone and they don’t have to go to an Internet connection. You can access them immediately so that’s becoming the model, especially with the price of new kinds of cell phones. Those types of phones and the buzzword used to be e-learning, it’s now m-learning, mobile learning using cell phones.” (Expert Focus Group)

Alternatively, more traditional modes of communicating in person were also mentioned:

“There’s very few kaumātua over the age of sixty-five have a Facebook. I think there needs to be a balance. So at the other end... are our kaumātua face-to-face that we will be sitting down with because we realise that if we want to get our kaumātua to participate, then that is the way we have to. So that means we’ll be going to hui and we’ll be sitting at marae and talking in there.” (Expert Focus Group)

Land Utilisation

Participants discussed approaches to the utilization of Māori land to progress iwi aspirations.

One aspect of discussion concerned under-utilised land:

“Economic development I think - making use of our resources which we haven’t really done in the last ten years... I certainly would like to see all these idle paddocks over there put into production. If there was only a way of getting people to agree to put on their half acres and two acres lying idle over there and have somebody put them into [production].”
(Participant D)

However, it was also pointed out that the utilization of Māori land needs to be balanced with preserving access to the land for current and future iwi members. This may not be the case, for example, if tracts of Māori land are leased to non-iwi businesses. One example was described in this way:

“I know, as an example, they wanted to have a big motel complex built on a piece of land over that way and basically once you do that, whether you’re going to get a lot of money or not, you’ve lost that land really forever. Because once you’ve got multi-million dollar corporations using your land, leasing your land, you’re never, ever going to have the intimacy with that whenua anymore. Whether you own it or not. Unless you’re there mowing the lawns or doing the laundry or whatever. Or running the hotels. So I think there’s a fine line between wanting to do well for your hapū and losing your identity maybe.” (Participant G)

Integrated Approaches

Several participants supported the adoption of more integrated approaches to iwi development in order to progress iwi aspirations. The need for these approaches was commented on by one participant within the context of a perceived 'silo' approach currently operating within their iwi:

"We've become silos, that's what I'm trying to say. We've become silos and there's no desire of any one of those silos to come together. How can I support this one, how can we support the rūnanga to be a more vibrant and effective organisation? And unless we can do that, then we're going to have this continuous separation." (Participant I)

Another participant discussed more integrated approaches by comparing iwi to a single, connected organism:

"Yes. It is connection, its tūhonohonotanga... to our past, to our now. To our past, its part of that... Well, we're not as individualised. We were still part of the organism and the health of any part of that organism - or part of that organism that wasn't healthy was considered by the rest of the organism, if we don't fix it, it affects us." (Participant A)

Enhancing 'connections' amongst iwi organisations by way of more integrated approaches was also discussed within an iwi governance context:

"It's important that there's a true understanding of how all these organisations connect that relate to iwi, hapū and marae development... [it is important because] there's a real loss of connection from basically ground roots through to a political level or even at governance level... I've found [that] hapū work well directly with the marae. But at the iwi Board levels and with these Māori organisations, they've got that gap between the marae and themselves - there's no connection back to the hapū." (Participant E)

It was recognized, however, that developing integrated approaches for advancing iwi aspirations was not a simple matter. The tension between reconciling economic imperatives with social and cultural ones was commented on widely amongst participants. This included comment on the extent to which an integrated approach was being taken with respect to social, cultural and economic imperatives:

“...for Te Arawa we’ve been trying to develop a strategy for Te Arawa and it’s been an economic strategy, but it’s been almost impossible to do because how do you do an economic strategy. Economics is about everything and so is the social, it’s all intertwined so I found it was really difficult to do. You have to take a more integrated, holistic approach to it but yeah, there’s no easy way to do that. It’s not a nice little simple easy model I think.” (Participant J)

Several participants viewed economic development taking precedent over social and cultural development with their iwi:

“But for the amount of asset and resource we [the iwi governing body] got, on the Tikanga Māori side of development - I think there has been none.” (Participant A)

Approaches were identified that involved the integration of pursuing economic development for the iwi collective while at the same time contributing to the social and cultural well-being of whānau members:

“Well, if you look at the end of the day, I guess the growth and the well-being of Ngaitai is dependent on people, the ahi kā being able to be involved in sustainable work or industry and this is where I see [Māori land trusts] coming together to create that entity for people to find work. I mean, if we don’t find the answer to creating sustainable income, sustainable employment, then really I think we’re destined to be like we

are today. And you can talk about growth and development and it won't happen." (Participant I)

Collective Potential

Acting collectively was viewed as necessary to progress into the future, with related collective responsibilities and obligations:

"It's all about responsibility... and there's an obligation that goes with it, responsibility for behaviour and all those kinds of things. And for me that's where we need to be looking and if we can put those steps in place, ten, twenty, thirty, forty [years from now]... but right at the start we need to have our iwi collectively as a whole, just say this is the plan [and] this is where we're going... That's going to be the hardest sell." (Participant I)

"... when we were kids, every whānau helped each other. There was no two ways about it, if you needed help with your kumara patch or whatever... With the establishment of the Rūnanga, we said 'here we are, we have a collective - this is what we want to do, this is what we need within our iwi' and people were put in place and they did it. And the communication was really fantastic and it was going well. So much so that the Rūnanga at that time, they started small, helping whānau. They were constantly helping each other... helping some whānau with small businesses because that's what happened then." (Participant L)

"In the past ten years, the [Iwi] Authority has been nurtured... [In the beginning we] worked through it with countless and hui and I think for me that was a fantastic start... It was looking at us as the beginning of our self-management and self-governance as an iwi. That's how I see it... We had this deed and we decided it would all be written up in there... I thought 'oh good, at long last we can get together, we put people in place to continue the mahi for us as an iwi'... Everybody had input [and] kōrero - together - 'he mahi tahi tātou'⁷... and it was something that was a collective thought and we could talk amongst ourselves - how we wanted to be as an iwi. That worked really well. We were managing ourselves so to speak and of course within that, we sought outside expertise but it was there and we had this collective people." (Participant L)

⁷ "For many to work together as one".

Discussion on collective approaches included collective decision-making processes. A specific example of experience with an iwi collective decision-making process was provided with respect to an iwi kura kaupapa:

“After having our kura at the marae, in those three and a bit years you really got the feeling or the wairua of what a school should be because not only did you have your tamariki there but you also had 120% of your whānau being involved, making decisions for the kura. Everything didn’t go unless they approved and it was really fantastic because they were all part of the set up. It was all encompassed, everybody and they made the decisions. We have an issue, we’d discuss it. We never had a board as such - we had whānau, we had parents who made decisions like a Board of Trustees. We all sat and we have a kaupapa on the table and we discussed it until we were worn out and came to a decision, a collective decision. It wasn’t just one person’s decision, it was everyone’s and away we went with the next study. And that’s how we worked.” (Participant L)

Examples of collective approaches were also provided with respect to ‘collectivising’ resources, such as land:

“But again, it’s collectivising our thinking. So that’s where I believe we should be going and we should be putting all our assets together... so if I’m a land owner, I’ll contribute our land and put it into a central lease. Do we create one big dairy factory for this whole area over here? Or do we create individual orchards, macadamia, avocado, oranges, lemons?...

So for me, it’s a simple exercise, it’s not difficult. It’s simple in the sense that it needs people to make it happen. The money is there, the government is prepared to throw money at it; everybody is prepared to do something but until we sit down together and say “this is what our young people want”. It would be better still if the young people said this is what we want (Participant I).

‘Fewer committees’ were preferred in order to promote collective approaches:

“I think there should be one organisation that brings us all together.” (Participant I)

“I think at the end of the day the message that needs to go to the iwi, is that our future, the future, the growth of our iwi, is in the hands of our iwi. It’s not in the hands of anyone else and I see [our land blocks] and the iwi authority as those organisations that can make it happen. The ideal situation is that we will rise up and say to these people ‘we expect you to produce such and such, we expect you to do such and such’ and so and so and challenge these [iwi and land] organisations about what it is you’re doing for the iwi.” (Participant I)

In addition to advancing the aspirations of iwi, collective approaches were identified within social domains of positive development:

“Through sport, rugby and marae games and stuff like that. I guess generally it’s been about a ‘togetherness’, respect, tikanga and I envisaged it would be about a willingness to move forward as an iwi and some sort of connection really... togetherness, moving forward or a willingness to move forward as a whānau and I think those domains encapsulate how we do that in specific areas. Having a uniqueness as an iwi.” (Participant C)

Kaitiakitanga

Some participants focused on their experience of working with the environmental resources within their iwi rohe. Discussion included tikanga and kawa developed within the iwi over generations that related to kaitiakitanga and stewardship over the environment.

One kawa discussed was that of rāhui. A participant from Ngaitai described a past event whereby a large storm affected the coastal region. Two local surfers drowned during the storm event. As a result, a rāhui was placed at the area at which the surfers drowned. Holidaymakers in the region at the time were made aware of the rāhui and the implications of it being ‘set down’ by iwi pakeke.

The practicing of tikanga and kawa relating to the environment was viewed as important for the aspirations of the iwi to be realised:

“We’ve still got to hold to our tikanga and be able to hand those kōrero down to our next generations and to hold fast to our tikanga. Some of our people didn’t know - some of our kids weren’t too sure what a rāhui was. Because they had never experienced one. Even in this modern world we’re going through, rāhui is still a good [kawa] - but done properly, done with the consent of everybody, done with the correct protocols, with the correct customs, not just saying this is a rāhui, full stop. Everything is done how it used to be. Everybody is aware what’s going on.” (Participant Q)

It was perceived that kawa and tikanga relating to kaitiakitanga not only needed to be maintained and developed, but also transmitted to iwi members in order to educate iwi members about them:

“There’s still just a limited number of people that are aware of the kaitiaki roles and responsibilities. And when our current kaitiaki state that they want to place a rāhui, as an example, and whether it be through the Ministry of Fisheries or whether it be through our pakeke, then that should be recognised and accepted. Currently, I don’t think it is, and I think it’s only because they don’t - not everybody is aware of that importance... If our people recognised and acknowledged the people that are placing the rāhui and understand it, then it would work a lot better I think... if all of our iwi were aware and accepted that this rāhui that has been placed was for the benefit and for the sustainability of all our stocks, so that in three years’ time we’d have sufficient, or that the rāhui was placed because there was lack of stocks, not because it was done because they think that’s the right thing to do at the time. If they had the right information, gathered the right information, they probably would have found that there is still a lot of stock out there.” (Participant O)

Knowledge & Research

Research and development was seen as an important to the growth and development of iwi, in particular, research undertaken *by* the iwi *for* the iwi:

“It’s new to us so - we’ve got big plans. I think the most challenging thing is that because we’ve got next to none done, not much R&D has ever been done really, proper R&D anyway, we’ve got lots that we want to do and we’re sorting out what we need to do first. That’s a bit challenging.” (Participant H)

“I think [iwi-led research] would improve our programmes in that they’d be able to be perhaps more specific to addressing our needs. That would be an outcome of the research – to improve our programmes, what we deliver. I think the research can contribute to our strategies, our planning, how we invest, improve knowledge.” (Participant H)

“Research would document... our historical research so that it’s captured for future generations. If it’s with the scientific research... improving our knowledge of... the health of our river and following that would help us to plan our environmental management, working that better... By us knowing those things from that research.” (Participant H)

Engaging in iwi research was also seen to have multiple positive outcomes, in addition to the specific research outputs. Participants described these outcomes in several ways:

“Being involved in the different research projects in the past has also given our whānau the opportunity for whanaungatanga... for hui... to educate our rangatahi during wānanga. Even just getting together on the marae... in the kitchen... for these research hui has all added to our whanaungatanga.” (Participant J)

“It’s been good for some of our students to be able to both participate in our iwi research and at the same time take the learnings for the benefit of their own studies, particularly at tertiary level. We’re getting to a point now where we expect our own members to have active roles in research concerning our hapū and whānau and to derive direct benefit from it.

Fulfilling their tertiary training in turn contributes to our own iwi development.” (Participant E)

Communication

Effective communication was viewed as important for positive iwi outcomes, in particular, effective communication between iwi organisations and iwi members. Effective communication included using language that was pitched at appropriate levels for an iwi audience:

“I know that our kaumātua, our kuia, are not quite understanding what it means so that our people that work within the Iwi Authority itself, need to be quite clear and articulate in the kōrero back to iwi, back to our whānau, so that there’s no misunderstandings - they need to do it in ‘people-speaks’. And for me personally, I think if they’re doing that. In vocabulary that is understood and there is no misunderstanding of what it means for us as an iwi so that our people can then think about it and come to some decisions... just having open communication with whānau and iwi, with any programmes or activities or involvement with our Rūnanga, with our so that the intent is there and it’s understood.” (Participant L)

Participants also viewed robust communication amongst iwi and hapū as being important for decision-making, including those concerning economic ventures. One participant identified processes of consultation and communication with respect to a past economic venture that was seen as unsuccessful:

“We need to have ways of informing our people, consulting them about it, getting their sign off to it and their approval before we take these things forward...

...at some stage you need to get the buy-in of the beneficiaries who actually own the assets that you’re using and there’s a whole process around that of making sure they’ve got all the information, that they have time to consider it, that you give them a real opportunity to give you

feedback about that and that a decision is made that takes that into account in a real way.” (Participant J)

Effective Governance

The need for effective iwi governance was identified by most of those spoken to. One participant recounted the establishment of an iwi authority that occurred without much, if any, formal governance ‘know-how’:

“You were passionate about it so you just did it. Probably half the time you didn’t really know if you were doing it right but you just did it. Common sense often. That was a big thing, the core group of people that were driving a lot of the mahi had no formal qualifications but were very passionate about what they did.” (Participant H)

However, the need for appropriately skilled iwi governors to navigate the aspirations of iwi was identified as necessary:

“I think there are some things that we can do but again it’s governed by the calibre of the committee... and I think most of these things that we’re talking about should be driven from the governance... I would say definitely we need to measure the quality of [the iwi’s] governance.” (Participant I)

Good quality governance included the establishment of governance policies and procedures, and governors that appropriately consulted and complied with governance requirements:

“...there are also internal process issues, for example... decision-making and who needs to be at a meeting, what’s a quorum, how do you vote... I think policy documents help with that. So I suppose it means that you have to have those sorts of documents there but also you have to have a way of making sure people comply with those documents and if they

don't, what do you do about that. Because you can have the documents there but if people aren't actually following it then they're not effective so how do you measure whether people are actually complying with those documents." (Participant J)

Good governance involved seeking appropriate advice, where needed, to assist with making the correct decisions:

"I don't think we get the proper advice about investments. And I think with iwi and hapū that are getting the settlements, we need to have good advice about how we invest." (Participant G)

Another concern was that some iwi members were appointed to governance positions because of the support they had from whānau and not because they may have the appropriate governance skills or experience:

"We haven't had the expertise on the Trust to get the [Trust's] full potential... I'm certainly not criticising anyone who has been on the Trust before but this is right throughout Māoridom. You get voted on by your whānau. You might not have the skills. You might be the best person in the world but if you haven't got the skills to foot it in the business world, then you could end up doing more damage than good for your people... So if you have got a big family and someone koretake in your family, you keep on voting them on every year. And that's had a huge detrimental effect on a lot of our Trusts." (Participant G)

"I suppose it's something about capability that the people on these governance bodies need to be able to have the capability to be able to handle multi-million dollar assets and to be fair, we don't often have that capability and we need to find ways of if we don't have it, where can we get it to complement the people that we have. It's our own people who are looking after these assets – and rightly so - but if they don't have the skills, where can we find the capability and the skills to assist our people with doing that because... very few of us have had the experience of having to deal with that sort of money and those sorts of assets. So I think capability is a big issue." (Participant J)

To some extent, however, the appointment of governors based upon whānau representation (and not necessarily skills or competence) was viewed as an accepted feature of how iwi governance decisions were made:

“If you have a look at the Trustees that have been elected onto our Trust you’ll find that there is a spread of families, Tūrangitukua families. So you probably couldn’t say that anyone really got together to make sure that that happened, but I think there is a sense that when our people vote that they want to have representation from a wide range of families and that recognises the whakapapa of the different families within Ngāti Tūrangitukua. It’s not an explicit thing, certainly nobody talks about it but at the end of the day when you get that spread people are happy with that. They think that looks right because you don’t want one family dictating what happens for the whole hapū, you want the Trust to reflect the whakapapa of the hapū. That would be an example I think of how it’s important.” (Participant J)

‘Whānau dynamics’, however, were also viewed as giving rise to conflicts of interest on iwi governance bodies and, therefore, a potential barrier to the advancement of iwi aspirations:

“Conflicts of interest... I’ve got to think of the right way to describe it... ‘whānau-whānau’.... just the relationships of people involved... get too close... too many closely related people. I think it’s a good thing that there’s a lot of whānau support in what’s being done. But I think it’s been detrimental in that it’s maybe been perceived as being a family thing rather than a community thing. That benefits might be more for those whānau than other whānau perhaps.” (Participant H)

“...and then I think too the other detrimental effect is the inability of governance [bodies] to deal with management... because relationships are too close. Or maybe management not being able to deal with a staff member for the same reason. Just makes it more difficult when you’re related that closely. In saying that, we’re all related!” (Participant H)

Feedback on effective iwi governance further included matters relating to strategic planning. For example, both case studies have in place strategic plans with broad iwi

aspirations for the next 25 years. However, shortfalls were identified with this approach:

“We’ve got [a written strategic plan] now – a one page brief and it’s really good. I think it’s broad enough that it won’t require too much change when it’s reviewed. But I think that broadness has worked against us to some degree too because we don’t seem to be really focusing our efforts. We’ve got the twenty five year picture- we know what we want to look like in twenty five years. But our short and medium term planning is not that good, I don’t think, at the moment. It could be heaps better.”
(Participant H)

To this end, while constructing strategic plans may be helpful, it was identified that strategies to implement these plans were also necessary but not always in place:

“We know what we want our iwi to be skilled in 2025 but we don’t actually have any strategies to get us there, even in incremental steps, over the next ten, twenty years to that point. That’s the part of the plan that’s missing. We’ve just got the end result that we want to see...”
(Participant H)

In relation to effective iwi governance, transparency and openness was considered important:

“I’m a strong believer that you should just tell everything. Obviously there are some things in the business world where they like to keep it quiet. I do. But I think all too often that is used as an excuse to hide things... I’ve spoken to a lot of people and a lot of things have been confidential and they’ve said there’s no way in the world that this should be confidential.”
(Participant I)

Multi-media strategies were identified as helpful to maintain communication and transparency amongst iwi members which could help mitigate some of the governance challenges:

“But with that total disclosure we had to realise that the huge majority of our beneficiaries live outside of Turangi so if you want to have total disclosure and the only way you’re going to let these people know is by letting them know via media. Via media outlets whether it be radio, TV, newspaper and I think that’s good. I think that’s brought credibility back to the hapū and certainly mana - it’s brought the mana back to the hapū as well.” (Participant G)

Accountability was also seen as a requiring reciprocation in the sense that iwi members and beneficiaries of iwi organisations also had a role in ensuring governance bodies are kept accountable:

“I think with these processes that we have, that we put in place, we do our best to make sure that these settlement entities are accountable to our beneficiaries. But in reality, I think what you find is that our beneficiaries actually aren’t holding sometimes these entities to account. Or maybe they’re not doing it until after the fact... If our people aren’t able to participate enough in the process, well then they’re not actually holding people to account... So I know that’s a hard one because how do you get your people interested in their own management of their own assets and get them along to meetings and make sure that they exercise their rights? But it’s not happening sometimes. How do we help better participation by our people when they’ve got their own issues, their own lives to get on with? I don’t know the answer to that one.” (Participant J)

Central Government

Participants often reflected on iwi relationships with the Crown and central government agencies.

There was a perceived need to ensure iwi leadership had developed a positive relationship and communicated with the appropriate ‘level’ of leadership within central government:

“That’s a huge gap because they’ve got [Trust Board] members that are going to a health meeting and listening to what’s happening with a particular body and that’s within the rōpū, but they should be going to a health meeting that’s got Lakes DHB or W- DHB, not three tiers down. So it’s that lack of understanding of levels that they should be sitting at.” (Participant E)

“The [Department of Conservation]... showed us their charter and I looked at it in disgust and I said there’s the Minister - block, block, there’s Tumu [Te Heuheu, Paramount Chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa] and I thought “oh my - it’s the paramountcy!” And I just looked and I thought ‘that’s not good’. I said “the line is Minister, paramountcy and then here’s Tumu sitting on one of the conservative Boards. I thought ‘that’s it’ - as I say, there’s lack of understanding of how structures would be better utilised - we could better put people in the right places for a start and actually understand what belongs to where and then you could have a good drive in in areas I guess.” (Participant E)

In addition to relationships at appropriate ‘levels’ within central government, discussions on developing relationships ‘across’ central government agencies were also frequently noted:

“We [iwi] would have a partnership agreement with [a range of Crown agencies]. That’s like cross sector type thing. Like education, health, all those Crown agencies. Just one agreement that covers all agencies. We’ll probably have one with each of them but - we’ll have relationships with them, whether it be one with each department or one with just the Crown. Ideally just one with the Crown though.” (Participant H)

“We should be pushing for more a partnership that gives us rights forevermore including a commitment of funding every year from the government towards our iwi development across all sectors. So if I were to measure how well that Crown iwi partnership was going then we would be being funded to deliver on our strategies in health, education, environmental management and all those things. I’d be looking at measuring the success of those by the outcomes that we achieve with those programmes. From the Crown end, they’d still be funding us and we’d still be in a good relationship with them and they’re happy with our outcomes that we’re producing.” (Participant H)

Local Government

Participants broached similar matters within the context of local government relationships. As with central government, it was important that positive relationships were formed early and that these were able to be sustained:

“Having a close relationship with the local bodies, council, DOC, government agencies is crucial - whether you like it or not. I think there has been a tendency in the past to ignore them and, might I say, at our peril. You’ve got to be there at the table, all the time, otherwise things are going to happen that could very well hurt your hapū. And if you aren’t there, I honestly feel that you will be ignored and your voice will be ignored.” (Participant G)

“...there are liaison officers now, Māori liaison officers, with almost every local body and I think it’s very important that you have a close relationship with that person and keep in touch with them at all times. Though we know that person is there, I don’t think we’ve utilised them as much as we should.” (Participant G)

“Representation, that’s part of our Trust role but again, if we don’t speak up and have a voice for our people with these entities, then it’s very difficult for our hapū at their individual level to do that so I would like to hope or I’m sure that that has benefits, if we’re influencing decision-makers in our community for the benefit of our people then that benefits them.” (Participant J)

Consultation

Consultation by external bodies with iwi was also acknowledged as important. Considerations of iwi capacity to engage meaningfully in any such consultation were mentioned in this regard:

“In terms of whether those relationships are effective, I suppose one is that you have them would be the first signal but as to how effectively those are working - what would be our measure of that? I suppose that we are being consulted in situations where we should be. One, having a relationship; two, that that is working because we are actually being consulted about different things and I suppose maybe just what sort of relationship you have with those people I think.” (Participant J)

Capacity and capability of marae and hapū to engage in consultation with local government was raised as a concern:

“I think capacity is an issue for us. It’s quite difficult for us to find the capacity to be able to participate in these relationships. There’s a whole raft of things that happen all throughout the year with all these different organisations and we struggle to participate. We have one part-time staff member in our office and it’s not really her role to do a lot of that sort of work, otherwise we have our Trustees and some have that capability but we are all just part-time Trustees with full-time jobs elsewhere so having the capacity to represent our Trust in these fora, it’s not easy. So I think capacity would help.” (Participant J)

Additionally, participants acknowledge a need to ensure hapū and whānau were not subject to political pressure when approached directly by central government agencies. Rather, it was viewed the whānau and hapū receive support from an iwi level in such circumstances:

“I don’t think there’s enough protection at all for any of our hapū in that respect. Certainly hapū have their own appointments but if there was a political [iwi] body strong enough to be able to put a process in place that can make sure that [government agencies] don’t encroach directly into the hapū, then it’s sort of like a sieving them through a process to ensure that everything at that level is pretty kosher to be able to happen. Then that can support some of the hapū’s decisions.” (Participant E)

“...the local councils, [the regional councils], they’re all going to marae. They’re all going to marae for their issues because all they need are tick boxes they’ve spoken to the Māori. That’s just the classic process on their part... Now, if [marae and hapū] don’t have that infrastructure in place to support some of that work [that is, consultation from local government]

coming in, well, what are they going to get away with? Or what are they getting away with?... [local government agencies] can be in a position where they're just bullying - they can just bully people that are sitting there. So infrastructure is a big one for me." (Participant E)

Other Iwi

Developing positive relationships with other iwi was also seen as essential with a number of potential benefits being identified:

"I would see Ngaitai taking the bull by the horns and calling pakeke of the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and further up the coast and Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa if you like but those would do for now. Get pakeke together and say well, how do we work together, what are the things we're going to be doing together for the well-being of Te Whakatōhea, the well-being of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, the well-being of us?" (Participant I)

"I think we have good relationships [with neighbouring iwi] by not interfering in each other's business. We've got three that actually surround us. With Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Te Whakatōhea we've all three of us gone through various raru[raru] over the years but we've never interfered with each other. When that's happened or gotten involved so I think that's a good indicator of our relationships, that we have that respect for each other that we wouldn't do that." (Participant H)

"I think too that each time that we've had problems - and I mean big problems, we've been able to call on each other to assist. Like when we had our big raru which was managed a few years back, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Te Whakatōhea sent reps to try and help us when we asked them to. I think that was cool that we could make that call and that they came and that they didn't judge us. Then the willingness to help each other." (Participant H)

Participants also viewed commercial benefits arising from inter-iwi relationships as well as past examples of this:

“With Te Whakatōhea, and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui back in the early-mid 90s, an iwi collective of Mātaatua set up a fisheries company called Mātaatua Fish Quota Company and they on-leased all their quota into that company and then consolidated all that company and under the company they on-leased it to other, bigger fishing companies and you got better returns for it whereas if you went off on your own you got frig all for it. Because of how little we were and how little money we had at that time we actually couldn’t afford to buy into the collective so Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Te Whakatōhea bought in for us so that we could go in. That’s just a couple of examples. They’ve done a lot for us over the years.” (Participant H)

Chapter Six: *Summary*

As described earlier, this Chapter is unlike previous discussions in that the information is presented in a more organic and less analytical fashion. It reveals, however, the diverse way in which iwi development and iwi outcomes are perceived and the multiple factors which shape these understandings. Of primary interest is the manner in which these were able to resonate with the established discourse and the fact that notions of iwi progress were in many ways consistent with what had been written about the broader notions of Māori development. A key difference, however, is the manner in which these ideas were expressed and how they were often shaped within a local context. For example, while notions of Māori and iwi development reinforced the need to develop a strong economic base, for iwi, this base was securely linked to the resources available to the iwi and how these resources could best be utilised. For Ngaitai this typically centred on the sea, while for Ngāti Tūrangitukua the utilization and access to forestry were more pronounced. In a similar way, while Māori culture and traditions have previously been linked to positive Māori development, for iwi these traditions and notions of identity were far more localized and connected to the

particular characteristics of the iwi – iwi reo and tikanga, whakapapa, and whānau. This suggests that while Māori development can usefully inform iwi development and iwi outcomes, more precision is required in that iwi are likely to have slightly different goals, different needs, diverse challenges, and a variety of aspirations.

Chapter 7

NGĀ WHĀINGA O NGĀ IWI: FOLLOWING THE MAP

Introduction

This chapter leads on from the previous discussion but places additional emphasis on what measures or indicators of iwi outcomes are relevant or appropriate. While Chapter Six considered the broad frame within which the aspirations of iwi sat, Chapter Seven goes further to consider what particular indicators of progress might be appropriate and how these could be applied as measurement tools. This discussion is similarly 'raw' and used to reveal more pragmatic and localized perspectives – those which are meaningful and relevant to iwi, as well as their members.

Measuring Iwi Values

As noted previously, a considerable amount of discussion centred on the notion of iwi values and the maintenance of cultural integrity. Discussion on the measurement of these concepts, and how this could be achieved, generated a considerable amount of

debate which was often focused on how to account for concepts that were typically very nebulous or opaque.

To a large extent, Iwi Values were seen as having “passed the test of time” and as being important for how iwi measure “things that have evolved in this global world we live in and engage in” (Expert Focus Group).

A particularly common theme was the link between values and the maintenance and nurturing of iwi identity. For example, one participant of the Expert Focus Group viewed values as being important as they contribute to the distinctive identity of an iwi and are at “the forefront of who we are as Māori”, and “are intrinsic to being Māori” (Expert Focus Group).

As a result of the significance of values, participants discussed how they can be provided for in relation to measuring iwi outcomes and positive iwi development:

“...we can all quote values and we can say these things are important to us but in actual fact, are we actually practicing them... We can all pop out indicators and outcomes and say “we’ve achieved this” and “in order to keep them, we’ve practiced these values, these are core values that enable us to achieve that”. For example, with our strategic review... for me, it looks outcomes focused. How can we have a strategic plan that’s values based rather than outcomes focused?... There’s fifty odd outcomes and then a little box right at the front has got the values, core values. For me it’s like those core values should be driving everything and through that you achieve the outcomes based on whatever the needs are of the community...” (Participant C)

“The values themselves can be outcomes. Absolutely... The values are the outcome. What’s achieved is I guess just a representation of those values in terms of those outcomes. And so if our rangatahi have training programmes or something, they’re indicators of those values, for example,

if a key value driver is whakawhanaungatanga or manaakitanga.”
(Participant C)

Some participants discussed values within the setting of the marae. For example, manaakitanga was described as “a good kind of sincerity on the people’s faces... the warmth and the sincerity in people as soon as you walk onto that marae” (Participant G). Another participant referred to the whanaungatanga that iwi members experience when they “come home” to marae for tangihanga and the like, and they get “whanaungatanga connections - and they love it... it happens only then so that is very important” (Participant F).

With discussion of values connected to marae, one participant viewed the marae itself as a proxy measure of values relevant to positive iwi development:

“...it’s a mixture of whanaungatanga, of pride in the marae. Of being there to provide manaakitanga...the health of the marae is actually an indicator of the health of those more intangible values, like tūhonohonotanga and manaakitanga... And while people say you can’t quantify that, of course you can.” (Participant A)

Cultural Factors and Indicators

Participants viewed the measurement of cultural domains as imperative, in particular, cultural knowledge that contributed to an iwi member’s distinctive iwi identity. For one participant, this involved measuring knowledge of aspects of their iwi identity:

“The level of their knowledge of their Ngaitaitanga. Their whakapapa, their history. Our tikanga. That which makes us different. I think that kind of covers all of it. This is their cultural wealth, their knowledge, that kind of wealth as well.” (Participant H)

Examples of potential measures included how many iwi members speak te reo Māori and their level of knowledge (Participant H), knowledge of iwi history, kawa and tikanga (Participant H), members that are able to karanga or sit on the paepae (Participant D), and kapa haka events (Participant E).

One participant further described an approach to cultural development that identified potential indicators that could be considered for measuring the cultural well-being of an iwi:

“...we can get our uncles and aunties in to do their thing because they have the knowledge... bring the kids back down to the marae... I think more involvement for our whānau... involvement in the actual learning of children... I think our people have more to offer... We’ve got people within the community that are wonderful weavers, are wonderful food-gatherers, take them [the children] out, have that experience... They’ve got the food baskets around them, they’re surrounded by a food basket, ngahere, the awa, the moana. We’ve got skilled people to deal with that and learning about our own environment. We’re losing some of our older people who know all of these things and those need to be captured for our young ones so they know.” (Participant L)

Within the context of cultural indicators, some participants discussed ‘wairua’ and measuring wairua for the purposes of positive iwi development. One participant identified the symbols or indicators that may be present on a marae or at a hui that would suggest a “strong wairua”:

“I go to a hapū hui, there will be strong wairua there if I see our people there. If I see symbols of our tikanga, if I see symbols of our culture there... If I see that tikanga is being followed with integrity, if that’s there and if I see that people are being respectful and recognising each other’s mana, so if that’s there - so if all these things are present at our hui, it’s like that hui will have a strong wairua.” (Participant J)

Another participant saw the presence of wairua in healthy connections amongst iwi members:

“When I see that strong wairua, when they go and support people, that’s really in need. Like being all together and being happy doesn’t really - have to be so much that you could be going out to see some poor person that’s not had any visitors for weeks that you get some people sort of being rejected or left to wonder and ponder whether they’re going to get anybody turn up and see them and have a talk.” (Participant D)

Marae

Marae were often viewed as the centre of any Māori community and the place which Māori culture and values could find true expression. Marae were perceived in many ways – both physically and metaphorically. Overall, a holistic view of marae was proposed, incorporating varying dimensions for the expression of cultural values and concepts:

“We’ve defined the marae as being a place where you celebrate the living, you mourn the dead, it’s a repository of all our stories, it’s the place, like our poutokomanawa, it’s got all these things so in there is ngā maharatanga, our memories, our stories. Whakapapa binds us but it’s the stories, our common stories that bind us even deeper.” (Participant A)

“...the marae is the centre of [our iwi] universe. Everything happened at the marae and we always felt that if our marae was strong and it was alive, so would we [sic]. A strong marae is obviously one of the major indicators of strength within a community and with hapū or an iwi.” (Participant B)

In terms of what may indicate that a marae was ‘healthy’ and ‘strong’, participants provided several pointers. Some of these included the following:

“I think you’ll know by the amount of people that are on the marae, around the back. About how you’re welcomed onto the marae, welcomed into the kitchen, all those things.” (Participant G)

“If something happened at the marae, if there was a tangi, if there was anything at the marae, you couldn’t move for workers in the kitchen, for people trying to participate or contribute as marae, as hapū, as whānau...” (Participant A)

“I would make my judgements on what a strong marae is. What I would see would be all our whānau coming back home, for different reasons. Not just tangi but celebrations, for kōrero, for hui... I used to come home when I was younger and come to the marae and I always used to feel comfortable in the wharenuī for some reason. It’s like being in the mother’s womb I guess. You just feel safe, so a feeling of being safe, respectful, happy. Sounds like, kids running around enjoying themselves, kaumātua and kuia laughing and talking, the histories, the kōrero. All those things together I think make up my sense of what would be a strong marae for me.” (Participant C)

Robust and active governance structures and procedures were also viewed as important for the effective running of a marae and reflected the fact that while marae were significant cultural centres, they also required a degree of management acumen for efficient running and operation. The organisation and compliance with such procedures provided clues for other potential indicators of relating to marae:

“...every marae is supposed to have a charter - that’s not in place so marae charter gives those roles and responsibilities and outlines everybody’s position or place. Now that’s like the rule book. That’s like our Trust order for a Trust. In a marae it’s a charter. Now those aren’t even developed in the marae hence recently you’ve got cowboys coming in here and cowgirls going in there and yet they’re not knowing there’s some guidelines that need to be followed. It’s real clarity on that and strong leadership within Chairs is a real key.” (Participant E)

The presence of people active on the marae and, specifically, active in the various roles of the marae was viewed as a useful indicator for positive iwi development:

“I suppose one way to measure is when something is happening at the marae... We’ve had two kaupapa down here where we had manuhiri that turned up on our doorstep unexpectedly and it was amazing where whānau came - in our area and the food that they brought down to the marae. Because somebody had rung and said we’ve got a manuhiri down here.” (Participant P)

“I think you’ve just got to count how many people are actually active [at the marae], what are they doing, how often are they doing it? What impact has that had on their day to day lives? I think it would be great for someone to be able to do that mahi, but it’s not something I think that gets priority.” (Participant J)

Having iwi members that were active in fulfilling the roles found on a marae was seen as another useful indicator. Iwi members able to perform whaikōrero was commonly referred to as a useful measure:

“For me the success is when I see them on the pae, at the marae. It’s a success and that is what’s happening.” (Participant F)

“When there’s two people sitting on a paepae where there was once twenty. It even affects our kawa. Our kawa is *tu atu tu mai*.⁸ So we are the first speaker and then we alternate until we are the last speaker. We can’t do that anymore, we just have two.” (Participant A)

“When I see our human resources, I can’t say that we’re doing too well [with respect to speakers for whaikōrero]... the next generation might be the ones to look at, the ones that are still going to high school... We’ve got [some iwi members] who will always be around... We’re quite healthy, as long as you’ve got three or four. Because I look at a lot of these other marae, they’re lucky if they get one - over there they got to ask the next hapū come and sit in.” (Participant D)

⁸ According to this kawa, speakers on either side of a formal welcome onto a marae take alternate turns to speak.

Kai was discussed within the context of indicators of healthy marae. In traditional times, kai had a role in gatherings and bringing hapū members together, to engage collectively, for marae-based activities:

“For a tangi at [the marae] or anything - regardless of the perceived importance of the tūpāpaku - it was full... people brought kai... they didn’t only bring themselves, they brought kai. When we had hui at [the marae] people brought kai. It was almost like a celebration and you were always wondering what kai they were going to bring, who was going to bring what and certain whānau were quite famous for their own little brands.”
(Participant A)

This can be in contrast to various contemporary changes which have occurred; the impact of technology, demographic change, and new ways of thinking on hapū and marae identity:

“Now you haven’t got the guys to go out and get the fish the night before. If you went over to certain marae, certain marae would put pigeon on the table. That was their mana... but we’ve got some money now, so it’s chops. So we stopped going to traditional food sources which means we stop cooking traditional food so no-one in [the rohe] now grows Māori potatoes. Ten years ago I was helping kuia (sic) harvest their Māori potatoes. Potatoes that were part of this place from generation to generation. No-one grows - there’s no seed. Gone. So we changed. We buy our things now. I’m not saying it’s a bad thing, maybe it’s part of just being dynamic and growing...” (Participant A)

Marae & te reo Māori

Te reo Māori spoken on the marae was linked to the well-being and mana of the marae, and the hapū that affiliated with that marae. In many ways it was a measure of cultural identity and strength, however, its role was emphasized to the extent that many of those interviewed suggested that it needed its own category and focus so that its primary role

in iwi development was promoted and not subsumed or located with other (more broader) discussions:

“The capacity to uphold the mana and mauri of our marae... our hapū... comes [with] things like te reo Māori. But you know, te reo Māori is just something you transmit, that carries knowledge.” (Participant A)

“Involvement in te reo Māori at the marae, they participate in marae activities – I think that would show how well whānau are engaging. Perhaps their kids go to kohanga [reo] or they themselves are learning te reo Māori. Involved in some way. But ideally at the marae.” (Participant M)

Te reo Māori spoken on the marae was discussed most often with respect to te reo Māori programmes and wānanga used to promote its learning and use:

“They were a group of people doing Te Ataarangi, the reo, it was the reo. That was a wonderful programme... The whole idea was - I remember when it was first mooted it was to get the kids, all of us, speaking the reo on the marae.” (Participant F)

Participants’ feedback emphasises the importance of te reo Māori within a marae context. Moreover, it also suggests an almost symbiotic relationship between te reo Māori and marae whereby the well-being of one contributes to the positive well-being of the other – and vice-versa. It is clear, however, that participants placed significant value on te reo Māori for strengthening cultural and iwi identity.

Marae & engagement

Marae were also discussed as a primary focal point of engagement for the iwi, hapū, whānau, as well as individual members. To this end, engagement with marae was a

suggested indicator of a strong and positive iwi. Engagement with marae was viewed as important in order to “focus internally and within the community and build that strong foundation for the iwi” (Participant C). And any level of engagement was viewed as relevant:

“It doesn’t mean you necessarily have to be fully involved with what’s happening at the marae but that connection that brings you back to the marae I think is the initial part of it. Building upon the wairua of the marae and everything hopefully would bring people back more often.” (Participant C)

“The degree to which I get involved in the activities of the marae when there is local tangi. I think that can be a good measure because you’ve got some people who are there rain, hail or shine three days, cook in the kitchen, you pretty well get your die-hard ones in the kitchen all the time and then there’s other people might only got because it’s a family member. I think that’s okay to measure with the number.” (Participant H)

Wānanga held on marae were discussed as examples of engagement. For example, some participants referred to wānanga about marae and hapū history:

“Just getting back to our wānanga, I’ve just said history. A lot of the kōrero that has come out... it’s given us knowledge of knowing where we came from, and all those sorts of things... Also, there is a lot of kōrero at [the wharenuī] itself, at the marae itself.” (Participant F)

“...I would see from a meeting like that we would decide on a series of wānanga that we can have. I should imagine there would be some really fascinating inter-tribal history... Those things need to be here as enduring history for our people...” (Participant I)

Participants mentioned other wānanga held to specifically attract rangatahi and to further encourage engagement:

“...for me it is capturing the younger people, that is what’s important and I think part of capturing them is the people who present it have to be pretty

good speakers, have the knowledge... So for me it's just wānanga and lots of young people... we have a lot of activities around, recreation, their sporting activities, all sorts of things." (Participant F)

"If we can combine Matariki⁹ with a wānanga... Some sort of thing to bring us together rather than wānanga. I think young people, when you talk wānanga, they think it's boring. They see it just as something boring. So maybe we need to have a hākari but we have to have an excuse for a hākari. We can't just have a hākari. This is just why I mention Matariki." (Participant F)

Resource Development

The issues of resource development also frequently emerged as part of discussion of appropriate measures or indicators. However, unlike cultural values and concepts, these were more readily identifiable. Participants identified a range of collectively-owned assets that are the focus of iwi economic-development initiatives, such as those relating to lands, fisheries, farming, forestry and horticulture.

With respect to forestry, one participant provided a mixed review on its perceived 'success' as a catalyst for iwi development. Economically, the venture was held out as successful:

"Financially, I would be shocked if they don't make money out of it. And if their contributions to the iwi and other level of activities that they have going are anything to go by, it seems to me that they are financially healthy." (Participant H)

⁹ 'Matariki' refers to Pleiades, an open cluster of stars in the constellation Taurus, with at least six visible to the naked eye. The appearance of Matariki marks the beginning of the Māori New Year.

However, this ‘success’ was balanced against the perceived detrimental effects to the environment:

“Environmentally it hasn’t been successful and it hasn’t been good for our kaimoana, especially when the [land block was] first cleared and planted... it affected our kaimoana. We had three years without mussels because of that. It’s affected our flora and fauna, the health of our rivers and streams, it’s caused a lot of sediment movement, huge lots of sediment movement, it’s changed the course of our river - this is my own opinion anyway. I think it’s been a disaster, environmentally.” (Participant H)

Another example of economic development that yielded a mixed outcome was dairy farming - particularly when considered from the standpoint of developing collective iwi capacity and capability. A dairy farm within a case study was viewed as successful in terms of the financial gains and capital gains. However, it was not viewed so positively as a means of developing iwi capacity. Fifty percent of sharemilkers on the farm were not from the area or were tribal members. One suggestion was to instead up-skill iwi members in order to develop iwi capability and capacity to manage the farm. Alternatively, to attract iwi members with the requisite skills and experience that currently reside outside of the rohe to return to manage the farm. These approaches were proffered as other ways of measuring the ‘success’ of the dairy farm.

Some participants further queried whether or not iwi members were actually benefitting directly from the development of collectively held iwi assets. Again, dairy farming was highlighted as an example where an iwi could be utilising its own members to develop an asset but instead were utilising non-iwi members:

“I think the key thing being that they’re iwi assets and therefore I think they always should be tied to iwi assets benefits like that. I think too often... those in those positions to make those decisions are looking more

at what's kind of over the fence than what opportunities there are within our own iwi. Actually they're always looking over the fence, they never look inside their own patch. I don't know if it's a mindset but it needs to change because I think that when you're managing any assets you can invest in things that benefit the wider iwi collective at the same time as providing fringe benefits to whānau." (Participant H)

Similar comments were made concerning the direct economic benefits to whānau from fisheries assets. That is, whānau directly involved with the specific commercial venture:

"When I say fisheries, I mean our settlement assets... quota and profits from it, I suppose. They're an asset but we class them separate from the rohe moana because the rohe moana is more customary focused thing than commercial. That's why I had it separate. Not using it really fisheries, it's just getting leased out.

Financial gains would be one way to measure success with the asset. I think again how well it's utilised and whether it assists to further whānau as well. Mind you, commercially - that's probably one of the [assets] where it's not really possible to do that I suppose. Unless we did aquaculture... That's probably really the only way that the fisheries thing would benefit [whānau]... investing in an aquaculture venture that employed whānau as well perhaps." (Participant J)

And another participant discussed the extent to which iwi members and whānau directly benefitted from, in his example, iwi land incorporations:

"I mean, we've got another organisation down the road... that's a successful farm organisation. But what does it contribute to the good of the iwi? In fact, what does our block contribute to the good of the iwi? Nothing really." (Participant I)

Iwi members and human capital were identified as an iwi asset to be considered with respect to developing sustainable, iwi-based economic initiatives. Several participants stated that 'the assets are the people'. Further, developing people was seen as

establishing a 'solid foundation' upon which 'growth and change' could manifest. One participant described it in this way:

"...the question I pose so that if we've started with an asset base of people, their skill sets,... how do we look in ten years' time [when] those assets have improved, they've generated an income? [W]hat is the standard of our reo, what is our ability to get on with one another, our whānau links? How do we spread within our links, do we have continual wānanga with [other iwi]? ... So I pose those things that if we look at all our assets, then in ten years' time, how have those things improved?" (Participant I)

Wealth

Wealth was identified as a useful measure of positive iwi development. In this respect, one perception of wealth was at a whānau level:

"Whānau wealth. If they're skilled and they're educated then they'll have good jobs and making good money, they'll have wealth. I think wealth, health, good health. Healthy and wealthy, that's it." (Participant H)

Other perspectives of wealth also included the more traditional "wealth in financial terms" as well as the more blunt measure of "household income" (Participant H), and more broader notions of "cultural wealth" and "knowledge" (Participant I), and "relationships" (Participant G). With respect to relationships being an indicator of iwi wealth, one participant described it in this way:

"I think probably wealth in terms of their relationships with each other... You see how good relationships influence success with whānau. And then how where relationships become strained it can impact on their capacity to be a whānau and then therefore have some impact on their success." (Participant H)

'Wealth' therefore had different shades of meaning beyond traditionally accepted understandings of the term. From an iwi perspective, participants reflected a holistic view of wealth that went wider than purely fiscal understandings. Further, the varying perceptions of wealth did not appear to be mutually exclusive but rather interconnected.

Futures Focused

Ensuring that an iwi outcomes measure was focused towards the future and aligned with a greater iwi vision was seen as important. At a more pragmatic level, however, participants acknowledged that some, if not most, iwi members "can't see past today or maybe they can see next week but they don't - they're too busy I think worrying about putting food on the table and the very basics to life to be able to consider beyond that" (Participant M). It was recognized, therefore, that iwi governance bodies are best placed to construct and apply an iwi outcomes measure on behalf of the iwi.

During discussion about a future-focused measure, one participant considered the future in the context of the shifting perceptions of the past:

"I guess that time being the assumption that it's linear and so every point in time is a fixed point. So the past is a fixed point. My interpretation of time would be that one it's not linear and that there are no fixed points because your interpretation or perception is that something that's happened in the past changes, depends how you engage with the present and where you go into the future... but I would focus on the present and moving forward really." (Participant C)

A member of the Expert Focus Group discussed the emerging nature of ‘the future’ and queried the bases upon which iwi determine the types of data to collect. Specifically, it was discussed whether or not data is collected on the basis of what positive iwi development may look like *today* or what it may likely reveal in the *future*:

“I’m curious on this emerging future state. I’m curious about how one identifies it? Or is it a process that is continually engaged within the present to become aware of it? And to what extent does being aware of what this emerging future state may be once you become aware of it, in and of itself identify the data that needs to be collected to measure it? Because I’m curious in terms of Māori data needs of Statistics NZ. Are they now looking in terms of what we need today? Or are they keeping an eye on the future as well and progressing towards it? So I suppose I’m interested in the process of identifying this emerging future state.”
(Expert Focus Group)

In terms of the future, another participant commented that positive outcomes, and what may be viewed as a “success”, can often only be seen later and with the passing of time:

“Sometimes the success of a programme... of what you’ve learnt... is not seen until sometimes down the line. It might be three or four months later that the impact of what you’ve learnt then comes to the fore and it’s “oh, that’s what that meant”... it’s not until further down the line whether you realise it was successful or not... Some outcomes you get instantly or instantaneously but some take a little longer in view of whether it’s successful or not.” (Participant L)

Integrated Approaches

Participants supported integrated approaches for positive iwi development and the measurement of iwi outcomes. Some participants also suggested that any framework constructed to measure positive iwi outcomes should, in turn, be an integrated one. One

participant saw the drive for promoting integrated approaches as emerging from a marae/hapū level:

“Through the marae, through the hapū - from the bottom up because it’s not coming from the top down... We [hapū and marae] need to be pretty active in engaging... we need to engage with our [iwi] corporations or organisations and the iwi so they know what we are planning to do in the near future... That needs to happen. That was no fault of ours. Hapū get pressured with so many issues.” (Participant E)

An integrated approach also includes the integration of the outcomes of those approaches:

“But we’re very interested in creating a systems view of the process so that we’re not seeing discreet domains, for instance, but we’re starting to explore a bit of relationship with the domains and the interconnectedness of the domains, but also the interconnectedness of the outcomes of the work, the policies are very, very important.” (Expert Focus Group)

Participants understood an integrated approach as including the reconciliation of economic imperatives with social and cultural ones. Comment was provided on the extent to which, if at all, social, cultural and economic domains are currently being integrated:

“...if there was an audit... and part of that audit included social and cultural capital rather than just material capital, we are doing well with material capital... I don’t believe we’re doing well in the areas of social or cultural capital. I think we are actually going backwards.” (Participant A)

Focus on economic growth and prosperity was viewed by some participants as detracting focus and energy that could instead be spent on social and cultural development of the iwi:

“I think it would be fair to say that we haven’t progressed as well as we should have [with respect to social and cultural development]... I believe we’ve always had our eye on making money. We’ve concentrated a bit too much on making money and then we start losing our tikanga and our kawa, our reo.” (Participant G)

An ideal approach was viewed as a balance between economic, social and cultural development. Various suggestions were posed:

“I think economic and social development can go hand in hand. They should go hand in hand... I guess you should base your business acumen around your tikanga and your kawa.” (Participant G)

“The other thing is probably our land blocks. For me it’s looking at what positive contribution do they make to the well-being of Ngaitai... I don’t see us being involved in the well-being of Ngaitai and I believe that’s where we should be. If we’re a commercial entity, surely there should be some means of us using that commercial clout, if you like, to improve the well-being of Ngaitai. What contribution does [the land incorporation] make to the well-being of Ngaitai and it might not necessarily be monetary contributions.” (Participant I)

Kaitiakitanga

Participants discussed practical expressions of kaitiakitanga within their rohe and, to some extent, ways in which measuring kaitiakitanga may be approached. Traditional measures were identified such as quality of inland waterways, fisheries stocks and species counts.

However, they also referred to the importance of measures based on traditional environmental knowledge. For example, one participant discussed this as follows:

“The other one we have is local knowledge... [B]esides doing surveys where you count, we do surveys where people that have been traditional gatherers go and look. Because often what a scientist says is a good level is not the same as what our iwi traditions tell us is a good level. So there’s that - with our rohe moana too, a large degree we determine the health of it all for ourselves.” (Participant H)

Measuring traditional takes of kaimoana was proffered as a useful measure for one case study iwi to help assess the health of their rohe moana:

“I guess the other thing could be how much people can take, or how much people do take when they’re gathering. Especially when we do permitting for large gatherings. We can gather information and we’ll know from our surveys where our stock levels are at, we’ll know from previous years surveys what they were, new surveys where they’re at... And then if we did implement recreational monitoring, we’d know how much was taken or have a good idea of how much was taken, therefore how healthy our rohe moana is.” (Participant H)

Rāhui implemented by an iwi, regardless of purpose, was suggested as a useful measure for positive iwi development:

“It could be how many rāhui and other tikanga are in place, the numbers of people knowledgeable [in rāhui] and attached to that, I suppose, could be the number of wānanga held [about kaitiakitanga and rāhui].” (Participant O)

“Probably how many rāhui as well. Not rāhui because someone died and drowned or something, but the rāhui that are put in because we’ve over-fished. How many rāhui we have to implement because of over-fishing, tells us how good or bad we are at managing our rohe moana.” (Participant H)

Governance-type measures included processes linked to the management and control of resources within the rohe of the iwi:

“Having management and control procedures in place - that would be a good indicator of kaitiakitanga. Then also the quality of that management control and those systems, those would also be one.” (Participant O)

“[Measure the extent of] either ownership or management rights over the [Department of Conservation] estates and our rohe... over our land and resources in the rohe. And the level of [the Government’s] ongoing investment in our biodiversity assets I suppose attach to that... [as shown by] funding, obviously, but also protection mechanisms.” (Participant H)

Developing measures in relation to the environment was further discussed by those spoken to within the context of ‘iwi identity’, that is, the role of the environment in ‘shaping’ the identity of an iwi. However, it was posited that the distinctive nature of the environment within which an iwi is located would produce varying, distinctive outcomes indicators. One participant explained it in this way:

“The domains may be the same but the major difference is in the outcomes that [iwi] set for themselves. A lot of those goals are specific to the area [that] they’re in. For example, Te Tairāwhiti has a very Tangaroa-focused view. If we went to Kawerau, which is inland, they have a very river-focused view based on the effect of the [pulp and paper] mill. So a lot of their thinking... is affected by the environment. I guess if we were to go to [the iwi] Tuhoe we’d have another view altogether. It’s actually when iwi identify their outcomes within the broad domains that you see the real variation... it’s this environmental interaction that all iwi subscribe to but the way in which each iwi interprets that depends on their setting and their situation.” (Participant T)

Strategic Planning

Members of the Expert Focus Group discussed their experience with iwi that had developed strategic plans and which (unfortunately) were not based on any empirical evidence relating to that iwi:

“...the strategic plan was developed without any kind of empirical evidence-base at all. It’s just very, very abstract I guess. So we’re hoping that the data that we do get from our iwi survey will serve to meet the needs of the end goals of that strategic plan.” (Expert Focus Group)

“...one of the things in my experience was actually giving [iwi members] information to help them make informed choices in terms of policy, strategy and vision. I felt that was quite lacking in terms of making some of the decisions about our strategic plan.” (Expert Focus Group)

To address these perceived shortfalls, members identified the various approaches their iwi had adopted to mitigate these concerns. One method was to use data currently held, for example, on tribal registers:

“...one of the ideas that we had – as opposed to developing surveys - was to use the data we currently hold. So yes, the address data and all that can be flawed but let’s put some of that information on the table so that we know what we’re talking about and we save our tribal register.” (Expert Focus Group)

Other members discussed the effectiveness of research units within iwi bodies that could contribute data and information to better guide iwi strategic planning and policy:

“...and the other thing was about developing a research unit that informed over time decisions and information was gathered and put in front of them. Because I saw that as an important part of iwi development, information that was presented and if we were constantly reviewing and looking at government data that comes from a deficit mode of thinking about ourselves, that’s difficult. That’s the importance of why we need to govern our data that’s in front of us as an iwi.” (Expert Focus Group)

While the development of strategic planning documents and policies was seen as a relatively common practice amongst iwi governance bodies, the identification and application of indicators capable of measuring progress towards strategic goals was seen as requiring further attention by iwi:

“[W]e have our domains. We have internal consultation, engaged internal stakeholders to see what areas are important to them and where there are gaps in the data. And so now it’s like we have our outcomes that we want, the tribal strategic plan, we have our domains identified. Now how do we create these indicators that are going to allow us to measure what we’re trying to do?” (Expert Focus Group)

In terms of formal iwi strategic planning efforts, the need for a pragmatic approach was emphasized by one participant with previous experience in strategic planning for his iwi:

“A desired strategic planning approach for iwi was described that, again, emphasized a pragmatic approach to “just get on with it”... we go through a strategic planning process, heavily dependent on the level of input or contributions that the iwi make to the effective governance structure which puts this [strategic plan] into place. And then that drives our indicators or outcomes... because [the outcomes and indicators] would be heavily dependent on the tribal development and their perspective on it.

But let’s say in the perfect world that there was a lot of consultation and involvement in creating the vision for the iwi over the next twenty five years. And then taking the vision, making sure that the iwi values are reflected, and then they drive the next phase of development, which is some sort of aggregation or a split of that moemoeā into the different areas...The next one would be all the strategies that you would employ to help drive those broad areas of development... And then in the last bit, that’s where we had to really kick in and start coming up with measures.

This broadly means this is in this [area of development]... we can employ these strategies to help reach those dreams. And if we get that right, then the measure - which I guess is the indicator - that we’ve achieved that dream, would be something as basic as [for example] “We have half a million dollars to distribute in five years” towards the economic development area. The plan would include a strategy based on growing profit over the next five years, and then the indicator of that success of that strategy would be that you’d have half a million dollars more to distribute.

So real crude, basic measures but I think at the end of the day, if you’re going to try and turn dreams into reality, you probably do have to just get on with it and take your best shot. The fact is that there’s going to be

multiple outcomes that you can't really put in that piece of paper but you've just got to get on with it." (Participant S)

Participants referred to iwi strategic planning within the context of ongoing and regular reflection and review, as a collective, of plans and strategies for iwi future direction:

"When you have strategic plans in place then you say "Right, in two years' time let's have a look at this again or review this and see how successful we've been"... because in reviewing it, you're making plans for the next succession of years. Did we reach our goals? Were we successful in doing that or do we have to really look at it again? What's the step that is missing in order for us to be successful with the objective we had in the first place or the goal? You measure and you have your strategic plan down and you say "Right, in six months' time... we'll do all this. Or did we do it? Why not? How can you go about it? You review it and you kōrero it in such a way..." (Participant L)

"...we've got to have an open mind, because we'll go down one line or focus down one path and yet we don't achieve our goal. So then we have to rethink again, have more kōrero and say "Right, this is how far we got, what have we advanced and what the step is that we need to do in order to get the objective that we wanted" or "Do we have to throw that objective out and look at it again from another point of view, another perspective?" So that we can be successful in what we want for our iwi or for the programme that we've got in place." (Participant L)

A means through which iwi aspirations and values could be considered was viewed as useful for iwi strategic planning. For example, one participant highlighted benefits concerning iwi relationships with government, particularly as they related to service provider contracts:

"For me, if we had a framework, [we could] fit the government within our framework rather than us fitting within theirs... I think that has benefits to both organisations, both the government and the [iwi] organisation itself. But for me it's a different focus. The focus is driven from back here... based on our values, rather than what [contracts/funding] we can [get from the government] "oh yeah, we should go for this, we should go for this", because that's going to meet this outcome that we decided is important." (Participant C)

Iwi-specific Outcomes

Participants observed that iwi outcomes and iwi aspirations must emerge from within the iwi itself and not dictated by an external entity. This is opposed to, for example, being swayed by government agendas as reflected in outputs and outcomes required of government contracts with which iwi are involved. One participant discussed this point as follows:

“I know when I’ve been involved in iwi organisations, all our contracts with government agencies, which eventually dominated our whole agenda. Our iwi became subsumed to one of the contracts and the contracts never required us to talk about any outcome. They required us just to talk about outputs and the volumes of things we were doing. That was all good. What we were measuring success on was how much the contract was worth, but not how did that contract feed into the outcomes that we had identified as important. And so this sort of scheme does shift the focus.

There’s nothing wrong with government contracts by the way, just want to make that point clear – they’re really good but they’re only useful if you can say how they relate to the outcome that the iwi has already set for itself. If they’re just an outcome, they get a contract, say you’re getting a contract and proving that you can get it rather than the iwi next door or the provider next door, which often drives us. So one of the useful things of having a scheme and a set of outcomes that an iwi is aspiring to, is to see that the energies of the iwi are moving towards that end and they’re not just scattered or arbitrary activities that don’t kind of lead up to anything in particular.

I think Māori providers would welcome that approach too. Essentially many of them operate in a Māori way and they generate Māori outcomes. However, they can often be constrained by contractual relationships which are contractual arrangements which are entirely mainstream.”
(Participant U)

To enable the measurement of these types of domains, data specific to iwi members was identified as important for iwi development. Some statistics are aggregated with the

same iwi but physically located outside of the iwi rohe for which an iwi authority may have responsibility:

“What we need most would probably be specific Ngaitai stuff. Often we’re lumped in with other people. We’ve managed to get our stats from Statistics New Zealand but we’re still lumped with Ngai Tai Ki Umupuia so we’ve still got a bit of work to do there to get our own stats for Ngaitai Ki Tōrere.” (Participant H)

Some of the types of iwi-specific data referred to as being useful for positive iwi development related to the nature and extent of connection and relationship of iwi members to the iwi, as shown below:

“For me, probably the stuff that would tell me their - is it affinity with the iwi? That might not be the right word... Having specific stuff about their involvement with the iwi because some whānau will put that they’re from home and that but they’ve kind of either married into another area or sort of going with the other parents, half of them and have more of an affinity with that iwi. I don’t think you’d get that information from anywhere else really.” (Participant H)

“I’d like to see stats on how often they come home. How often they come to the marae... Whether they take an interest in what’s going on back home, whether it be the Land Corporations or the marae, the school or even just their own whānau affairs.” (Participant H)

Chapter Seven: *Summary*

While previous chapters have highlighted the challenge of identifying appropriate and relevant outcome domains or constructs, this chapter has revealed a new problem and the issues attached to the identification of suitable measures or indicators. It was revealed that many items considered important to iwi development or outcomes were

difficult to quantify and were likewise assessed according to more abstract indicators or concepts.

The notion of manaakitanga, for example, was seen as a useful measure of determining the extent to which cultural values were being embraced or expressed. So too were concepts such as whanaungatanga and iwi cohesion. However, three key issues emerged from these discussions.

Firstly, it was uncertain as to the extent to which these concepts adequately captured the meaning of “cultural values” – whether or not other measures were needed or if in fact others were more appropriate.

Second, there was often no mechanism in place through which this information could be collected with the broader implication that if these measures were to be used then new data collection would be required along with new methods of analysis.

Lastly, some items were so abstract or complex that they couldn’t easily be quantified. For example, while manaakitanga was universally embraced as a measure of cultural values or identity, measuring manaakitanga created challenges in itself.

Ultimately, while this chapter has done much to better elucidate the measurement of iwi progress it further serves as a reminder of how difficult the measurement process can be and the various factors which are likely to influence a framework for measuring iwi outcomes.

Chapter 8

TE PAEWAI O TE RANGI: THE HORIZON IN SIGHT

Introduction

Previous chapters have considered a broad range of issues relevant to the examination of the hypothesis. The nature and extent of Māori development was reviewed to provide clues as to the aspirations of iwi and Māori and how these might be framed within the context of an outcomes framework. Further detail on the more precise goals of iwi was also provided through the use of two selected case studies. In many ways the reviews of literature and case study data revealed a consistent picture to the extent that Māori development, Māori outcomes, and iwi aspirations were largely consistent. However, for iwi, an aligned set of outcomes were also identified that were more often than not connected to the particular and more focused aspirations of iwi, their local needs, their environment, and their desire to maintain their own unique identity.

Threaded within this analysis was a discussion on outcome measurement, its origins, theory, key considerations and implications for the thesis. The outcomes chapter, in particular, revealed how a framework for measuring iwi outcomes might be constructed but also what requisites were important. Five points relevant to the design of an iwi focused outcome measurement framework were identified. These included:

1. A set of high-level principles to guide and focus the framework;
2. The identification of constructs or domains to determine what should be measured;
3. Locating what types of data might inform the constructs;
4. An appreciation of the fact that iwi specific and more generic measures will be needed; and
5. That multiples measures, linked to particular constructs, are likely.

With these issues in mind, this chapter suggests a framework for measuring iwi outcomes – *Te Paewai o te Rangi*. It is derived from the research – the interviews, surveys, reviews of literature, presentations, hui, meetings, consultations, and expert interviews, and is likewise consistent with conventional outcome theory and design. To this end, it identifies the key principles, constructs, indicators and outcomes relevant to the measurement of iwi outcomes.

Iwi Outcome Principles

The chapter on outcome measurement and Māori measures revealed the importance and value of locating high-level principles in the design of any framework, measure or tool. Principles are useful in that they offer a broad set of criteria upon which the more specific aspects of the framework might sit and likewise serve as an overall guide or foundation. The reviews of literature provided some clues as to what these principles might be. However, it was only until the case studies had been completed that a more robust and detailed view emerged. These are detailed below.

Iwi Values

The most consistent theme to be gained from the literature and participant data concerned the role of shared iwi values with respect to positive iwi development and iwi outcomes. Shared values shape iwi worldviews and identity and contribute to upholding iwi mana and nurturing iwi wellbeing. It could be reflected in a number of ways and often the manner in which iwi initiatives such as planning, strategy, priorities and practices were framed (Porter, 2013). To a large extent these values were fundamental to how iwi viewed themselves and how they would like others view them. As a principle, *Iwi Values* suggests the need for measures capable of accommodating these values which draw attention to their role in positive iwi development.

Diverse Application

The principle of *Diverse Application* emphasises the need for measures and perspectives which are relevant to a diverse range of settings and environments. Measures which are too specific are unlikely to resonate across multiple iwi – their application will be limited as will their overall utility. To this end, measures should be just as applicable to iwi in the north as they are to those in the south and similarly valued by inland, coastal, rural or urban iwi.

In support of this, numerous participants commented that different iwi are at very different stages of development, with various degrees of capacity and capability. For example, useful direction was provided by the Expert Focus Group with respect to the need for measures that are broad enough to apply to a range of iwi:

“It’s important that the framework is broad enough so that you’ve got some broad domains there and which can be applied in different ways. That would be really useful if you could do that so that [each] iwi doesn’t have to repeat the whole exercise.” (Expert Focus Group)

“The outcomes then would probably remain very similar across iwi in the sense that you’d want similar outcomes for all iwi. But your indicators would remain fairly similar. What you do with the data would depend on your specific developmental needs of your iwi.” (Expert Focus Group)

It is noteworthy that ‘diversity of function’ was also construed by participants in relation to the various ‘sub-groups’ that commonly operate and interface within an iwi collective– such as the whānau, hapū and marae. Participants acknowledged that awareness of such bodies may be useful when deliberating the construction of a framework but that it ought not seek to measure outcomes at these lower levels. One

participant suggested, for example, that different collectives within an iwi would require different measures, noting that:

“If you’re looking at outcomes for individuals, you might have a different set of indicators than if you’re looking at an outcome for whānau. Or if you’re looking for an outcome for an iwi rather than a whānau, you might have a different set of indicators again.” (Participant U)

Another member of the Expert Focus Group referred to their experience during the implementation of an iwi household survey stating that it was ambiguous with respect to the distinction between various groupings within that iwi collective:

“I think one of the problems with our household survey is that sometimes we’re talking about individual well-being and sometimes household well-being and sometimes whānau well-being. They’re all different.” (Expert Focus Group)

The principle of *Diverse Application*, therefore, emphasizes that the framework be relevant to range of settings and environments and has utility for a range of iwi. While recognizing that every iwi has its own unique and evolving identity, the principle is clear in that some consistency across iwi is preferred so that the potential of the framework can be maximised.

High Level Measures

The principle of *High Level Measures* is in many ways a response to the second principle. *High Level Measures* will ensure broad applicability and overall utility. Measures that are too focused are likely to have reduced utility, while similarly those that are too broad

can lose substance and meaning. Rather, an important consideration is whether the measures are pitched at a level that maximise both application and value.

A useful example of a framework that incorporates high level principles is *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, a well-known model of Māori health which is founded on four domains or constructs – Wairua (spiritual health), Tinana (physical health), Hinengaro (mental health), and Whānau (family connectedness). The value of the model is that it can be applied to a number of health settings or environments and has been used to inform mental health, primary health, health education, health promotion, service delivery and design.

The Treaty of Waitangi principles of *partnership*, *protection*, and *participation* are another example of measures pitched at a similarly high level that are designed in part to avoid the constraints imposed by a more literal interpretation of the Treaty text. A sign of their utility has seen these principles used to guide the activities of multiple agencies, service providers, policies and strategies. To this end, the principle of *High Level Measures* suggests a similar approach as a method through which the utility of the framework can be enhanced.

Balanced Imperatives

The fourth principle, *Balanced Imperatives*, is based on the idea that cultural perspectives of outcome form but a part of a more comprehensive picture. This relates to the idea that iwi perspectives of outcome sit within a broader context. This does not negate or undermine the need for iwi perspectives. However, it does suggest that

balance is required and that universal (for example, wealth creation) and iwi-specific (for example, tikanga development) measures will need to work in unison.

Cultural Focus

The principle above makes the point that a balance between cultural and universal perspectives is required. However, principle five, *Cultural Focus*, draws attention to the primary purpose of this thesis that, while universal factors should be acknowledged for their value, the identification of cultural measures remains the primary focus.

Contemporary Realities

Although this thesis is focused on iwi outcomes, the interpretation and identification of these pose significant challenges. Notwithstanding the difficulty of locating relevant views, of added concern is the idea that the perspectives of members (even within individual iwi) are far from homogenous and will tend to differ.

The principle of *Contemporary Realities* is a pointer to this and suggests the need to account for and reflect the contemporary realities within which iwi members sit, to appreciate the needs and aspirations of modern times and to avoid focusing on concepts or outcomes which are outdated, too constrained, or out of sync with the current environment. This is not to say that traditional concepts and aspirations are irrelevant, but rather that they are applied and considered in ways which resonate with the modern environment.

Multiple Measures

There remains, at least in literature, a fundamental tension between input, output, and outcome measures. These issues are often linked to apparent inadequacies of input and output indicators and their ability to actually discern effectiveness or outcome. This is partially because some outputs are hard to specify and therefore very difficult to be measured. Secondly, measuring the long term impact/effectiveness of an output can be very difficult, time-consuming, and expensive. In many instances these concerns are valid. However, in the absence of outcomes data or valid and reliable tools, input, output, or even process measures can be useful and might, in fact, be preferred in the absence of more valid data.

As a consequence, proxy measures, the type that hinge on an association between inputs and outputs, can be just as useful to measuring iwi outcomes as outcome measures themselves. The assumption being that an input or output has a direct correlation with an identifiable outcome. The *Multiple Measures* principle therefore suggests that multiple indicators are needed to measure a single construct and that input and output measures can be used as complementary indicators of both effectiveness and outcomes.

Innovative Data Collections

Iwi outcome measures will promote new and innovative ways of assessing effectiveness and outcomes. Historically, governments have had their own reasons to collect information on iwi, and this has meant that iwi data have tended to meet specific

government needs, rather than the developmental aspirations of iwi. Iwi statistics have therefore tended to represent analytical frameworks and philosophical approaches that are not necessarily consistent with the needs of iwi. The result has been that these statistics have often failed to represent iwi realities and, as a result, some iwi have questioned their relevance and utility and applicability.

The principle of *Innovative Data Collections* suggests that new data collections will be needed in the design of any iwi outcomes framework. This may include the reinterpretation or analysis of existing information or entirely novel collections. New methods or tools for the measurement of cultural constructs are possible, as are proxy measures where information is not currently available. In turn, the routine collection of high quality, iwi-specific data is likely in order to better reflect outcomes that are meaningful to iwi and relevant to their developmental aspirations.

Integrated Measures

The principle of *Integrated Measures* is derived from the analysis of existing tools and suggests that an integrated application of constructs will be required and that these are unlikely to be mutually exclusive.

This imperative is perhaps most clearly emphasised within models such as Te Wheke.¹⁰

The model suggests that well-being from a Māori perspective would require balance

¹⁰ Te Wheke (the octopus) is a Māori model of health commonly used to describe holistic notions and health and wellbeing. The head of the octopus represents te whānau, the eyes of the octopus as waiora (total wellbeing for the individual and family) and each of the eight tentacles representing a specific

across all eight of its domains. A deficit in any of the domains would constitute an unhealthy position (for Māori at least) irrespective of how favorable the other domains were. In this regard, outcome measures for iwi are likely to be mutually reliant – that is, a positive outcome might only be achieved when all constructs show positive gains.

Futures Focused

The final principle, *Futures Focused*, is a reminder of the fundamental purpose of outcome measurement; the utility of assessing current growth with the aim of planning for future development. The *Futures Focused* principle draws on the literature concerning positive iwi development and iwi potential, and the findings from data collected from the Study's participants. The principle recognises that iwi outcome measures should emphasise progressive advancement, rather than the management of adversity. Iwi efforts, particularly since the Hui Taumata in 1984, make clear their desire to take charge of their own development with an ongoing interest in self-determination, autonomy, and involvement in policies and programmes that are relevant to them. The final principle further suggests that Māori will only see value in measures which assist their development, which promote their aspirations, and which encourage future prosperity.

dimension of health. The dimensions are interwoven and this represents the close relationship of the tentacles.

Constructs

Following on from the ten principles, five constructs have been identified. These constructs describe the broad categories of interest to iwi and are a means through which more specific groups of relevant outcomes might be clustered. The constructs are a product of the broader research process and reflect the analysis of multiple information streams. To this end, while the information contained in the previous two chapters were used to identify and shape the constructs, additional information was garnered from a review of the iwi strategic and planning documents and other archival material.

Tikanga (Cultural)

Not surprisingly, many of the preferred outcomes identified as part of the thesis had a cultural focus or bent. These were often relayed or described in ways which were specific to the iwi but which certainly had broader resonance and appeal. The cultural construct reflected concepts and outcomes like the maintenance of te reo Māori and tikanga along other cultural institutions, such as karakia and powhiri.

Almost all of those interviewed as part of this Study referred to tikanga or culture as a primary outcome; this was also reflected within various strategic documents. These ideas were also supported by other iwi (such as Ngāti Porou, Waikato-Tainui, and Ngāti Awa) and linked to a wider interest and commitment to “retain, enhance, practice and promote their ancestral heritage as Ngāti Porou” and “the return and retention of

taonga” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2009), preserving “tribal heritage, reo and tikanga” and “develop[ing] self-sufficient marae” (Te Kauhanganui o Waikato Incorporated), and “strengthening Ngāti Awatanga (Ngāti Awa tribal protocols)” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010).

As a specific construct, these outcomes were in many ways specific to Māori - and iwi - and were not typically considered within conventional modes of assessment or evaluation. For the majority of those spoken to, cultural heritage, or having a sense of belonging, was a critical component of the *Tikanga* construct. This could be expressed in a number of ways but was often linked to te reo Māori, knowledge of cultural practices and whakapapa, as well as less tangible concepts such as a sense of collective value or worth – essentially pride in ones iwi, a spiritual association with that iwi, and a sense of positive iwi identity.

Whānui (Social)

Whānui, the social construct, was an outcome frequently referred to by those interviewed and was ultimately reflected in a number of different ways. To some extent it was referred to within conversations on health and well-being of whānau members, enduring systems for the care of young and old, and an emphasis on collective growth and development. Moreover, it was also a reflection of the need to consider opportunities and investments in education, health, welfare, well-being, and the ongoing vitality of iwi members. In many ways the *Whānui* construct is a complement or counter to the *Tikanga* construct. It reflects on the need to measure more conventional

indicators of progress and outcome and is, again, a pointer to the fact that while iwi measures of outcome are fundamentally shaped by the unique aspirations of iwi, others are not inconsistent with more conventional aspirations and goals. The *Whānui* construct further reinforces the idea that iwi must work within multiple domains in order to meet the comprehensive and complementary aspirations of their members.

Taiao (Environmental)

A clear outcome construct identified by both participants and within the literature concerned the environment and environmental protection. Participants discussed how the environment within which an iwi is located, and with which it interacts, shapes the identity and culture of that iwi. The findings also revealed that ownership and management of land and natural resources is integral to the social and cultural operation of an iwi, and must be nurtured and sustained.

In support of this, a number of iwi have taken steps to include an environmental domain within their strategic plans. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, for example, have “environmental sustainability” as one of their quadruple bottom-lines (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2009). Waikato-Tainui have the strategic objective “to grow (their) tribal estate and manage natural resources (Te Kauhanganui o Waikato Incorporated). While Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa have the strategic objective of “actively exercising kaitiakitanga” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010).

The *Taiao* construct therefore implies consideration and measurement of environmental domains, and to do so in ways which resonate with iwi customs,

resources and holdings. While inland tribes (such as Ngāti Tūrangitukua) might have a different focus than coastal tribes (such as Ngaitai), the important thing is that environmental aspirations are considered, that processes are in place to maintain and nurture the environment, and that systems are included for the safe and sustainable management of the resource.

Whai Rawa (Resources)

Quite apart from the need for cultural development and promotion, many of the participants of the interviews and comments from experts emphasised the need for a balanced approach. And that while cultural aspirations were fundamental to being Māori and to iwi development, this should sit alongside broader economic and fiscally aligned aspirations. These comments often sat alongside discussions about adapting or embracing modern realities and that economic development would be fundamental to tribal development.

These views were also revealed with various iwi strategic documents which focused on economic, financial, or resource development. For example, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou have over-arching principles based on “economic growth and prosperity”, ensuring an “optimum return on assets managed by the Rūnanga”; and to “support whānau and hapū to achieve optimum return on their assets” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2009).

Whai Rawa, the economic construct, was therefore viewed as a critical component of positive iwi development. This could be centred on increasing the financial wealth and prosperity of the iwi along with ensuring this is effectively transferred to whānau and

iwi members. Future-proofing the iwi estate was also suggested as a useful indicator which implied sustainability for the younger generation. Resource capacity building was further considered, as was the need for integrated planning to maximise financial gains, resource utilisation, and iwi capacity.

Kawa (Procedural)

The final construct, *Kawa*, considers a range of related issues. It reflects on the fact that iwi (particularly post-settlement iwi) require robust structures through which resources can be managed and systems through which accountability to tribal members can be assured. These approaches have been expressed by strategic goals seeking to reinforce commitment “to achieve self-governance and self-reliance” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2009) and “expanding [tribal] influence” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010) and connotes the need for positive leadership, capacity building, and active planning. It emphasises the desire to maintain assets for future generations and to ensure that the tribal estate is effectively administered.

The final construct is, therefore, linked to effective and positive leadership, effective communication with iwi members, and the ability to navigate the future with confidence.

Indicators

The following section builds on from the previous, it is consistent with outcomes theory and discourse, and describes some of the measures or indicators appropriate to each construct. They have emerged from case study conversations, surveys, meetings and expert consultations. While it is possible that other (more sophisticated) measures might be appropriate, and more specific measures might be identified in time, the indicators nevertheless sit well within the context of an outcomes framework – providing pointers as to what indicators are appropriate, how they might function, and how they can inform outcome measurement and design.

Tikanga

The Tikanga (Cultural) construct was the first and most frequently referred to marker of a positive outcome – at least from an iwi perspective. Identifying indicators of this construct proved to be a challenge in that while it was considered important, few participants were able to provide precise answers on how it could be measured and what indicators were appropriate. In the end however, it was possible to cluster a suite of indicators under three broad themes: Strong Marae, Te Reo Māori, and Mātauranga-A-Iwi.

Strong Marae

Participants viewed *Strong Marae* as an important indicator of positive iwi development and the *Tikanga* construct. This view is supported by an analysis undertaken by Carter et al (2011) of several iwi strategic documents that found that, without exception, the well-being of the marae was central to the development of iwi. They further observed that the most striking similarity of all the strategic plans is the emphasis on strengthening marae, the ‘powerhouse’ of hapū and whānau (Carter et al., 2011). The marae is considered an iwi-specific space from which the cultural well-being of the tribe can be promoted and fostered, and where cultural practices can be imparted to future generations (Carter et al., 2011).

Several factors were identified as contributing to a strong marae which could be used as measures.

First, the mere existence of a marae is a useful measure, as well as the number of marae. This includes marae located within the iwi rohe and also those located outside the rohe but that affiliate to that iwi. The presence of physical structures, such as a wharenuī, wharekai and ablution blocks can be measures of a strong marae. However, this is also dependent on their state of repair, their utilization, and the breadth of activity. For example, a strong marae would be used for more than just tangi, rather, a diverse range of activities including wānanga, kohanga, or hui.

In addition to physical structures, the existence of robust and active governance structures and procedures are useful measures of a strong marae. Regular marae

planning, both short and long term, would also be seen a measure of good practice and positive marae management.

Participants often described marae as ‘the centre of the community’ and the ahi kā were seen as providing the ‘base’ and ‘strength’ for strong marae without whom an iwi could not ‘go forward’. Therefore, the number of people at and interacting with marae was as commonly noted measure of strong marae. This included those iwi members ‘at the back’ supporting the operation of marae and also those present during formal ceremonies.

A strong marae was viewed as one where there were sufficient – if not an excess of – ringawera or volunteer workers, in the kitchen, for example, or participating or contributing to the operation of the marae. Participants referred to various roles held by ringawera for which they are recognized, for example, hāngi preparation, food gathering, preparation and presentation. The contribution of time, skills and labour by iwi members to ensure the various operational roles of the marae were filled were seen as a positive measure.

Te Reo Māori

The findings were clear that knowledge and use of *Te Reo Māori* was a key cultural outcome that iwi would like to measure. Indicators of this were presented in several ways.

A quantitative measure for *Te Reo Māori* could be the number of iwi members able to speak te reo. Other measures might also be developed with respect to the level of knowledge and proficiency of te reo spoken by iwi members. Measures relating to proficiency might further include opportunities to acquire te reo, and opportunities to further develop proficiency.

A *Te Reo Māori* indicator might further be considered by the extent to which it was spoken on the marae. Numbers of iwi members that could undertake whaikōrero, kaikaranga and waiata on the marae were therefore seen as relevant measures of positive te reo Māori development. The number of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa situated on marae may be further measures of te reo Māori as well as bilingual signage and other spaces within the rohe.

Iwi-wide measures of *Te Reo Māori* might also involve the existence of te reo Māori strategies and plans for revitalizing and enhancing te reo. Such strategies may include plans for kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and whare wānanga or the availability of Māori language speakers, services (e.g. television/radio hours) and products (e.g. literature, music, shows), and te reo Māori celebrations and activities.

Potential measures might further include the purchase of te reo Māori related products, services and learning opportunities by, or on behalf of, the iwi (for example, literature, language learning software and teaching aids). Related measures might include the amount of spending on the provision of learning opportunities, resources and services (e.g. television and radio).

Mātauranga-A-Iwi

Mātauranga-A-Iwi sits within the broader context of mātauranga Māori and in reference to the cultural knowledge which contributes to the unique identity and practices of iwi, and places emphasis on traditional ways of understanding and interpreting the world (Carter et al., 2011). Such knowledge has often been passed down through several generations and has been maintained within that iwi.

Participants discussed unique knowledge about iwi history and land and sacred sites as being important to maintain the unique identity of an iwi. For example, *Mātauranga-A-Iwi* would refer to expanding iwi members' knowledge and understanding about iwi history along with the retention and understanding of that history and the ability to interpret and apply that history. *Mātauranga-A-Iwi* can also refer to practices carried out by the collective, such as those relating to rāhui, and the various cultural practices attached to this.

The numbers of iwi members knowledgeable and proficient with iwi tikanga and kawa was seen as a positive measure. Findings showed that the transfer of tikanga and kawa practices onto successive generations was important to participants. An element of succession planning is therefore involved with *Mātauranga-A-Iwi* in terms of developing iwi human resources to ensure iwi members are skilled in cultural custom and practice.

Measures of *Mātauranga-A-Iwi* can likewise include the number and nature of wānanga and other activities that are occurring within the iwi, and the preservation of mātauranga through informal and formal wānanga learning. Measures also include the

availability of expertise in specific areas of Māori knowledge, skills and competencies, for example those areas relating to iwi history and whakapapa. This might be linked to the production and availability of material relating to specific areas of knowledge - skills and competencies in interpreting or locating archival documents, sound-recordings, maps and images.

Mātauranga-A-Iwi also refers to the more tangible expressions of mātauranga Māori and can incorporate the cultural property of an iwi. The findings suggest that the presence of tangible expressions of iwi identity were symbols and useful indicators of a “strong wairua” of an iwi, and that that iwi is ‘culturally strong’. Cultural symbols can be found in the form of carved wharenuī, whakairo, and raranga on marae. It may be the presence of taonga held by hapū and whānau within the iwi. It may also be the expression of traditional and contemporary art of particular meaning to that iwi or community.

Mātauranga-A-Iwi also incorporates physical manifestations of mātauranga Māori in the form of taonga, for example. The mere existence of taonga and their presence within the iwi are useful measures of *Mātauranga-A-Iwi*. The number of iwi members that are skilled and have expertise with the taonga and other forms of cultural property are other measures. Furthermore, opportunities to *acquire* expertise in specific areas of Māori knowledge, skills and competencies were viewed as positive measures. The acquisition of skills and knowledge may be by way of one-on-one mentoring and coaching, or wānanga and non-formal and formal courses provided by iwi, Māori and public education providers.

Whānui

Indicators of *Whānui* were far more conventional than those associated with the *Tikanga* construct. However, these were no less significant and often reflected priorities that were specific to iwi and the developmental aspirations they were attempting to promote.

Health

Measuring health outcomes for an iwi was a common finding from the Study and was a particular feature of the *Whānui* construct. Many participants identified traditional, more commonly understood measures of health, such as life expectancy, infant mortality, hospitalization rates, incidence and prevalence of diseases. However, other notions of health were also raised suggesting more holistic perspectives.

Positive attitudes towards health amongst whānau and iwi members was viewed as a useful and relevant measure of the health of an iwi as were measures capable of capturing wairua and wairuatanga. With respect to more collective type measures, participants also pointed towards the measurement of iwi arrangements for care of koroua, kuia, sick, and disabled whānau members. Whānau use of and accessibility to primary health services including iwi health services was characterized as a measure of iwi health. Iwi health measures also included the quantity and quality of iwi providers of health services and programmes (including human, physical and financial resources) and types of services or programmes, spending by iwi organisations on the provision of

health services and programmes, and government expenditure on purchasing and provision of iwi health services and programmes.

Knowledge Expansion

Knowledge Expansion was discussed in the context of the education of whānau and iwi members and also in the wider context of iwi research and development.

In terms of the education of iwi members, participants considered *Knowledge Expansion* in the context of iwi members attending quality primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions, including quality Māori-medium educational institutions. With respect to the quality of educational programmes delivered by iwi service providers, *Knowledge Expansion* is taken to incorporate the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (partnership, participation and protection), and to include programmes that incorporate Māori and iwi-specific concepts, knowledge, skills, attitudes, reo, practices, customs, values and beliefs.

Knowledge Expansion further suggests the facilitation of support for iwi members seeking higher education, whether such supported be provided by whānau, iwi organisations, or from the provider delivering the service. An emphasis was also placed on balanced educational portfolio and the notion that iwi members should reflect and represent a broad range of professions and investments - iwi doctors, lawyers, philosophers, accountants, builders, plumbers, and forestry workers.

From a research and development perspective, the findings support an understanding of *Knowledge Expansion* to include iwi-specific research that contributes to positive iwi outcomes. Participants viewed iwi-specific research and the collection of iwi-specific data as important to inform iwi strategy, policy and planning and, further, for evaluating iwi programmes and ventures.

Iwi-specific research and development involves developing iwi capacity and capability to gather, undertake and distribute iwi-specific and iwi-relevant research and data. In this respect, measures can include iwi research units and research wānanga, along with strategically upskilling iwi members in research knowledge and skills.

Skilled Labour

Economic self-determination is achieved when whānau are well-educated and skilled, are participating meaningfully in the labour market and have access to ongoing training opportunities (Māori Economic Development Panel). Participants saw a positive iwi outcome as reflected in iwi members that are skilled and participating meaningfully in the economy.

Potential measures identified by participants included the more generic and conventional types of measures such as labour force participation of iwi members, employment and unemployment rates, and hours of work by iwi members.

However, participants also identified more Māori-related roles as potential measures. For example, industry-specific roles within Māori service provision like kohanga reo,

Māori health and training service providers were considered relevant, along with culturally-specific roles such as kaitiaki, kaitakawaenga, and kaiako.

Taiao

Like most indigenous populations, a focus on the environment and environmental protection often featured as part of discussions on positive iwi development when considering the types of outcomes that were valued. Often these outcomes were context dependent and reflected the particular environmental circumstances of certain iwi. However, despite this, it was possible to locate indicators that were both specific and which could be applied across multiple settings.

Kaitiakitanga Practices

Kaitiakitanga Practices focuses on the relationship between iwi members and the natural resources within their rohe and the extent to which measures have been put in place to maintain and enhance that relationship.

Participants identified as useful measures the existence of one or more iwi environmental units which could carry out iwi kaitiakitanga obligations and objectives in order to manage their natural resources. More specifically, measures might include the existence of plans and policies guiding how iwi related to and manage their natural resources as well as kaitiaki plans and iwi environmental strategies which provide for

increasing sustainable resource use, resource allocation, resource management, recycling and waste management.

This indicator reflects iwi tikanga and kawa that is consistent with the effective management of natural resources within the iwi rohe and which contribute to enduring sustainability. This could include strategies which put in place safeguards and systems to protect cultural landmarks, archaeological sites, landforms, and other culturally significant areas.

Kaitiakitanga Practices also refers to the existence of iwi or hapū management plans and policies that support the operationalization of iwi resource management groups. A potential measure, for example, may be the number of hapū or iwi with environmental management plans. These plans may be distinguished from those that have been incorporated into local district plans.

Kaitiakitanga Practices also covers arrangements that build relationships between iwi, local and central government. This might include arrangements for iwi governance representation in local and regional environmental management decision-making, procedures and protocols of local and regional authorities for engaging and consulting with iwi over proposed developments, as well as the monitoring of government and local authority spending on protection and preservation of natural resources and wāhi taonga within the tribal rohe.

Environmental Awareness

Environmental Awareness refers to the extent to which iwi members are aware of the resources in their rohe, sites of significance and the traditional ecological knowledge relating to them. Participants emphasized the importance of traditional ecological or environmental knowledge for its inherent value and also for the purpose of developing kaitiakitanga practices within the rohe. *Environmental Awareness* therefore includes awareness of the link between wāhi tapu, iwi resources and traditional knowledge with the distinctive identity of an iwi.

While the awareness of traditional ecological knowledge was viewed by participants as important, putting it into practice was viewed as being of more primary interest. An example provided of such knowledge was the application of rāhui whereby participants encouraged greater awareness in relation to both the practice and tikanga of what a rāhui involved. Furthermore, participants promoted an understanding of when specific rāhui were in place and what conditions or limitations this implied.

Putting such knowledge into practice was further viewed as contributing to the maintenance and development of iwi identity. *Environmental Awareness* therefore encapsulates those measures related to iwi members that are aware of and engaged in activities that protect and nurture natural resources within the rohe. This may include iwi educational programmes and the upskilling of iwi members about traditional ecological knowledge and its practice.

Resource Monitoring

Resource Monitoring is centred on the examination of natural resources within the iwi rohe both in terms of quality and quantity of resources. Monitoring in this context refers to both the state of natural resources within the rohe and also the monitoring of developments that may impact upon those resources.

Monitoring can be undertaken at a scientific level with data gathered on indicators such as the depletion of natural stock, water quality, and the distribution, abundance and size of kaimoana. Scientific observation might also be used to assess the quality of the resource obtained from the resource site. Additionally, other cultural indicators might also be used, such as the number and quality of māra kai and communal gardens, and orchards, and whānau growing, gathering and preparing kai to sustain themselves and members of the iwi and hapū.

Whai Rawa

Whai Rawa is another more conventional measure of progress and which might be common to any large organization or entity. However, like previous examples, the manner in which these outcomes were framed often reflected a cultural bent and were more often than not shaped by both contemporary and historical moderators – the tribes broader aspirations, and their desire to maintain their unique culture and heritage.

Iwi Wealth

Iwi will lead growth in the Māori economy, having a significant capital and asset base that underpins a significant part of the Māori economic contribution to the New Zealand economy (Māori Economic Development Panel). *Iwi Wealth* could focus on iwi owned businesses, and iwi entities such as trusts, authorities and incorporations. A strategy for iwi wealth creation is likely to follow pathways rather than focus primarily on the development of a particular physical asset base (M. Durie, 2005c).

Participants identified the measurement of the levels and sources of personal and household income as useful for measuring *Iwi Wealth*. Housing can similarly take into account generic household spending patterns, net worth, assets and debts of households.

Participants supported measures around personal and household spending on acquiring knowledge, skills and competencies, such as household budgeting. And, at an iwi-facilitated level, participants favoured iwi services that dealt with financial 'health and wealth' programmes for households, and financial literacy programmes.

Financial security can be reflected in increased rates of home ownership and other financial assets, for example Kiwisaver contributions. However, many Māori whānau are not currently in a strong financial position and are spending more than they earn, which constrains their ability to build financial assets (Māori Economic Development Panel). Increasing whānau income through higher paying employment is important, but so is

increasing whānau financial literacy. For example, understanding the impact of consumer versus investment debt and developing a culture of saving.

Increased levels of sustainable home ownership may indicate that whānau are building wealth while also providing the basis for whānau to develop their asset base (for example, by allowing whānau to leverage their home equity to build other investments). Home ownership is not the only mechanism for encouraging a savings and investment culture, but is a useful indicator (Māori Economic Development Panel). Measures concerning whānau home ownership and quality of whānau housing within an iwi were recognized as useful measures.

Capacity Building

Capacity Building refers to the development of human resources and iwi potential. It relates to iwi endeavors to build the capabilities and capacity of their people to ensure ongoing employment and income generation.

It might include strategies to develop the individual capacity of iwi members so that they might contribute to their whānau capability, employment prospects and income. *Capacity Building* also refers to iwi business owners and entrepreneurs. Building their capacity involves ensuring, for example, business support services are provided so that they may contribute to the iwi economy.

Enhanced Relationships

Enhanced Relationships refer to those connections between iwi entities that contribute to a more robust iwi economy. Such relationships may include, for example, interactions between marae and iwi authorities by way of hui and event updates; interactions between land trusts and marae by way of financial contributions; or interactions between whānau and iwi health and social service providers. *Enhanced Relationships* also includes those connections between iwi and external bodies that, by their nature, expand the pool of resources and opportunities available for the iwi economy.

As Treaty settlements have increased the resource base of iwi-based organisations, so too have they revitalised the connection between iwi and its members. Furthermore, as iwi organisations take responsibility for tribally-entrusted assets, they must also deliver benefits to its members. *Enhanced Relationships* at a very pragmatic level is about connecting or reconnecting with iwi members for the purpose of benefitting from iwi initiatives. Knowledge of kinship ties and connections with others (within whānau, hapū iwi and across iwi) is a useful measure in this regard, as is numbers of iwi members registered on an iwi register.

Enhanced Relationships might further include those relationships amongst whānau and hapū within the iwi and the extent to which whānau maintain healthy relationships with each other, with hapū, and with their marae. Examples of how this can be measured include the contribution to and receipt of support from whānau including material support (eg. food, money, labour), advice & counseling, direct care, and crisis support

and management, and contribution to maintenance and operation of hapū, iwi and Māori organisations including time, labour, money and other forms of donation.

Enhanced Relationships also recognizes that collaborations between iwi and other bodies are a useful way of developing mutually beneficial relationships. Collaboration is an enabler that can bring about greater scope and scale to exploit economic, social and commercial opportunities. Greater collaboration might mean working with the Government to reduce barriers to accessing essential services for whānau or to better align support systems to improve the uptake of current programmes. It might also require that collectives better collaborate with each other to achieve economies of scale or for investment opportunities with government, public, or private partnerships. Developing connectivity between innovation system players or researchers (Crown Research Institutes, universities, private providers) and Māori enterprises might similarly increase the likelihood of achieving improved economic outcomes.

Kawa

The *Kawa* construct implies the adherence to or value associated with rules and regulations, systems and mechanisms which provide structure and direction for iwi. Many of those spoken to highlighted the value of having these types of processes and how they were fundamental to the positive organization and management of any group or entity – including iwi.

Positive Leadership

For iwi to achieve positive outcomes, *Positive Leadership*, particularly in the area of governance, will be fundamental to their enduring success. Positive leadership and governance enables iwi organisations to operate more effectively and in a more transparent manner. Iwi authorities are vastly different in scale, scope of activity, and structural arrangements, but often have similar objectives, such as inter-generational wealth creation and transfer. There is a wide spectrum of governance capabilities amongst iwi organisations with some building significant capacity and capability through their settlement experiences. Performance and accountability depends on defining appropriate objectives and missions, governance structures, investment strategy and distribution policies.

The findings suggest that *Positive Leadership* centres on the appointment of iwi governors that have the appropriate skills, qualifications and experience to function within leadership positions. It also includes the establishment of clear and robust governance policies, practices and tools for these bodies to function effectively. Along with the establishment of such policies, the implementation of these in the day-to-day operation of an iwi organisation was seen as equally, if not more, important. *Positive Leadership* was seen to include seeking specialised advice from outside of the iwi.

Positive Leadership also centres of the development of leadership capability and capacity in a range of domains, including those which have a cultural focus. In this respect, *Positive Leadership* is demonstrated at whānau, hapū and iwi level by koroua and kuia that are, in turn, supported by contributions from whānau, hapū and iwi.

Integrated Planning

Participants promoted more integrated approaches to planning as opposed to an iwi organisation adopting a narrow 'silo approach'. *Integrated Planning* involves viewing an iwi more holistically and thereby integrating economic domains with social, cultural and environmental concepts.

An integrated approach can be promoted through the design of iwi strategy, planning and policy that seeks to achieve integrated outcomes. Measures captured by *Integrated Planning* include the existence and implementation of policies and planning documents that are evidence-based and informed by relevant and up-to-date data. *Integrated Planning* can also involve integrated governance structures of iwi-related organisations, such as iwi authorities, marae, land trusts and incorporations. *Integrated Planning* can include the involvement of taura here in iwi strategy, planning and policy design so that others (beyond the iwi boundaries) are able to contribute to the integrated planning process.

Effective Communication

Ensuring accountability of iwi leadership through transparent and effective communication was identified by participants as critical. *Effective Communication* is about ensuring clear, effective and well-articulated communications are delivered to iwi members about iwi developments.

Effective Communication ensures tailoring communication styles appropriate to the various demographics within an iwi. For example, some participants emphasized the preference of koroua and kuia for kanohi-ki-te-kanohi – face-to-face – communication by way of hui and wānanga. *Effective Communication* is also about taking advantage of the latest information technology, including social networking and innovative uses of mobile devices and smart phones to ensure iwi members were kept up-to-date on iwi developments.

Whānau, for example, are still connected despite often living in remote areas far away from their traditional iwi boundaries. However, new communication technologies have created fresh links that hold promise for whānau connectedness. These types of mechanisms are critical to modern and effective communication for iwi.

Future Generations

Participants pointed out a need to explore data and trends that may provide a picture of the likely make-up of future generations of iwi, and ensuring that any outcomes framework was cognisant of evolving needs of future generations. *Future Generations* is, therefore, about developing measures that take into account both the needs of whānau, hapū and marae today, but also for those of the future. *Future Generations* is about ensuring the equitable access to resources and opportunities by whānau, marae and hapū into the future.

Future Generations involves succession planning to develop capacity and leadership across a range of developmental domains to ensure a strong, sustainable future for iwi.

This includes identifying and nurturing potential iwi leaders across environmental, social, cultural and economic domains and in a variety of sectors to promote a holistic developmental approach into the future.

Outcomes Statements

As a complement to the research process, and in order to better inform the constructs, a number of key informants were asked to identify seminal outcome statements. These statements were intended to guide the constructs and to locate what the fundamental purpose of each construct was. At another level, they offered a fresh and more pragmatic view of the actual purpose of outcome measurement, what the objectives were, and how these could be achieved.

Statement One

“Our iwi is culturally secure, confident in our reo and tikanga. Our members have a strong sense of identity, they are proud, and our marae are active.”

Statement Two

“Our iwi is healthy and has an overall sense of well-being, we are housed, fed, nurtured, and happy.”

Statement Three

“Our iwi exercises kaitiakitanga to preserve and maintain healthy and sustainable taonga and natural resources within our rohe.”

Statement Four

“Our iwi is financially secure, our resources are used wisely to the benefit of our people, and we are sustainable and confident in the future.”

Statement Five

“Our iwi, our people, our resources, our environment, our tikanga, and our future are secure and well managed.”

Te Paewai o te Rangi

Te Paewai o te Rangi is the major outcome of the Study. It is a summary of the information contained within this chapter and more broadly the material collected as part of this thesis. It details the key principles, constructs, indicators, and outcomes relevant to the measurement of iwi outcomes. The framework is an integrated tool in that each component is linked and consistent with the broader principles. While at one level it is a summary of work, on another it reveals how measures of iwi development might be constructed, designed, and applied.

The implications of the framework, as well as its limitations, are worthy of further deliberation and debate. The following chapter examines these issues in greater detail

as well as providing a response to the question: *How can a framework for measuring iwi outcomes be constructed?*

Table 11 Te Paewai o te Rangi

<i>Iwi Values / Diverse Application / High Level Measures / Balanced Imperatives / Cultural Focus/ Contemporary Realities / Multiple Measures / Innovative Data Collections / Integrated Measures / Futures Focused</i>				
<i>Outcome Statements</i>	<i>Constructs</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Measures (examples)</i>	
“Our iwi is culturally secure, confident in our reo and tikanga. Our members have a strong sense of identity, they are proud, and our marae are active.”	Tikanga (Cultural)	Strong Marae Te Reo Māori Mātauranga-A-Iwi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of iwi members that have volunteered time in the past year. Percentage of iwi members who report being fluent speakers of te reo Māori. Number of whakapapa wānanga held on marae. 	
“Our iwi is healthy and has an overall sense of well-being, we are housed, fed, nurtured, and happy.”	Whānui (Social)	Health Knowledge Expansion Skilled Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of iwi members that access iwi health services. Number of iwi participating at wānanga. Percentage of iwi employed. Comparisons of annual income with national data. 	
“Our iwi exercises kaitiakitanga to preserve and maintain healthy and sustainable taonga and natural resources within our rohe.”	Taiao (Environmental)	Kaitiakitanga Practices Environmental Awareness Resource Monitoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Processes in place to manage and organise rāhui. Iwi awareness of wāhi tapu and sacred sites. Levels of kaimoana stocks. 	
“Our iwi is financially secure, our resources are used wisely to the benefit of our people, we are sustainable and confident in the future.”	Whai Rawa (Resources)	Iwi Wealth Capacity Building Enhanced Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Positive return on iwi investments. Iwi representatives on local authority bodies. Iwi members experience high levels of employment. 	
“Our iwi, our people, our resources, our environment, our tikanga, and our future are secure and well managed.”	Kawa (Procedural)	Positive Leadership Integrated Planning Effective Communication Future Generations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Robust policy documents are in place to govern and manage iwi affairs. Social media to facilitate iwi cohesion and identity. Rangatahi hui are held annually. Iwi succession planning hui are held annually. 	

Chapter 9

KIA TAE KI UTA: THE JOURNEY ENDS

The thesis has been as much about the journey as the destination. Each chapter has been a step towards an end and towards a place where the research hypothesis can be tested, explored, and responded to with confidence.

The metaphor of this journey has been threaded throughout this thesis, within each chapter, and each heading. This type of approach is not uncommon within Māori academia, and Māori research. In many ways it provides a symbolic link to our ancient past, the journeys of our seafaring ancestors, and the desire to seek-out new lands and places as-yet unknown. But the symbolism of the journey extends beyond these reflections of past endeavors. It similarly highlights the value of good planning and research, the need to map an appropriate course, to overcome adversity, to look for signs and information, and to ultimately arrive at a destination.

Like the voyages of our early ancestors, this thesis too has not been without its challenges and complications. Clues to the destination were not always clear, at times the research drifted off course, and frequently the winds would cease and travel, at best,

was slow and arduous. Notwithstanding these encounters, the journey, at last, is nearing the end and the canoe might soon come to rest.

The thesis began with an explanation of what inspired the journey. Chapter One described early conversations on the need to better measure iwi performance (across multiple domains) and what led to the research question - *How can a framework for measuring iwi outcomes be constructed?* Placing this question within the context of iwi development, iwi needs, and current data limitations provided additional thrust to the thesis as it became clear that iwi could benefit from such tools but were unable to currently measure performance or outcomes; or at least outcomes that resonated with the aspirations of their members and the foundations established by their tipuna.

Chapter Two explained the methods used to answer the research question. It was noted that the research destination revealed very few clues and required a sophisticated approach in order to navigate a confident path forward. Various techniques and approaches were examined as was the need to somehow ensure that the expectations of Māori were appropriately considered. It was determined that qualitative research methods provided the best means through which the research question could be answered and moreover a frame within which the various expectations of Māori could be accommodated. By employing a technique known as ‘case study’ two iwi were asked to participate in the research and to offer their thoughts on how a framework for measuring iwi outcomes might be constructed and what key criteria needed satisfying.

It was noted that a case study approach was particularly useful in that it allowed each case to be used as an exemplar and a means through which the utility of the research

could be extended to other iwi and other locations. By utilising research software, it was also possible to better synthesize the information, to store and analyse it, and to ensure that any conclusions were robust and considered. A key outcome of this chapter was to ensure that appropriate methodologies were examined and the right methods applied. Added to this, however, was the desire to ensure that the findings for research, while somewhat derived from the two case studies, were also applicable to other iwi and other environments. To this end, an underlying catalyst for the research was to make a measureable contribution to Māori development (however qualified) and to ensure that the value of the research was able to endure well beyond the confines of its pages.

Chapter Three was in many ways linked to Chapter One through its focus on Māori development and the identification of Māori goals and aspirations. Unlike Chapter One, however, Chapter Three moved away from offering a rationale for the research towards an examination of Māori endeavor and development - to examine historical trends and contemporary aspirations and likewise the factors which have shaped the context within which Māori and iwi sit today. This chapter was based to a large extent on a review of literature and an examination of the information currently available on Māori development. This approach was in recognition of the fact that very little information on iwi outcomes and iwi outcome measurement was available but that an aligned investigation of Māori development literature would at the very least provide key pointers as to what iwi aspirations might be, where growth was needed, and what key investments were anticipated.

In this regard, Chapter Three helped shape the direction of the thesis. It revealed what outcomes were relevant and perhaps most significantly highlighted the notion that

multiple and integrated measures of iwi outcome were needed. Māori were certainly interested in ensuring the ongoing sustainability of their culture and traditions; however, they were similarly aware of the need to embrace the modern world, to develop their resources, to be financially secure, and to effectively manage their commercial and environmental investments. Chapter Three in many ways gave direction to the journey – it pointed the way forward but without the detail through which the final destination could be mapped.

Chapter Four sought to extend this discussion by focusing (to a large extent) on five broad goals of Māori development. These goals were identified within the literature and revealed constructs which were able to suitably cluster many of the concepts identified in Chapter Three to organize these under headings which were both accommodating and suitably diverse. Of major interest to this thesis, however, was the limitations of the goals and that while they seemed to adequately capture the breadth of Māori development, they were less clear on how these could be measured and what types of indicators were appropriate. The chapter therefore raised the challenge that although the identification of outcomes or goals is a primary concern, a more challenging issue might in fact be the issue of how these are measured, what indicators are appropriate, their level of validity, their perceived accuracy, and ultimate relevance to iwi.

Chapter Five cast a more focused lens on the idea of outcome measurement. It explored key theories and concepts, outcomes definitions and criteria, as well as some of the inherent challenges and opportunities. An examination of various outcome tools was undertaken and used to better understand how a new measure – relevant to iwi – might be constructed. The review of cultural measures, in particular, revealed how Māori

concepts could be shaped within the design of more conventional tools, what key criteria were relevant and how cultural and conventional aspirations could be managed.

In the end, the chapter revealed five key points of relevance to the construction of a framework for measuring iwi outcomes:

The first was the need to identify a set of high-level principles to guide the framework. These principles were common to many outcome measurement tools and located essential criteria relevant to the purpose of outcome measurement. They also assisted in locating the focus of any tools or measures and what fundamental criteria would need to be satisfied. It was suggested that the identification of these guiding principles was a key first-step in the design of an outcomes framework. Further, it was clear that care would need to be taken to ensure that appropriate principles were identified to comprehensively capture all relevant issues and concerns.

The second point focused on the imperative to locate appropriate constructs or domains. These would serve to identify the issues of particular interest to iwi and to ideally cluster or group a suite of issues under a common heading. Constructs were fundamentally important to outcome measurement in that they identified 'what' was to be measured. Getting this process right was therefore of critical importance – the constructs needed to be comprehensive and organized appropriately, and they needed give confidence that they actually reflected the aims and aspirations of iwi.

The third point highlighted the need for robust indicators capable of measuring each construct. Various challenges were linked to this, including the availability of

appropriate measures, data limitations, collection issues, as well as the wider challenge of validity – that is, does the indicator actually measure what it purports to measure.

The fourth point was that cultural and conventional measures must work in unison. It was revealed, as it was elsewhere, that iwi aspirations and outcomes were not confined to cultural domains alone. Moreover, that iwi saw the value of measuring a comprehensive array of domains which reflected their contemporary status.

The fifth and final point was that a single measure is unlikely to capture a single construct. A variety of indicators might be needed for a particular construct and it was also possible that input, output, and proxy measures could be used. The challenge connected to this was the manner in which these various indicators came together, the extent to which they actually measured the construct and what limitations (common to all measures) were likely.

In the end, it was these points that had to be responded to or mitigated in order to construct a framework for measuring iwi outcomes. Within the context of this thesis journey, these points emphasised the need to plan effectively, to explore relevant contingencies, and to build an appropriate vessel upon which the destination could be reached.

Chapter Six therefore began the process of identifying suitable principles, constructs, and measures. While to some extent earlier chapters had set the scene for this (through the review of literature), Chapter Six examined more deeply the views of iwi themselves through the application of the two case studies. This chapter was used to compliment

earlier discussions on Māori development and to explore the extent to which Māori development and iwi development were able to coalesce.

It was revealed that to some extent Māori development and iwi development sat within a similar space and that neither was necessarily inconsistent with the other. However, iwi development and iwi outcomes were more localised and often reflected the particular characteristics of their local environment, local population, and the priorities placed on cultural and financial investments. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the research revealed how iwi outcomes will often, if not always, reflect the *kawa* specific to that iwi and therefore imbue them with a distinctiveness that will be reflected in iwi developmental aspirations and approaches.

Nevertheless, the chapter helped to better elucidate what principles might inform a framework for measuring iwi outcomes. More importantly, it was becoming increasingly clear what constructs were appropriate and how these might be clustered and built.

Chapter Seven was an extension of Chapter Six but centered on the identification of appropriate indicators or measures. It revealed much of what had been suggested in previous chapters that indicators of certain constructs were often difficult to locate. Of particular concern was the challenge of finding appropriate indicators for these cultural domains. It was noted that for conventional constructs (such as economic development), a suite of potential indicators existed and could be applied. However, for cultural domains, this was less certain and more problematic. Some of the cultural constructs (especially) did not lend themselves to quantification and were sometimes linked to concepts that were more ethereal than pragmatic. Nevertheless, these types of

constructs remained at the heart of the research endeavor. And while the struggle associated with them frequently stalled the journey, locating appropriate solutions provided the thrust needed – the wind in the sails - a wave driving the research forward.

Chapter Eight in many ways brought to bear the various strands of the thesis. It built on the previous seven chapters, the insights offered, the questions raised, and the criteria which had been established. It proposed a framework, *Te Paewai o te Rangi*, which was based on 10 principles, five constructs, a series of indicators, as well as a set of five outcome statements.

The principles, as intended, were used to shape the framework and provide essential guidance and direction. The constructs were more specific and described the fundamental areas of interest to iwi and iwi outcomes. Like most measures the constructs were an amalgam of various ideas and concepts which were raised throughout the research process – through the review of literature, through various conversations, and by speaking directly with iwi and iwi members.

A suite of possible measures or indicators were likewise suggested. The indicators were linked to each of the constructs and provided clues as to how each construct might be measured, what proxies could be used, or how existing data could be applied or examined. The indicators were consistent with the overall direction of the framework and were not intended to be absolute or valid measures, rather, to provide clues and guidance as to what was possible, where challenges might exist and where more information was needed. Examples of measures were also provided within the

framework to illustrate types of data that may be collected with respect to each indicator.

A set of outcome statements were also offered and used to direct the constructs and outcome measures. The statements were high-level and designed to capture why iwi measures of outcome were important, what value they could offer, and what purpose they might serve.

The final chapter, like all the previous chapters, is used to cut a path to the destination but is different to the extent that it must also respond to the research question, to challenge the hypothesis, and to anchor the thesis. A simple response to the hypothesis – *How can a framework for measuring iwi outcomes be constructed?* might ultimately be answered by a simple reply, in that it is clear that a framework *can* be constructed, and likewise clear what factors and challenges are relevant. However, a simple response to a complex picture would be somewhat disingenuous and ultimately fail to provide the insight warranted from such a detailed and methodically planned research investigation. A more sophisticated analysis of the question is required.

Insofar as the thesis has successfully mapped a process for the construction of an iwi outcomes framework, it has also revealed a range of factors which are important to this discussion and which speak to the new knowledge created by the thesis.

It has shown that while outcomes theory and discourse is a relatively new area of academic inquiry, it is nevertheless premised on methods and approaches which are not unfamiliar to Māori, or inconsistent with Māori history and tradition, the aspirations of

our ancestors and collective desires to move onward and upward. While the measures used by iwi in more traditional times would have been shaped by more pragmatic influences (a fruitful harvest and a flourishing population) these were nonetheless valued as both appropriate and meaningful.

The thesis has also highlighted the fact that while iwi exist within an environment that is shaped by modern influences and contemporary lifestyles - traditional values remain entrenched as a cornerstone of Māori society and were valued as much as the more conventional markers of progress and development. Notwithstanding the emergent nature of iwi identity and the new, often diasporic iwi groupings, core notions of iwi and Māori identity remain relevant and can thus be captured and provided by an outcomes measure such as *Te Paewai o te Rangi*. The implications here are significant in that the focus of iwi investment and endeavor must be cast with a broad net to avoid the promulgation of outcomes that are out-of-sync with the expectations of their members. A corporate focus matched with social and environmental development is a worthy marker of positive development. However, if they fail to include cultural domains and interests, they will ultimately fail as useful measures of iwi outcomes.

The research has also revealed that Māori outcomes, iwi outcomes, and notions of Māori development are not necessarily inconsistent. However, a more considered approach to their application and interpretation is required; while cultural domains and traditions are consistently valued, they are not always the same. To this end, iwi are likely to prioritise some cultural assets over others. For those iwi where Marae and te reo Māori is strong, their focus may naturally gravitate towards tikanga or knowledge of taonga and waiata. Similarly, environmental, corporate, or social outcomes are likely to be

shaped by the specific needs of the local community and what assets (physical or otherwise) are available to them.

The indicators identified as part of the research were all linked to particular constructs and are an initial attempt to explore the types of measures required. For some constructs (such economic development) the measures were comparatively straightforward and were consistent with what was already available or with data collections that could currently be sourced. However, indicators of more intangible or cultural domains were more elusive. Measures of identity or cultural security are abstract at best and do not always lend themselves to quantification. Even within items such as te reo Māori, the process of collecting this information is not always possible, at least at an iwi level, with similar concerns connected to the vibrancy of marae and environmental domains. At least three issues emerge from this discussion.

Firstly, it is unlikely that any suite of indicators (connected to any one domain) will be entirely valid. Measures which reflect the vibrancy of Marae (for example) will always be subjective and open to interpretation – both in the way in which the information is collected as well as analysed. Notwithstanding these limitations (and by accepting these) it is, however, possible to offer an impression of these constructs, however qualified, that reveals how constructs might be measured.

Secondly, for the framework to be applied, new data collections will be needed in order to more precisely inform the constructs. This will be particularly so for cultural and identity related items As revealed throughout the thesis, iwi specific data on more

conventional measures (such as income or employment) is not always available or routinely collected.

Lastly, the collation and analysis of this information will pose logistical challenges. Applying the framework will not be without cost nor will systems always be in place to apply it. Resources will be needed as well as expertise to interpret and apply the information. Relatedly, a consideration arises as to whether the implementation of the framework ought to best be undertaken by a single iwi authority or governance body, or whether some other approaches may be better suited. For example, the implementation by *several* iwi organisations within the same iwi or by an organisation *outside* of the iwi which undertakes a monitoring function. Matters of 'implementation' of the Framework lay outside the scope of this research but may nonetheless be worthy of further research and consideration.

The most profound outcome of thesis, however, has been the broader implications of the framework –*Te Paewai o te Rangi*. To this end, it has revealed a significant gap in both knowledge and information around Māori and iwi outcomes. It has shown the mismatch between what is conventionally measured and what is actually desired. It has explored the value and importance of cultural domains and the extent to which these are often prioritised above other items and other constructs. It has revealed the limitations of current information systems as well as the possibility of using existing information in more expansive and innovative ways.

Into the future, it is also clear that *Te Paewai o te Rangi* might well have a critical role to play in securing the sustainability and integrity of iwi by offering a frame through which iwi investments (across multiple domains) can be assessed, amended, and progressed with confidence.

Finally, as the destination to this journey emerges over the horizon, it is time reflect on this voyage, to allow the anchor to descend, to collect the oars, to sit and exhale. At last, this canoe has come to rest - *kia tae ki uta te waka nei!*

Glossary of Māori Terms

Ahi Kā	Title to land through occupation by a group, over a long period of time.
Ariki	Paramount chief, high chief.
Aroha	To love, feel pity, feel concern for, feel compassion, empathise.
Awa	River.
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, subtribe - section of a large kinship group.
Haka	Posture, vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words.
Hākari	Sumptuous meal, feast, banquet, celebration, entertainment.
Hāngi	Earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones.
Hoturoa	An ancestor.
Hui	Gathering, meeting, assembly.
Iwi	Tribe.
Kai	Food.
Kaiako	Teacher.
Kaikarakia	Person leading prayers or spiritual service.
Kaikaranga	Woman that makes the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae.
Kaikōrero	Speaker, narrator.
Kaimoana	Seafood, shellfish.
Kāinga	Home, address, residence, village, habitation, habitat.
Kaitakawaenga	Māori advisors, liaison officers.
Kaitiaki	Trustee, custodian, guardian, keeper.

Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, stewardship.
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	Face-to-face
Kapa Haka	Haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.
Kapiti	A place name.
Karakia	To recite ritual chants, say grace, pray, recite a prayer, chant.
Karanga	A ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue.
Kaumātua	Adult, elder, elderly man.
Kaupapa	Topic, matter for discussion, agenda.
Kawa	Marae protocol, customs of the marae and wharehenui.
Kāwanatanga	Government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship.
Koha	Gift, present, offering, donation, contribution.
Kōhanga reo	‘Language nests’ for learning te reo Māori.
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, read, talk, address.
Koretake	Be useless, hopeless, ineffective, incompetent, inept.
Koroua	Elderly man, elder, grandfather, granduncle.
Kuia	Elderly woman, grandmother, female elder.
Kura kaupapa	School using Māori as the medium of instruction.
Māra kai	Garden, cultivation.
Maharatanga	Recollection, memory.
Mahi	Work
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status.
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness.
Mana Moana	Authority over the sea - a modern term.
Mana Whenua	Authority over the land – a modern term.
Manuhiri	Visitor, guest.
Marae	Open area in front of the wharehenui; the complex of buildings.

Mātaatua	A tribal region.
Mātauranga	Education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill.
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, including the Māori world view and perspectives.
Maunga	Mountain.
Mauri	Life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle.
Mihi	To greet, pay tribute, acknowledge.
Mirimiri	To rub, soothe, smooth, massage.
Moana	Ocean, sea.
Moemoeā	Dream, vision.
Mōteatea	Lament, traditional chant.
Muru	To plunder, confiscate, take ritual compensation
Ngahere	Bush, forest.
Ngai Tai Ki Umupuia	A tribe.
Ngāti Awa	A tribe.
Ngāti Kahungunu	A tribe.
Ngāti Koata	A tribe.
Ngāti Kurī	A tribe.
Ngāti Porou	A tribe.
Ngāti Toa	A tribe.
Ngāti Wai	A tribe.
Ōritetanga	Equality, equal opportunity.
Pā	Fortified village, fort, stockade, screen.
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent.
Paepae or pae	Orators' bench.
Pakeke	Adult.
Papakāinga	Original home, home base, village.

Poutokomanawa	Centre pole supporting the ridge pole of a meeting house.
Rāhui	A temporary ritual prohibition, closed season, ban, reserve.
Rangahau	To seek, search out, pursue, research, investigate.
Rangatahi	Younger generation, youth.
Rangatira	Chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess.
Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy.
Raranga	To weave, plait (mats, baskets, etc.).
Raruraru	Trouble, problem.
Ringawera	Kitchen worker, kitchen hand.
Rohe	Iwi boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).
Rohe Moana	Iwi boundary with respect to the sea and coastline.
Rongoā	Traditional remedy, medicine, treatment.
Rōpū	Group, party of people.
Tā moko	Tattoo, to apply a tattoo.
Taiāpure	Coast, reef or fishing ground reserved for inland kinship groups.
Tainui	A tribe.
Tamariki	Children.
Tangaroa	Māori God of the sea and fish.
Tangihanga/Tangi	Funeral, rites for the dead, obsequies.
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized, anything considered to be of value.
Tatau Pounamu	Enduring peace, making of peace, peacemaking.
Taura here:	Tribal groups in urban areas away from their traditional rohe.
Te Arawa	A tribe.
Te Rarawa	A tribe.
Te reo Māori	Māori language

Te Whakatōhea	A tribe.
Te Whānau-ā-Apanui	A tribe.
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, habit, practice, convention.
Te Ataarangi	A Māori language learning programme.
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou	A tribal authority.
Te Tairāwhiti	A tribal region.
Tohu	Sign, marker. In other contexts, a formal qualification.
Tōrere	A place.
Tōrerenuiārua	An ancestor.
Tūhoe	A tribe.
Tūhonohono(tanga)	To join together, interconnecting.
Tukutuku	Latticework paneling used primarily to decorate meeting houses.
Tūpāpaku	Corpse, deceased.
Tūrangawaewae	Place where one has rights, belonging through kinship.
Tūturu	Real, true, actual, authentic.
Uri	Offspring, descendant, relative, progeny, blood connection, successor.
Wāhi tapu	Sacred location, site of significance.
Waiata	Song, chant, psalm.
Waikato-Tainui	A tribe.
Wairua	Spirit, quintessence.
Waka	Canoe.
Waka ama	Outrigger canoe.
Wānanga	To meet and discuss.
Whaikōrero	Oratory, oration, formal speech-making.
Whakairo	To carve, ornament with a pattern, sculpt.
Whakapapa	Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent.

Whakataukī	Proverb, saying, aphorism.
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships, relating well to others.
Whānau	Family group, extended family.
Whānaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection.
Whare	House, building, dwelling.
Wharekai	Dining hall.
Whare karakia	Church, house of prayer - a building for religious services.
Whare puni	Communal sleeping house.
Whare tipuna	Ancestral house, meeting house.
Whare wānanga	University, place of higher learning.
Whenua	Land - often used in the plural.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule



Massey University

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Maori)
Massey University
Private Bag 102 904
Albany
Auckland
New Zealand

Telephone: 64 9 414 0800
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

Ngaitai Interview Questions: Participants

Name:

Organisation:

Role:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | What kind of things have Ngaitai been involved with in the past 10 years that have advanced, or will advance, Ngaitai? (For example, programmes, activities) |
| 2 | What has been important in terms of their success? |
| 3 | How would you measure their success? |
| 4 | Can you give some examples of how their success has been measured in the past? |
| 5 | What are some of the things which might prevent their success? |
| 6 | What are some things that might help promote their success? |

Appendix 2: Information Sheet



Massey University

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Māori)
Massey University
Private Bag 102 904
Albany
Auckland
New Zealand

Telephone: 64 9 414 0800
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

Ngaitai Information Sheet: Participants

Tena koe

My name is James Hudson and I am a researcher officer at the Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Māori), Massey University. I am also the leader of a research project exploring ways in which iwi development may be measured. Further, I am studying towards a PhD about similar notions of measuring iwi development. This information sheet provides an outline of the research and invites your participation, should you wish.

The Research Project

The research will provide iwi with a systematic approach for policy, planning and programme delivery. It will be futures oriented and take into account external goals and objectives, as well as broader Māori development objectives. The research will be undertaken collaboratively by researchers from three universities (Massey University, Lincoln University, and the Victoria University of Wellington), the iwi Ngaitai and the hapū Ngāti Tūrangitukua. It will involve an iwi and hapū case-study and will adopt participatory action research approach.

At this point, I would like to invite you to participate in the research. Potential participants for the research have been identified from preliminary consultations with iwi and hapū members and other experts in the areas of outcomes and iwi development. Approximately 30 participants will be involved with the research. If you agree to participate, your details will not be accessed nor utilized for any other purpose than this research. And all information gathered during the research will remain confidential to the research team. The information gathered during the research will be incorporated into a written report.

Some of the information gathered will also be used for the purposes of my PhD. Any information you provide will only be used for PhD purposes after gaining your written permission

If you do wish to participate in the research, I will make contact via telephone or email to discuss the research further and address any queries or concerns. I can also provide further information, if necessary. We may then wish to arrange to meet at a date, time and venue suitable to you for an interview. The interview will be approximately 1 -2.5 hours involving questions relating to your

knowledge and experiences concerning iwi development and any feedback you may have about how such development may be measured. The interview will be digitally recorded and I may take handwritten notes. Your identity will remain confidential for the purposes of the research and all information gathered during the interview will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. I will also provide you with a summary of the findings at the completion of the research.

Your Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate in the research, then you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at any time (up until two weeks following your last interview for the study);
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give me or any other member of the research team permission;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded; and
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact:

James Hudson
Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Māori)
Massey University
Private Bag 102-904
Albany
Auckland
09 414 0800 ext 9778
J.T.Hudson@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application MUHECN 09/007. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Denise Wilson, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x9070, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix 3: Cohort Interview Schedule



Massey University

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Maori)
Massey University
Private Bag 102 904
Albany
Auckland
New Zealand

Telephone: 64 9 414 0800
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

Interview Questions: Cohort

Name:

Organisation:

Role:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | What are the characteristics of iwi development? |
| 2 | How may these be measured? |
| 3 | What are some examples? |
| 4 | What may promote the achievement of these outcomes? |
| 5 | What may hinder the achievement of these outcomes? |

Appendix 4: Expert Focus Group



Massey University

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Maori)
Massey University
Private Bag 102 904
Albany
Auckland
New Zealand

Telephone: 64 9 414 0800
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

Expert Focus Group Participants

Dr Maria Bargh
Victoria University of Wellington

Dave Breuer
Anew New Zealand

Hohaia Collier
Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Professor Sir Mason Durie
Massey University

Selwyn Hayes
Ernst & Young

Associate Professor Te Kani Kingi
Massey University

Kirikowhai Mikaere
Statistics New Zealand

Tumatakuru O'Connor
Massey University

Desi Small-Rodriguez
Waikato-Tainui

Marae Tukere
Waikato-Tainui

Appendix 5: Hua Oranga



NHI number:
Gender: Male/Female
Date: __/__/__

Circle the response under each category which best reflects the way you think your relative is feeling.

Wairua

1. I feel that the spiritual health of my relative is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the spiritual health of my relative is good at present
3. I feel that the spiritual health of my relative is just okay at present
4. I feel that the spiritual health of my relative is not good at present
5. I feel that the spiritual health of my relative is very bad at present

Tinana

1. I feel that the physical health of my relative is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the physical health of my relative is good at present
3. I feel that the physical health of my relative is just okay at present
4. I feel that the physical health of my relative is not good at present
5. I feel that the physical health of my relative is very bad at present

Hinengaro

1. I feel that the mental health of my relative is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the mental health of my relative is good at present
3. I feel that the mental health of my relative is just okay at present
4. I feel that the mental health of my relative is not good at present
5. I feel that the mental health of my relative is very bad at present

Whānau

1. I feel that the relationships my relative has with our whānau are extremely good at present
2. I feel that the relationships my relative has with our whānau are good at present
3. I feel that the relationships my relative has with our whānau are just okay at present
4. I feel that the relationships my relative has with our whānau are not good at present
5. I feel that the relationships my relative has with our whānau are very bad at present



NHI number:
 Gender: Male/Female
 Date: _/ _/ _

Circle the response under each category which best reflects the way you are feeling

Wairua

1. I feel that my spiritual health is extremely good at present
2. I feel that my spiritual health is good at present
3. I feel that my spiritual health is just okay at present
4. I feel that my spiritual health is not good at present
5. I feel that my spiritual health is very bad at present

Tinana

1. I feel that my physical health is extremely good at present
2. I feel that my physical health is good at present
3. I feel that my physical health is just okay at present
4. I feel that my physical health is not good at present
5. I feel that my physical health is very bad at present

Hinengaro

1. I feel that my mental health is extremely good at present
2. I feel that my mental health is good at present
3. I feel that my mental health is just okay at present
4. I feel that my mental health is not good at present
5. I feel that my mental health is very bad at present

Whānau

1. I feel that my relationships with my whānau are extremely good at present
2. I feel that my relationships with my whānau are good at present
3. I feel that my relationships with my whānau are just okay at present
4. I feel that my relationships with my whānau are not good at present
5. I feel that my relationships with my whānau are very bad at present



NHI number:
 Gender: Male/Female
 Date: __/__/__

Circle the response under each category which best reflects the way you think the tangata whaiora is feeling.

Wairua

1. I feel that the spiritual health of the tangata whaiora is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the spiritual health of the tangata whaiora is good at present
3. I feel that the spiritual health of the tangata whaiora is just okay at present
4. I feel that the spiritual health of the tangata whaiora is not good at present
5. I feel that the spiritual health of the tangata whaiora is very bad at present

Tinana

1. I feel that the physical health of the tangata whaiora is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the physical health of the tangata whaiora is good at present
3. I feel that the physical health of the tangata whaiora is just okay at present
4. I feel that the physical health of the tangata whaiora is not good at present
5. I feel that the physical health of the tangata whaiora is very bad at present

Hinengaro

1. I feel that the mental health of the tangata whaiora is extremely good at present
2. I feel that the mental health of the tangata whaiora is good at present
3. I feel that the mental health of the tangata whaiora is just okay at present
4. I feel that the mental health of the tangata whaiora is not good at present
5. I feel that the mental health of the tangata whaiora is very bad at present

Whānau

1. I feel that the relationships of the tangata whaiora with their whānau are extremely good at present
2. I feel that the relationships of the tangata whaiora with their whānau are good at present
3. I feel that the relationships of the tangata whaiora with their whānau are just okay at present
4. I feel that the relationships of the tangata whaiora with their whānau are not good at present
5. I feel that my relationships of the tangata whaiora with their whānau are very bad at present

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